



D. Loggan ad Vivum Sculpit

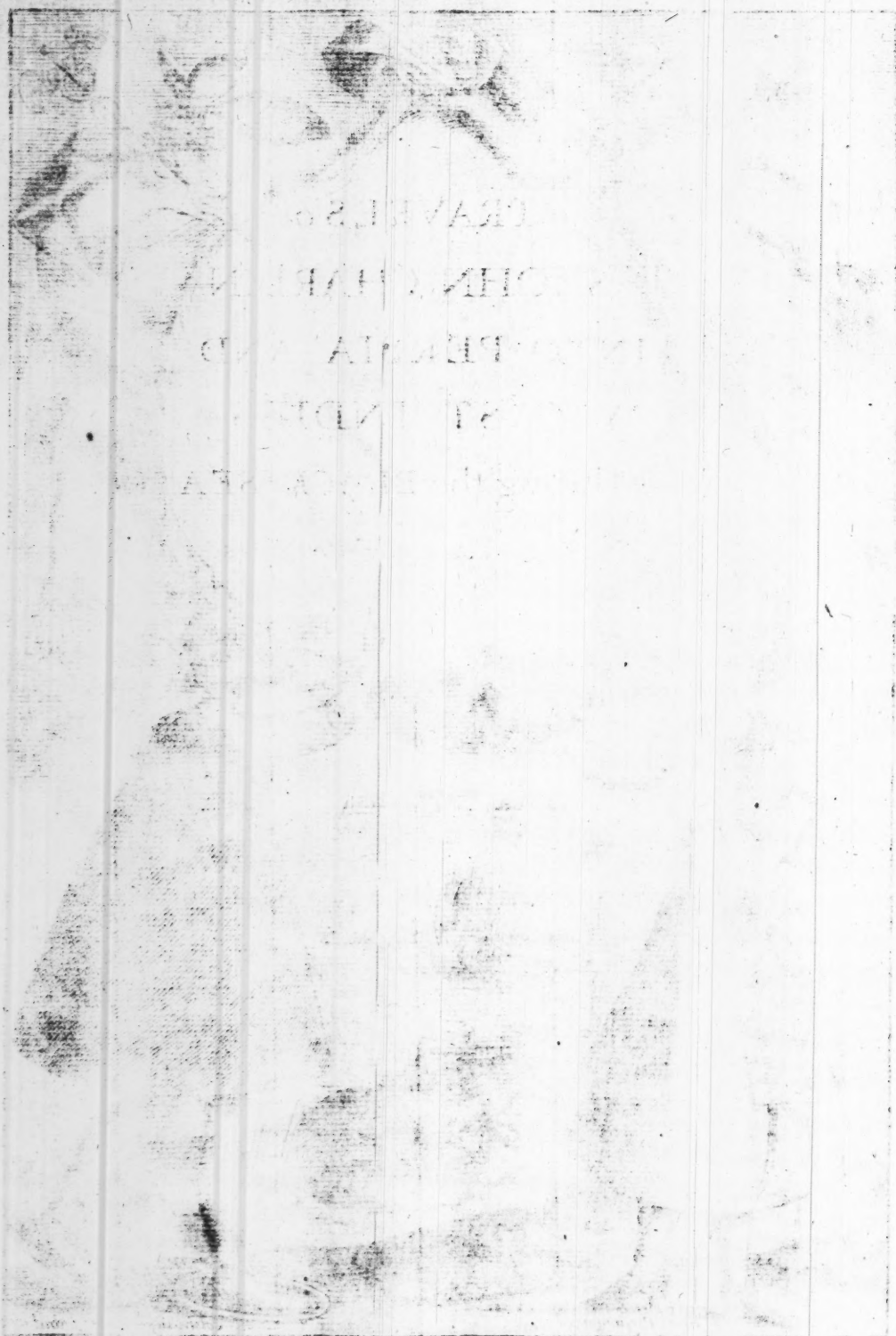
JOHANNES CHARDIN MILES.
Natus $\frac{6}{18}$ novembris, 1643.



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L O N D O N
Printed for Moses Pitt in Duke street Westminster. 1686.



THE
TRAVELS
OF
Sir John Chardin
INTO
Persia and the East-Indies.

The First Volume,
Containing the Author's Voyage from *Paris* to *Ispahan*.

To which is added,
The Coronation of this Present KING
of Persia, SOLYMAN the Third.



L O N D O N:
Printed for Moses Pitt in *Duke-Street Westminster*. 1686.

*For the Queens most excellent Majesty
by H. M. most humble & most obedient servant Chardin.*

At the Court at Whitehal, March 23. 1688.

Let this BOOK be
Printed.

SUNDERLAND P.



I can sincerely affirm to Your Majesty, That it is the Product of Your Royal Grace and Goodness to me; and that the same is a Subject



your I have received from Your Majesty, and my Admiration of Your Majesties Heroick and Imperial Virtues. From the time that the Bounty of Heaven had

To the KING.

blessed me in the happy Choice I made of establishing my self in this Land of Promise, quietly to enjoy in it the desirable Fruits of my long Travels, I

was always Graciously received by your Majesty, who as ever blessed Memory, who as ever pleased to Honour me with his presence. And my Obligations to your Majesty are to Affable and Generous, who as ever to imitate your Majesty of all Illustrious Virtues.



The most Celebrated Societies in Your Majesty's Kingdom, have done me the Honour to admit me

I Presume to Present to Your Royal View the First Volume of my Second Voyage into *Asia*; not so much to give it Credit by a glorious a Dedication, as to acquit my Self of an indispensable Obligation upon me to Offer to Your Majesty the First-Fruits of a Work, whose Publication is a Debt solely due to Your Majesty from me.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

I can sincerely affirm to Your Majesty, That it is the Product of Your Royal Grace and Goodness to me; and that the chief Motive I had to undertake it, was, Because I perceived it to be a Subject well-pleasing to Your Majesty, being Composed under the Shadow of that August Throne which Your Majesty does so Gloriously replenish: Nor had I taken so much time from the Necessary Occupations of my Life, to propose it for the Press, but out of an earnest desire to publish to the World the Resentments of my Heart, for the many Favours I have received from Your Majesty, and my Admiration of Your Majesties Heroick and Transcendent Virtue.

From the time that the Bounty of Heaven had blessed me in the happy Choice I made of establishing my self in this *Land of Promise*, quietly to enjoy in it the desirable Fruits of my long Travels, I was alway Graciously received by the late King of ever blessed Memory, who as a Mark of His Esteem was pleased to Honour me with a Character of Dignity. And the Nobility, who of themselves are so Affable and Generous, were not wanting in their Civilities to me, to imitate so admirable a Pattern of all Illustrious Virtues.

The most Celebrated Societies in Your Majesties Kingdom, have done me the Honour to admit me into their Bodies; and I was by Sovereign Authority employ'd in a most Important Negotiation with the Neighbor-State: But though I received so many great Effects of His Majesties Bounty to me, I am in Duty bound for many Reasons to apply the Acknowledgment thereof to Your Sacred Majesty, which may be comprehended in that perfect Union, which Your Majesty had with that Great and Good King,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

King, in participating with him not only in the most Important Affairs of his happy Reign, but even in the least and meanest of his Cares, whereby Your Majesty hath a just Title to share in all the Gracious Acts of his Royal Beneficence.

The particular and immediate Testimonies of Favour which Your Majesty (of Your own Personal Goodness) hath extended to me, are too numerous to be related; and I am defective in words to describe the Gratitude wherewith my Heart is possessed in the sense of them: Wherefore in this my Incapacity to express my Resentments of Your Majesty's Benefits to me, I am less able to Delimit those Heroick Qualities which all Europe admire in Your Majesty's Sacred Person, and which enable Your Majesty with so much Renown to sustain that Glorious Crown which is deriv'd to Your Majesty from Your Mighty Ancestors.

I have had the Honour to approach Kings, which pass abroad for the Mightiest Monarchs in the World; but none of those Magnificent Images of Divinity, are equal to Your Majesty in the Divine Resemblances of Affability, Courtesie, Vigilance, Knowledge and Constancy. None of them ever brought such Consummate Experience to the Government of a great and mighty Empire, or was ever possess'd with so much Justice and Fortitude to uphold or augment it: None of them have ever joyn'd to the Science of Commanding on Land, such vast and exquisite Knowledge in Maritime Affairs as well for War, as the Art and Improvement of Navigation.

I might advance farther in this Parallel, where Your Majesty has so much the advantage, if I did not find my Eyes dazzled when I attempt to fix them upon Your Majesty.

I

The Epistle Dedicatory

I have indeed taken the Liberty in the Volumes which are to succeed this, (and perhaps not been altogether unhappy therein) to give the Characters of the most famous Monarchs of the East: But though my Zeal for Your Majesties Glory is very great, I find my Force at present too weak to express that of Your Majesties, in so illustrious a manner as the Merit of the Subject requires. However, I may endeavour hereafter to attempt it; and in the meantime I shall continue my Prayers to Almighty God, That Your Majesties Reign may be Edifying and Prosperous; and that Your Throne may be always an Inviolable Refuge and Sanctuary to the Oppressed; and Your Scepter be Immoveable in the Hearts of Your Subjects; as in Your Triumphant Hands; and obtain the End for an Accumulation of Glory, Your Majesty may secure and preserve an Accumulation of Felicity to Your People.

These are the Addresses which shall be Assiduously made at the Throne of Grace for Your Sacred Majesty by

Most humble Your Majesty's most Humble,

most Obedient, and most Faithful

Subject and Servant,

JOHN CHARDIN.



THE PREFACE.



His is the First Part of my Relations of Persia, which I have divided into Four Volumes, whereof the First (which is this I now Publish) contains that part of the Journal of my Voyage from Paris to Ispahan, which ends in the Month of June in the Year 1673. I think it Needless in this place to Anticipate the Readers Expectation with Reciting any of the Particulars of it, because the whole is Delivered at large in the ensuing Treatise.

The PREFACE.

The Second Part (which is the rest of my Journal of the Year 1673) contains a General Description of the Empire of Persia and its Force, together with the Laws, Governments, Manners and Customs of the Persians, of their Arts and Sciences, and their Civil and Mechanical Industry, with a particular Description of Ispahan, (which is at this time the Capital City of that vast Empire) and Five and Thirty or Forty Cuts Engraven in Copper, of the fairest and most Remarkable Buildings therein, or other Eminent Particularities thereof.

The Third Part (which is my Journal of the Year 1674) contains (amongst other things) the Ruines of Persepolis, represented in Twenty Two Copper-Plates, as also an Exact, and Ample Description of them, with Observations Interwoven of the less Intelligible Parts of those Ruines, (which are the most Glorious Monuments and Noblest Remains of Antiquity Extant) together with a Relation of the Religion of the Persians, collected as well from their Publick Worship, as their Writings, whereof there are many Copious Traductions.

The Fourth and last Part (which consists of my Journal of the Year 1675. and the two succeeding Years) concludes with a Piece wholly new and unknown to Us in Europe, which is an Abridgement of the History of Persia, Extracted from their own Writings.

And thus having informed the Reader of the Subject of my Memorials, I shall mention something of the time, and means which I imployed to collect them.

I Travel'd by Land to the East-Indies, in the Year 1665, and arrived in Persia at the beginning of the Year 1666. where I stayed all that Year, and a good part of the next.

The PREFACE.

I came back to Persia from India in the Year 1669. where I remain'd Six Months before my return to Europe. This was my first Voyage. And though I then provided my self of Observations, and all sorts of Materials for a Relation of it, in as great a Degree or perhaps greater than those that have visited those Countries before me (having Learn'd many things from the Turkish and Persian Languages, which have not been observ'd by any that have hitherto Writ of Persia,) yet I did not then think my self sufficiently instructed for the Publication of so compleat a Work, as I intended. But in the mean time I entertain'd the World with a little Treatise of the Coronation of Soliman, which consisted of some few Curious matters of Fact, whereof I was an Eye-Witness. And the earnest desire I had to improve my knowledge in that vast Empire of Persia, to be enabled to produce to the World useful and Ample Relations of it, induced me to undertake a Second Voyage thither, which I did in the Year 1671. (as the same will appear in this Journal,) I stay'd there until the Year 1677, chiefly following the Court in its Removals, but likewise I made some particular Journeys, as well of Curiosity as Business, to prosecute my intentions, studying the Language, and assiduously frequenting the most eminent and most knowing Men of the Nation, the better to inform my self in all things that were Curious and New to us in Europe, concerning a Country that may well be called, Another World, both in respect of the Distance of place it has from us; and the different Manners and Maximes of it. In a Word I was so solicitous to know Persia, that I knew Isphahan better than Paris (though I was Bred and Born there.)

The Persian Language was as easie to me as French, and I could currently Read and Write it, I had often Travell'd

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Travell'd, through the whole Country in the Length and Breadth thereof; and seen its Seas (both the Caspian and the Ocean) from one end to the other; I have visited its Frontiers in Armenia, Iberia and Media, and Arabia also, as far as the River Indus, and have been so exactly inform'd of those few Places where I have not been, that I am confident I could know them (if I may so say) upon any sudden Transportation thither; which I say only to let the Reader see what Ground he may have to rely upon the Truth of the following Relations.

As for this Translation, I shall not say much of the Expressions and Phrase used in it, being no competent Judge thereof, but I can aver that it was done under my Inspection, and I have review'd it with Attention, and Knowledge enough to affirm, that it is exactly my Sense, but I must not omit to mention, that in my Revision of it, there was scarce a Leaf where I did not discover some considerable Fault, as a Parenthesis, Line or Word omitted, and sometimes my Thoughts imperfectly rendered, (though the substituted Sense was neither Incongruous nor Perplexed.) In brief, I have Corrected many Mistakes of this sort, which could not be Perceptible to any but an Author, who carries the Sense of his Work, Word by Word in his Head.

*As for Example, in describing the Cultivation of the Vineyards of Colchide, I said, * That they cut their Vines there, once in every four Years; and my Translator had expressed it, † That they cut their Vines four times every Year. One cannot say that this proceeded from a defect of Sense, or want of Understanding the French Tongue, for he knows it*

* On taille la vigne tous les quatre Ans une fois.

† As if I had said, On taille la vigne quatre fois en un An.

well,

The PREFACE.

well, and is otherways a Man of Letters, and has quickness of Thought, and is very able for such Works; but Mistakes are inevitable in long Translations: And as I believe that this of my Book is nearer the Original than any Version that I have seen of other Voyages, so I am convinc'd that there are no Translations wherein many Errours may not be found against the Sense of the Authors.

The Copper Plates are done by different Gravers, which will not happen in the others of my Volumes, where all of them will be Engraven by that Hand which has done the Draught of Tauris, and Nine or Ten other Figures.

I have Written nothing of the Indies, because I lived but five Years there, and understood only the Vulgar Languages, which are the Indian and Persian, without the Knowledge of that of the Brachmans, which is the proper and necessary Organ to arrive at the Knowledge of the Wisdom and Antiquity of the Indians: but nevertheless I did not altogether waste my Time there in Idleness: On the contrary, as the Winters in that Country will not permit One to Travel, I imploy'd that time in a Work which I had long in my Thoughts, and which I may call, My Favourite Design, by the Pleasure wherewith I laboured in it, and the Profit which I hope the Publique will receive thereby; which is certain Notes upon very many Passages of the Holy Scriptures, whereof the Explication depends on the Knowledge of the Customs of the Eastern Countries, for the East is the Scene of all the Historical Facts mentioned in the Bible. The Language of that Divine Book, (especially of the Old Testament) being Oriental, and very often Figurative, and Hyperbolic, those Parts of the Scripture which
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are Written in Verse, and in the Prophecies, are full of Figures and Hyperboles, which, as it is manifest, cannot be well understood without a Knowledge of the Things from whence such Figures are taken, which are Natural Proprieties, and Particular Manners of the Countries to which they refer; I discern'd this in my first Voyage to the Indies: For I gradually found a greater Sense and Beauty in divers Passages of the Scriptures than I had before, by having in my view the Things either Natural or Moral, which explain'd them to me, and in perusing the different Translations, which the greatest part of the Translators of the Bible had made, I observ'd that every one of them (to render their Expositions (as they thought) more intelligible) used such Expressions as would accommodate the Phrase to the Places where they Writ; which did not only many times pervert the Text, but often render'd the Sense obscure, and sometimes absurd also. In fine, consulting the Commentators upon such kind of Passages, I found very strange Mistakes in them, and that they all along guess'd at the Sense, and did but grope (as in the Dark) in the search of it. And from these Reflections, I took a Resolution to make my Remarks upon many Passages of the Scripture; perswading my self that they would be equally Agreeable and Profitable for use. And the Learned, to whom I Communicated my Design, Incouraged me very much (by their Commendations) to proceed in it: And more especially when I inform'd them, That it is not in Asia as in our Europe, where there are frequent Changes more or less, in the Forms of Things, as the Habits, Buildings, Gardenings, and the like. In the East they are constant in all Things; The Habits are at this Day in the same Manner, as in the Precedent Ages; So that one may reasonably believe, That in that part of the World, the
Exteriour

The PREFACE.

Exteriour Forms of Things (as their Manners and Customs) are the same now, as they were Two Thousand Years since, except in such Changes as may have been Introduced by Religion, which are nevertheless very Inconsiderable.

These Notes upon the Bible will be the last Things which I shall expose to the Publick, unless I shall understand that they are desired sooner: In which case I may Publish by Advance, those I have made upon the Book of Genesis for a Taste of the rest. And the same desire which I have to Gratifie the World, and particularly the English Nation, to which I have so many Obligations, will induce me to Publish the Third or Fourth Part of my Relations before the Second, if I shall find that they are desired and expected before it.

The Bookseller was desirous to add to this Volume the Piece which is to be seen at the End of it, which contains, A Relation of the Solemn Coronation of the Present King of Persia; whereof I was an Eye-Witness my self about Twenty Years ago, and which I caused to be Printed at Paris Five Years after, at my First Return from my Travels. And though I cannot but say that the Narrative is Faithful and Exact, yet I must confess that it is too Diffuse, and often Intermoven with such small Incidents, as I would have omitted, could the Bookseller have been prevailed with to wait the Publishing of it till after That of my Second Journey.

THE

PONTI EU
CUM REGIONIBUS
SEPTENTRIONEM ET
ADIACENTIBUS NOVA
A JOAN: CHARDIN MILITARI

CIRCASSIA ALBA

PARS POLONIÆ

Casak
à X^{nis}
Cosaques

PODOLIA

Deserta inter Boristhenem
et Meotides

MEOTIS PALUS

Turcis

Baluck Denguis
i.e. Mare Piscium

Mare Regionis Nogayorum
vulgo Galata & Negropoli

Taurica Chersonesus Turcis

Crim Tatars i.e.

Tartaria Crimeensis

Caffa

Askow Promont.

Stretus de
Caffa
Corocondama
Prom. Circassie

PONTUS EUXINUS TURCIS Cara Denghis i.e.

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Constantinople

Mare de
Marmora

Bosphorus

Famaftra

Sinope

PARS ASIÆ

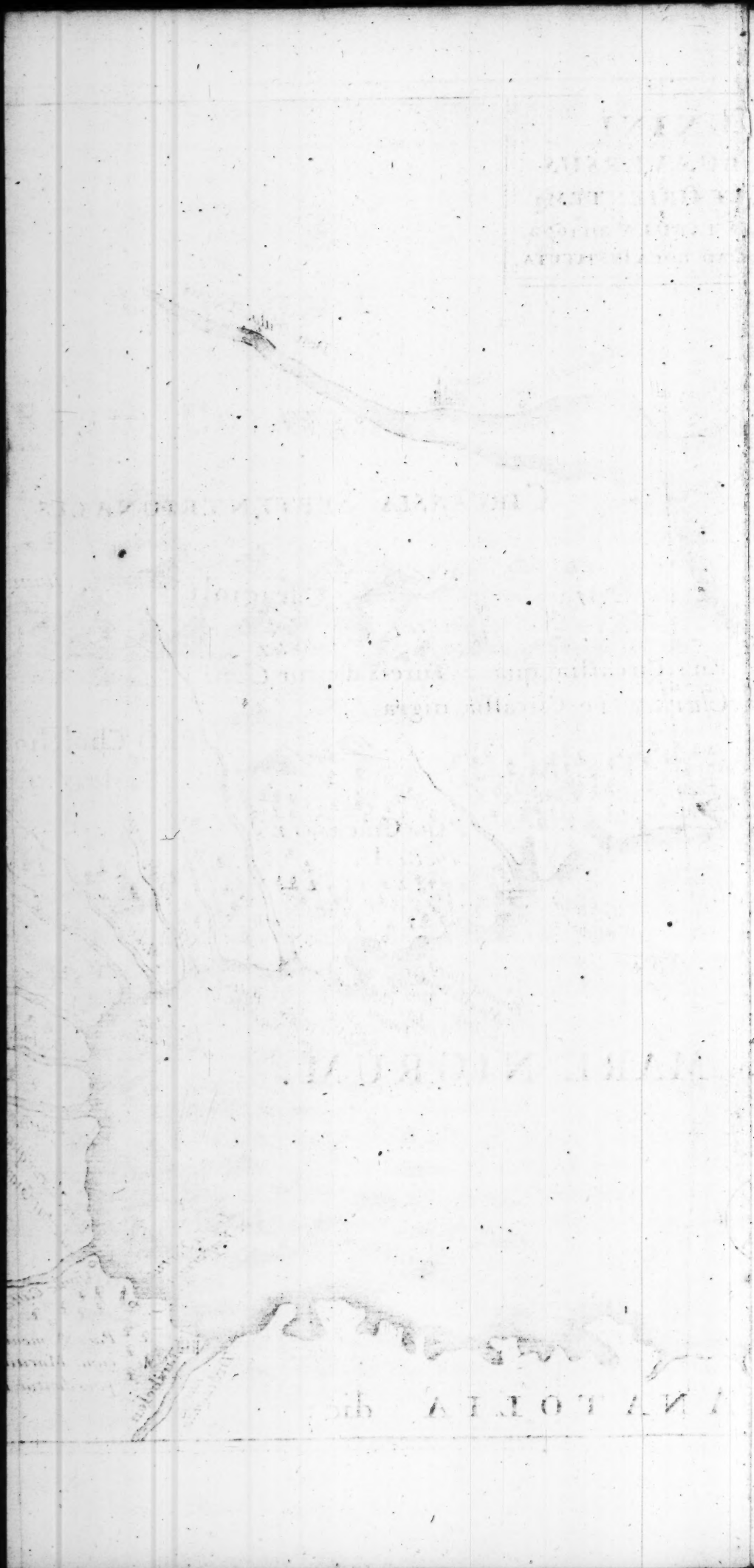
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IBUS VERSUS
ET ORIENTEM
OVA TABULA an: 1672.
IL: AD LOCA INSTITUTA.





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THE
TRAVELS
OF
Sir John Chardin
INTO
PERSIA,

Through the Black-Sea, and the Country of Colchis.



Departed from *Paris*, with an Intention to return to the *East-Indies*, the Seventeenth of *August* 1671, just Fifteen Months after I came from thence. I undertook this tedious Journey a second time, as well to perfect my self in the Knowledge of the Languages, the Customs, the Religions, the Trades and Sciences, the Commerce and History of the Oriental People, as to endeavour the Advancement of my Fortunes and Estate.

I found at my Return into *France*, that the Religion wherein I had been Educated made me incapable of all sorts of Employment ; and that it was requisite for me either to change it, or altogether to renounce whatever is call'd Honour and Preferment. Both the one and the other seem'd to me to be somewhat severe : for we are not at liberty to believe what we please. Thereupon I presently bethought my self of returning to the *Indies* , where, without altering my Religion, or abandoning the Condition of a Merchant , I could not fail to gratifie a moderate Ambition : for Trade is there an Employment so considerable, that even Sovereign Princes publickly follow it.

The deceased King of *Persia* made me his own Merchant, by his Letters Patents in the year 1666. and gave me in charge to order the making of several Jewels of a great value, of which his Majesty design'd the Models with his own Hands. Madam *Lescot*, a Lady much more famous for her Wit, and her adventurous Boldness in Undertaking, then for her Wealthy Gettings, joyn'd with my deceased Father to encourage me to go on with my Commission, and both promis'd to go Halves with me. Monsieur *Raisin* of *Lyons*, a Person of very good Repute , and my Companion in my former Travels, embarkt himself once more in this sort of Trade ; and though we differ'd in our Religion, yet for all that we liv'd Peaceably and in Unity together. For Christians learn in the *East*, to be at Peace, and keep a good Correspondence one with another, notwithstanding their disagreement in Opinions. There are a thousand Sects, but there are only these two Beliefs, the *Christian*, and the *Mahumetan*. For Fourteen Months together we made it our Business to search in the Richest Countries of *Europe* for the biggest colour'd Stones, the largest Pearls, and the fairest wrought Coral that could be found. We order'd the making of several Rich Pieces of Goldsmiths Work, Watches and Clocks extraordinary for Curiosity of Workmanship ; and because our Stock was not as yet all spent, we return'd into *Italy* Twelve Thousand Ducats of Gold. My Companion arriv'd at *Legorn* in less then a Month, by the way of *Genoa* ; and I my self got thither toward the end of *October*, by the way of *Milan*, *Venice* and *Florence*.

The 10th of *November* we Embark'd in a Vessel under a *Holland* Convoy, bound for *Smyrna*. This Fleet was compos'd of six Merchant Men, and two Men of War. The whole Cargo amounted to three Millions of *Livers*, besides

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what the Passengers, Mariners, and Captains themselves kept close and undiscover'd, to prevent the Payment of Freight, Custom, and the Consuls Dues. We touch'd at *Messina*, *Zant*, and several other Islands of the *Archipelago*. Near the Island of *Micon* we had a considerable Dispute with a *Corfsair* of *Legorn*, about one of his Men who had made his escape aboard us, by swimming a Mile. Upon demand of him, the *Corfsair* sent us word, He would Fight us, if we did not restore him his Seaman; and for our parts we did not think it worth our while to protect him.

There are usually about Forty Christian *Corfsairs* Cruising up and down in the *Archipelago*, belonging some to *Majorca*, some to *Villa Franca*, others to *Legorn* and *Malta*. These Vessels are for the most part but of small Burthen, and very ill Victuall'd; but Mann'd with People whom Misery and a long habit of doing Mischief have renderd resolute and cruel. There are not any Villanies or Violences imaginable which they do not commit upon the Islanders of these Seas, where-ever they can but set foot a-shoar; though the Inhabitants are all Christians, and most part acknowledge the Popes Jurisdiction.

I cannot forget the Answer which a *Corfsair*, call'd the *Chevalier de Téméricourt*, gave upon a time to the Marquis of *Pruilly*, who commanded one of the French Kings Ships, call'd the *Diamond*. These two meeting together in the Island of *Millo*, the Marquis gave the other an Invitation a-board, at what time among other things falling into discourse about Piracy, Sir, said the Marquis to the Knight, as I was inform'd not long after, by some Gentlemen that were present, *The Robberies, the Murders, the Sacriledges, which you dayly commit, your Blasphemies, and in a word, so many impious and barbarous Crimes, do they not strike a Terrour to your Soul? Can you ever hope for Paradise? Or do you believe there is any Hell? Who?* reply'd the Knight, *Not at all. I am a Lutheran, I believe not a tittle of any such thing.* Thus you may see the Natural Disposition of Pyrates. Concerning whom I will add this one Particular more.

While we staid for a Wind in the Port of *Micon*, there arriv'd in that Haven two First-Rate *Venetian* Men of War. They enter'd in the Night-time. The Admiral coming to an Anchor, fir'd several Squibs from his Main-Top-Mast. This is call'd *Giving the Rocquet*, from the Italian word *Rocchetta*, which signifies a Squib: And this is done to give Notice to the Christian Corfsairs or Rovers, if any should happ'n to be in
Port,

Port, to weigh and be gone before Day. Two were there at that present time. They set Sail early the next Morning, and came to an Anchor behind a Promontory, not above a League from the Port. The Admiral was a Nobleman of *Venice*, to whom I gave a Visit, and desiring to know the reason of his firing the Rocquets, he told me he had Orders so to do; for that the Republick being engag'd to the *Grand Signior* by the Treaty at *Candy*, to clear the *Archipelago* of all the Christian Rovers, and to take as many of 'em, as they could, yet in regard of the several good Services which the Rovers had done the Republick in the last War, he took that course to satisfy the Port, without acting to the prejudice of the Rovers. And this was the reason that the Ships of the Republick were oblig'd always to make themselves known in the *Archipelago*, to the end the Christian Pyrates might keep at a distance from 'em, and not approach within ken; that so they might be said not to have had any sight of 'em. In the Day-time, added he, we are known by our Colours; but in the Night, when we enter any Port, we let off these Rocquets; and sometimes also we send certain Officers ashore, to discover whether there be any Christian Rovers in Port, and so give 'em Notice to be gone.

I arriv'd at *Smyrna* the seventh of *March* 1672, after being four Months at Sea. In which tedious Voyage we endur'd much Cold, and many a boystrous Storm. We were in want of Victuals; nor could we have made this Voyage with more Danger or more Hardship.

I shall not trouble my self to make any Description of *Smyrna*, where I found nothing worthy Remark, or in any other part of the *Archipelago*, more than what is to be found in the Relations of *Spon*, and other Travellers, Men of Learning and Exactness, who have been there since my time. I shall therefore content my self with recounting some Particulars relating to Commerce and History, of which they have not spoken.

The English drive a great Trade at *Smyrna*, and over all the *Lewant*. This Trade is driv'n by a Royal Company settled at *London*; which is Govern'd after a most prudent manner, and therefore cannot fail of success. It has stood almost these hundred Years, being first Confirm'd towards the middle of *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign. A Reign famous for having, among other Things, giv'n life to several Trading Companies, particularly those of *Hamborough*, *Russia*, *Greenland*, the

East-

East-Indies and *Turkie*, all which remain to this Day. Trade was then in its Infancy ; and there is no greater Mark of the Ignorance of those Times, in reference to Countries, though but a little remote, then the Association which those Merchants made : for they joyn'd several together in one Body, for mutual Conduct and Assistance. That Company which relates to the Turkish Trade, is of a particular sort : For it is not a Society, where every one puts in a Sum for one General and United Stock : It is a Body which has nothing in Common, but a peculiar Grant and Priviledge to Trade into the *Levant*. It assumes to it self the Name of *The Regulated Company*. None are admitted into it, but Sons of Merchants, or such as have serv'd an Apprenticeship to the Trade, which in *England* is for Seven Years. They give to be admitted into the Society about an Hundred and Twenty Crowns, if under the Age of Twenty Five Years ; and double if above that Age. The Company never commits to any one single Person their Power, nor the sole Management of their Affairs, but manage their Business among themselves by the Plurality of Voices. So that who has sufficient to drive a Trade that will bear an Imposition of Eight Crowns, has as good a Vote as he that Trades for an Hundred Thousand. This Assembly, thus *Democratical*, sends out Ships, Levies Taxes upon all their Commodities, presents the Ambassador whom the King sends to the Port, Elects two Consuls, the one for *Smyrna*, the other for *Aleppo*, and prevents the sending of Goods which are not thought proper for the *Levant*. It consists at present of about Three Hundred Merchants, besides that they bring up in *Turkie* a great number of young Persons well descended, who learn the Trade upon the Place it self. This Trade amounts to about Five or Six Hundred Thousand Pounds yearly, and consists in Cloaths made in *England*, and Silver which they carry as well out of *England*, as out of *Spain*, *France* and *Italy* : In exchange of which they bring back Wool, Cotton-Yarn, Galls, Raw Silk and Wov'n, together with some other Commodities of less value. Now the *Company*, finding that Malice, which Interest begets among Persons of the same Profession, would in time be the Ruine of their Society, by Enhancing or Loring the price of Goods on purpose to under-sell one another ; and that the same Malice causes the Merchants to be at variance with the Consuls, the Consuls with the Ambassador ; (which is the reason that many times where Expences are requisite, an unseasonable Stinginess in the Ambassador causes great Imposi-

tions and Fines, and other severe Vexations to the Nation) The Company, I say, foreseeing these Mischiefs, have prudently provided a Remedy to prevent 'em. For the English Cloth, of which they send into *Turkie* about Twenty Thousand Pieces yearly, and the chiefest part of the rest of their Merchandize is sent to the Factors with a Bill or *Invoice* of the Price at what they are bound to sell; together with another Bill of the Price certain for those Goods which they give order to be bought; and by that means it never happens that the Merchants receive any Damage in the Prospect or Design of their Profit.

For the prevention of these and other disorders, the Company gives a Pension to the English Ambassador, who resides at the *Port*; to the *Consuls*, and all their Principal Officers, as the Minister, the Chancellor, the Secretary, the Interpreters, the Janisaries and others. Which Officers have no Power to Levy any Taxes or Sums of Money upon the Merchandize, whether under the pretence of Duties, or Presents, or any other extraordinary Expences. But when any thing of that Nature is to be done, they give Notice to the Deputies of the Nation, who are Two Persons appointed to Act in the Name of the rest. These Deputies examine and debate with the Ambassador, or the Consul, What is fit to be given, What Journeys are necessary to be made to the *Port*, and what is there to be transacted: Not but that the Ambassador or Consul may not Act of themselves, but they observe that method to acquit and justify themselves; and sometimes upon Emergent and Extraordinary Affairs they assemble the whole Body of the Nation. So soon as they are come to a Result, the Deputies give Notice to the Treasurer to provide what is necessary, whether it be Money, Toys or Curiosities. This Treasurer also is set'd by the Company, and provides Money for every thing, discharges punctually all manner of Charges and Expences, and pays exactly the Wages of every Officer. Thus the Ambassador and Consuls have no more to do but only to mind the Security of the English Nation, and the good of Trade, without being incumber'd and diverted by their own Interests. There are also many other excellent Regulations and Orders for the support of their Trade in the *Levant*; by which means they carry it on with Honour and Profit beyond any of their Neighbors.

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The Hollanders also drive a great Trade at *Smyna*, and more then any other Nation of *Europe*, but they have little to do elsewhere ; all their Dealing in all the rest of the Cities in the *Levant* amounting to little or nothing. Their principal Profit consists in carrying the *Armenians* and their Goods into *Europe*, and carrying 'em back again. They also make great Advantage of their Money, of which *Turkie* is very full. This Money of theirs is made of base Mettle, and notoriously intermix'd with Counterfeit pieces. It chiefly consists of Crowns, Half-Crowns, *Testons*, or Eighteen-penny pieces, and pieces of Fifteen *Sous*. The Crowns and Half-Crowns for the most part carry the Dutch Stamp. Which the Turks therefore call *Aslani*, that is to say *Lyons* ; in regard of their being mark'd on both sides with the Figure of a Lyon. The Arabians, either out of Ignorance or otherwise, mistaking the Lyon for a Dog, give 'em the Name of *Abon-Kelb*, or *Dogs*. The Quarter-Pieces are almost all Counterfeit ; or at Best, but Half Silver. However the Turks are so void of Judgment and Understanding, that they esteem this Money beyond that of *Spain*, which they call *Marfillies*, by reason that the Merchants of *Marseilles* first brought it in great Quantities into *Turkie*.

The *States* maintain a *Resident* at the Port, with an Allowance of Four Thousand Crowns a Year. Which *Resident* has besides the one Moyety of the Revenue of the Dutch Consulships in the *Levant*, which sometimes amounts to a considerable Sum ; there being one Dutch Consul at *Smyna*, who got Fifty Thousand Crowns by Duties. When I arriv'd there, it happen'd that there was a great Quarrel between the Consul and the Merchants : For he accus'd them for Cheats ; Appealing to their own Books for the truth of his Affirmation ; and desir'd they might be view'd ; to which the Merchants would by no means give their consent. The *Resident* not daring to determine this Difference, both Parties referr'd themselves to the *States*. But at last, for fear the coming of the Convoy, should occasion farther disturbances, the Merchants and the Consul agreed the Duties of the Consulship, at Ten Thousand Five Hundred Crowns, for all that the Convoy brought in, and Shipt off.

The French are very numerous in *Smyna*, and over all the *Levant*, there not being a Port of *Turkie* upon the *Mediterranean* Sea, wherein there are not several. They are for the most part all *Provençalls*. But the Trade which they drive is
so

so inconsiderable, that one Merchant in each Place might dispatch all the Business. At *Smyrna*, for example, there are above a Hundred Merchants; and yet the Truth is, that in some Years the Effects that came out of *France* consign'd to all those Merchants did not amount to above Four Hundred Thousand *Livres*; and there are many that have not above Five Hundred Crowns Stock: Besides that they agree but very badly together, as being a sort of people that Love to harbour Division and Contention one among another. So that it is no wonder if their Trade decrease, and turn to loss rather than profit. For they who better understand the Nature and Maxims of Trade, affirm, That that same Dis-union is the Thing which ruins 'em in the *Levant*; so that if we should compare the present with the former Trade which they drove, we should find it more miserable and pitiful then ever. They add moreover that the *Provençalls* have formerly had in *Turkie* those fortunate Chances and Luckie Opportunities, that it is highly to be wonder'd, that they did not fill their Country with Wealth in that happy Conjunction. One of those Lucky Seasons began about the Year 1656, and lasted Thirteen Years, during which time they drove a Trade, by which they gain'd Four-score and Ninety *per. Cent.*

This Trade which was really and truly a great piece of Knavery consisted in these *Five-Sous-Pieces* that have made such a Noise. For the Turks took the first that were brought at Ten Sous apiece: At which rate they held up for some time; tho afterwards they fell to Seven *Sous* and a half. There was no other Money Stirring: All *Turkie* was full of it; neither was there any other Money to be had; for that the French carri'd all the other Money away. This good Fortune so intoxicated their Senses, that not content with such great Gains, they still thirsted after more; and to that purpose they set themselves to alter their own pieces of *Five Sous*, and made others of the same sort, but of base Mettle, which they Coin'd first at *Dombes*, then at *Orange*, and afterwards at *Avignon*. More then this, they Stamp'd far worse at *Monaco* and *Florence*: And lastly they made more of the same Stamp in the remote Castles belonging to the State of *Genoa*, and other private places, which were only Copper plated over. The Merchants of *Marseilles*, to utter this Money, brought down the price themselves, and put off their Pieces in payment, and to the Money-Changers at a lower Rate then the Current Value. The Turks were a long time before they perceiv'd the Cheat

Cheat that was put upon 'em, though so palpable and of so great a Consequence ; but so soon as they found it out, they were so incens'd, that they laid most heavy Impositions upon the *French*, using 'em no better then Counterfeiters of Money, though the *Dutch* and *Genoeses* had a hand in it as well as they. Thereupon they forbid 'em to utter any of those Pieces which they call'd *Timmins*, but such as were stamp'd with the real Arms of *France*, which they also brought down and put at Five *Sous* apiece. So that all the *European* Merchants, except the *English*, were loaded at that time with great Quantities of those *Timmins*. Their Warehouses were full, whole Ships Loadings of 'em arriv'd daily, and they began to Coin 'em in all parts. But soon after, this Money being cry'd down, several of those Money-Merchants lost all their Gains, and many much more then ever they got.

The *English* were the Procurers of this Decry. For had that Money continu'd Currant, their Trade had been ruin'd, which consisted chiefly in the purchase of Silks. And the reason was, because the *Timmin*-Merchants caus'd an advance to be made upon the price of Silks, not caring what they gave, provided the Sellers would take their Pieces of Five *Sous* in payment. I have seen above Fifty several sorts of Coins of this sort of Money. But the most common sort carri'd on the one side a Womans Head with this *Motto*, *Vera Virtutis Imago* : On the other, the Arms of *France*, with this Imprese, *Currens per totam Asiam*.

There are no People in the World that have been more frequently cheated, or that are more easily gull'd then the *Turks* ; as being naturally very dull, and thick-skull'd, and apt to believe any fair Story : Which is the reason that the Christians have impos'd a Thousand Cony-catching-Tricks, and Cheats upon 'em. But though you may deceive 'em once or twice, yet when their Eyes are op'n, they strike home, and pay ye once for all. And those sort of Impositions which they lay upon Offenders in that Nature, are call'd *Avanies* ; which are not always unjust Impositions neither ; they being like the Confiscations so frequent in Custom-Houses : Where for the most part the Chief Ministers and their Officers devour the People, while the *Port* winks at all the first time, and only exhorts to Amendment. If the Complaints cease, the Offence is stifi'd ; but if the Clamour grow too loud, the *Port* sends to take off the Head of the Party accus'd, and Confiscates his Estate. By which means the People are satisfi'd, the Treas-

fury is fill'd, Justice is done, and the Example remains to terrifie others.

The Merchants of *Marseilles* affirm, That the Imposition of these Fines was the main thing that spoil'd the Trade of the *French* in the *Levant*, as having cost 'em such prodigious Sums. But of all the Impositions that ever I heard of, there is one which I shall never forget, that was laid upon the *French* Merchants, at the time that *M. de Séfý* was the Ambassador of *France* at the *Port*, which happen'd thus.

His Excellency had a great desire to turn one of the *Grand Signior's* Farmers, and to Farm the Customs of *Constantinople* and *Smyrna*. But at the end of Six Months, *M. de Séfý* finding himself a Hundred Thousand *Franks* in Arrear, requested to be discharg'd: which was a favour granted him on condition he would pay what he ow'd. But in regard he wanted Money, the *Turks* oblig'd the *French* Nation to pay for him. Thereupon he told the Merchants, That he had not tak'n upon him to Farm the Customs, but in hopes to advance the Trade of the *French*, and to prevent the Squabbles and Differences which daily arose between the *Turks* and Them about the payment of their Duties. To which the Merchants sail'd not to make a fair Apology, and to justifie themselves by solid Reason: but all to no purpose: there was no more to be done, but they must pay down the Hunderd Thousand *Franks*; so that for want of Money of their own, they were reduc'd to that Exigency, as to borrow the Sum of the *Jews* at Five and Twenty *per Cent.* for Six Months. And I am certainly assur'd by persons that were well acquainted with all the passages, that it was so long before the Hunderd Thousand *Franks* were paid, that the Interest amounted to three times as much as the Principal; so that this *Avanie*, or Imposition cost the *French* Nation near an Hunderd and Fifty Thousand Crowns.

Two other Impositions they paid, during the Embassie of *M. de la Haye*, the Son, which amounted to Two Hundred Thousand *Franks*. I have also heard that one of his Predecessors for Fifteen Years together took of every *French* Merchant-Man that came to *Constantinople* Five Hunderd Crowns, to re-imburse himself of a pretended Expence of Six Hundred Crowns for the Advancement of the Trade of the Nation; and when they made it out, that he had repaid himself that Sum a hunderd times over, he made answer, *I will shew ye my Accompts, I take no more then is my due.*

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The *Venetians* maintain a *Consul* at *Smyrna*, as also the *Genoefes*; yet there are few Merchants, Natives in either of those two Republicks, that live there; especially of the *Genoefes*, who have little or nothing to do in the *Levant*. They were only sett'd there at first by reason of the great Trade which they drove in *Five-Sous-Pieces*, in regard of the great profit which they gain'd. So that as soon as that Trade was prohibited, their principal Merchants retir'd: Only two or three remain'd at *Smyrna*, and one at *Constantinople*. Thereupon, their *Levant* Company began to dissolve it self, and there is no question but the whole Establishment of the *Genoefes* had utterly gone to ruine, by the recalling their *Resident* from the *Port*, and their *Consul* from *Smyrna*, had they not been better advis'd then to make that Revocation, upon two Considerations. • First, Because the *Turks* never suffer Nations that are sett'd among 'em to retire for good and all. Secondly, because such an entire abandoning the Country, would have too manifestly discover'd the beggerly Reason that sway'd the Republick in an Enterprize that had cost 'em so dear, and which had given *France* an Occasion to shew how highly she was displeas'd at their Conduct. For the better understanding of which Transaction, the Reader perhaps may not think his time ill spent in viewing three or four Pages.

In the first place therefore give me leave to observe, That the *Genoefes* were formerly very powerful in the *Levant*, as being the Lords and Masters of several Islands in the *Archipelago*, of several Places upon the Coast of the *Grecian*, and several Cities upon the *Black-Sea*. *Pera* also, now the Suburbs of *Constantinople*, was under their Jurisdiction. Upon which there is no need for me to dilate, in regard the Stories of past Ages have giv'n a sufficient Account, how and at what time they lost all this fair Extent of Dominion. But the War in *Candy*, which happen'd in the Year 1645. encourag'd 'em to revive their Commerce in the Territories of the *Grand Signior*; imagining they should make themselves Masters of that Trade which the *Venetians* drove there before the War. And to the end they might bring about this Design with more speed and security, they apply'd themselves to the King of *France* for his Recommendation, as being the most Antient, and most Considerable Allie of the *Ottoman* Empire. Which was easily condescended to by the King's Council, who had Affairs in their Heads of greater Importance then Trade.

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In so much that they did not foresee the great Damages which it would bring upon the French Nation ; of which the most considerable was the prejudice done to the Articles of the Treaty between the Crown of *France* and the *Port*, being a kind of Annihilation of one of the Principal Capitulations, wherein it was concluded, *That all European Nations, that should desire to settle in the Levant, should not be permitted to Trade, but under the Banners and Protection of France.* However the *Genoeses* being thus recommended by the King, *M. de la Haye*, the Father, then the French Ambassador in *Turkie*, us'd the utmost of his endeavours to assist 'em. Nevertheless it came to nothing, because, as they say, it was not prosecuted with that vigor as it ought to have been.

In the Year 1664. they were very fierce upon it again, encourag'd by the great Profit which was got by Pieces of *Five-Sous*. But they could not then expect that the French should sollicite in their behalf as they had done before, because the Face of Affairs was alter'd, as well in respect of Traffick in General, as of the *Levant Trade* in particular; rather they saw that their Enterprize would be displeasing to *France*: However they believ'd, that the King of *France* had so embroil'd himself with the *Turk*, by the Assistance which he had giv'n the *Venetians* and the *Emperor*, that they did not think his Opposition or his Recommendation would stand 'em in any stead. Thereupon they sought the Assistance of *England* and the *Empire*, and as for *France*, they satisfi'd themselves with giving the King a bare Information of their design. Their Resident inform'd the King that there was a *Levant Company* setting up at *Genoa*, and that the *Republick* had a design to send an Ambassador to the *Port*, in hopes that his Majesty would favour their Negotiation. But the King said no more, then only that he wish'd the *Republick* all good success.

Which Answer increasing the Suspicions that the *Genoeses* had already conceiv'd, and putting 'em into a deep doubt what Reception they should meet with at *Constantinople*, they sent *Incognito* the *Marquiss of Durazzo*, as a Person that had the chiefest Interest in the Company, to sift out the Truth, and to treat privately with the *Vizier*; to which purpose he went with Count *Lesley*, the *Emperors* Extraordinary Ambassador, as one of his Train. In short, he saw the *Vizier*, and treated with him, and by the Mediation of the said Ambassador, and the Ambassador of *England*, who were very active in forwarding the Negotiation, obtain'd that the *Genoeses* should have the

same Articles with the *English* and *Hollanders*. Upon which, the Envoy, having the *Grand Vizier's* word in the Name of his Highness, return'd to *Genoa*, and gave an Account of his Negotiation with the *Divan*. Presently thereupon the *Genoefes* fitted out two Ships, and sent the same *Marquiss* of *Durazzo* again in Quality of an Ambassador.

However the first Conferences which the *Marquiss* had with the *Vizier* were not so secretly carried, but that the *French* in the *Levant* had private Intelligence of the *Marquiss's* Proceedings. Immediately they were much troubl'd at this Design of the *Genoefes*, fearing it would be a great prejudice to their Trade; which was the reason that they wrote into *France*, that their Trade would be much impair'd, if the *Genoefes* came to be sett'd in *Turkie*; and therefore that all means were to be us'd to prevent 'em. Which Address procur'd a Resolution to hinder 'em, and Instructions to that purpose were sent to the *French* Ambassador at the *Port*, who was then *M. de la Haye*, the Son.

No sooner therefore was he come back from *Adrianople*, where he had been about other Affairs, but he receiv'd Orders to oppose the Establishment of the *Genoefes*. Which made him send back immediately for leave to return. For in *Turkie* no Ambassador must appear at Court without Permission. But it happen'd that the *Grand Vizier* was not then in Town, being gone toward *Theffaly*, to hasten the Siege of *Candy*. And as for the *Caimacan*, who is as it were his Deputy, He, having private Intelligence of the new Instructions which the Ambassador had receiv'd from *France*, made answer, That he could not grant the Ambassador leave, without the *Grand Vizier's* consent.

This the Ambassador look'd upon as a flat Refusal; and therefore sent a Gentleman to *Adrianople* with Instructions, to represent to the *Chief Ministers*, That by the Capitulations between the *Emperor* of *France* and the *Grand Signior*, the *Port* was oblig'd not to entertain any *European* Nation, new Comers, but under the Colours of *France*; and so it was contrary to the Capitulations to Treat with the *Genoefes*; for which reason if they did proceed to a Conclusion of the Treaty, He would be gone. Which Message, together with so much of his Instructions as he thought requisite, were sent to the *Grand Vizier*, and debated in the place where he lay. But the Answer which the *Vizier* return'd, was very harsh and uncivil. Which was not to be wonder'd at in regard the *Vizier*

was at that time highly incens'd for the Affront which he had receiv'd in *Hungary*, by means of the *French*. His Reply therefore was, 'That the *Port* was open for him as well to 'go, as to come: That the Emperor of *France* had nothing to 'do to hinder the *Grand Signior* from making a Peace with his 'Antient Enemies, or to grant 'em their Capitulations when 'they came to demand 'em: and that it might suffice his Majesty to be acknowledg'd at the *Port* under the Titles of Emperor and Chief Monarch of *Christ'ndom*, without taking upon him to prescribe to others what they were to do.

The Ambassador of *Genoa* arriv'd at *Constantinople* at the same time that these Endeavours were us'd to prevent his Reception. Which was to him however no surprize, in regard he had already had Intelligence while he was at Sea, that some such thing was in Agitation. Besides, he had Advice, that the Resident of *Genoa* in *France*, having made known to the King, that his Masters had sent the Marquis of *Durazzo* in the Quality of an Ambassador to *Constantinople*, the King should return this Answer; *I wish the Ambassador of the Republick a good Voyage, but I know not what our Own has done at the Port upon this Occasion.* I have seen several People who were of Opinion, that if the *Grand Vizier* had not had a particular Peek against the *French*, and some kind of aversion to the Ambassador's Person, that the *Genoeses* had not been receiv'd into the *Levant*. For that the *Port* had no such high value for an Interest of Trade, to grant a favour to the prejudice of *France*, from which their Hands were so speciously ty'd with a fair pretence.

After I had staid twelve days at *Smyrna*, I embark'd for *Constantinople*, where I arriv'd the Ninth of *March*, and Landed without any trouble, any danger, or any expence a very great Quantity of Rich Goods, which I brought along with me, being more then two Horses could carry. For *M. de Nointel* did me that favour as to give me leave to put his Name and the *Flower de Lices* upon my Chests, and then sent for 'em as belonging to himself. Which was done with the greatest ease in the World. For he presently sent his Interpreter to the Officer of the *Custom-House*, to let him know that he had two Chests aboard a *Flemish* Vessel that arriv'd the day before, which belong'd to him; and therefore desir'd they might be deliver'd Custom-free. Accordingly the Officer gave such Order, that the Interpreter went aboard the Dutch Vessel, unladed the two Chests, and sent 'em to the Ambassador's House, who

who did me Kindnesses to send 'em to my Lodging the next day.

For all Ambassadors, Residents, and Envoys that reside at the Port, have the Priviledge to Import and Export whatever they please; provided they undertake to own the Goods as belonging to themselves; nor does the Officer of the Customs dare to take any Cognisance of it. Which is a Civility and Generosity of the *Turks* not to be parallell'd in *Europe*.

When I arriv'd at *Constantinople*, *M. de Nointel* was preparing to attend the *Grand Signior* at *Adrianople*, in order to the Renovation of the Articles. It was an Affair of great Importance, and which had made a great Noise in the World, as having hung in suspense for Seven Years together, and for that the *Turks* still stood upon their Terms and haughtily slighted the Ambassador notwithstanding that they were then entring into a doubtfull War against *Poland*. And now I shall give ye an accompt of the Original of the Differences that were at that time grown to a great Height between *France* and *Turkie*.

At the beginning of the Raign of *Mahomet* the IV. the present Emperor of the *Turks*, who ascended the Imperial Throne at Seven Years of Age, in the Year 1648. the Government was solely in the Hands of Women and Eunuchs, who fill'd all the Chief Places of Honour and Trust with such Persons as they pleas'd themselves. And the *Turks* acknowledge, that the *Ottoman Court* was never so corrupt, nor in such a strange Confusion as at that Time. You should see almost every Month a new *Grand Vizier*, who after he had been some few days in his Office, was not only discharg'd from his High Imployment, but many times depriv'd of his Life. Now it is the Custom in *Turkie*, that upon the Advancement of any *Grand Vizier*, all Persons of Quality go to kiss his Hands, and carry him some considerable Present. More particularly all Ambassadors are oblig'd to that Ceremony. But *M. de la Haye* the Father, then Ambassador of *France* at the Port, observing the frequent Changes of *Grand Viziers* at that time, concluded that there would be no Reformation of this evil Management during the Emperor's Minority, and that all his Visits and Presents to the *New Vizier*, were but so many Visits and Presents lost. So that he resolv'd to sit still Quietly, and to spare his Compliments and the charge of his Presents.

It happen'd in a short while after, that *Cuperly Mahomet Pacha*, receiv'd the Seals of the Empire, that is to say, was advanc'd

advanc'd to the High Dignity of *Prime Vizier*. But the Ambassador still believ'd that his Fortune would be no better then that of his Predecessors, and that he had but a very short Raign; but he was deciev'd; for it so fell out, that this *Grand Vizier* upheld himself in his Office, till his Death, which happen'd in the Year 1662.

So soon as he was advanc'd, every one pay'd him their Visits, and made him their accustom'd Presents, and among the Rest all the Forraign Ministers, except the French Ambassador. To which as they say, he was adviz'd and several times most earnestly press'd; but his good Husbandry for the Nation was such, that he would not be over-ru'd. However at length percieving that *Cuperly* fix'd himself at Court upon the Ruine of several of the *Grandeess*, and that according to all outward Appearances he was like to continue *Grand Vizier*, at length he made him both his Visit and his Presents.

But then the *Vizier*, hainously offended at his Remissness, and the little value he had testifi'd for his Person before, had laid a design to be reveng'd not only upon him, but upon all the *French Nation*. And this in truth was the Source and Original of that Misunderstanding between *France* and *Turkie*, as well during that whole time the *Grand Vizier* liv'd, which was Twelve Years, as also during the Prime Ministry of his Son that succeeded him. So that the severity of the *Port* toward the Three last Ambassadors of *France*, *M. de la Haye*, the Father, *M. de la Haye*, the Son, and *Monsieur Nointel*, and the several Impositions that were laid upon the *French*, for Twenty Years together, are to be Originally attributed to a particular and Personal Enmity, notwithstanding all the Reasons afterwards pretended, of which the Principal and justest were the Enterprize of *Gigery*, and the Succors giv'n to the *Emperor* and the *Venetians*.

Nor was the *Vizier* long before he found an Opportunity to Thunder forth his Resentments. Such a one, as he could not have wish'd for a better to advance his mischievous Design. For then was the War very hot in *Candy*, and *France* had secretly assisted the *Venetians* at the beginning of the War. Nay more, it is said, that *M. de la Haye* had Instructions to hold a private Correspondence with the *Venetians*, and to give 'em Intelligence of the Turkish Designs. Now it happen'd in the Year 1659. that a French-Man, who went by the Name of *Vertamont*, and who had a very considerable Employment in the *Venetian Army*, desir'd leave of the *Captain General*, to go and see

see *Constantinople*. Presently the *General* gave him a Pass, and charg'd him with a great Packet of Letters for the *French Ambassador*. But the *French Man*, who had no other design then to turn *Turk*, apply'd himself to the *Caimacan* of *Constantinople*, and told him, That he had quitted the Camp of the Christians, as being resolv'd to abjure their Religion, and embrace *Mahumatism*; and more, that he had a Packet of great Importance to deliver into the Hands of the *Grand Vizier*. Upon which the *Caimacan* order'd him forthwith to be convey'd to *Adrianople*, where the Court then lay. Nor was this perfidious *Renegade*, contented only to renounce his Faith, but discover'd to the *Grand Vizier* the secret Correspondence between the Ambassador of *France* and the *Venetians*; and farther told him, That the Packet of Letters which he had deliver'd into his Hands would convince him clearly of the Truth of what he said.

The *Grand Vizier* had a jealousy of this secret Correspondence before, but being now in a manner assur'd in his suspicions through the Discoveries of the *Renegade*, it may be readily conjectur'd to what a degree his passion transported him against the Ambassador of *France*, incens'd as he was already, and boiling with revenge, especially being naturally inhuman and bloody. However at this time he put a curb upon himself, and shew'd more reserv'dness and moderation then could be expected from him.

M. de la Haye, who well understood *Vertamont's* Design, and what his Errand was to the Court, and besides was well acquainted with the *Grand Vizier's* Disposition, his Implacability, and the Importance of the Affair, made no question but the Intercepted Packet would put him to a great deal of trouble; and therefore he consulted with his Interpreters and his Secretaries. Immediately the Secretary for his Ciphers took such a fright at the Unfortunate Accident, that he resolv'd to march off, well knowing that the *Grand Vizier*, upon the like occasion of a Letter in Ciphers Intercepted, had caus'd an Interpreter to the *Venetians* to be Drubb'd to Death. Thereupon, addressing himself to *M. de la Haye*, Sir, said he, *I am naturally so very timorous, that so soon as I feel the Drubbing-Stick, there is no secret which I shall not reveal; and therefore secure me, or let me make my escape.* Upon which the Ambassador order'd him to be convey'd into a private Concealment, and prepar'd to abide the Shock, whatever happen'd. He then kept his Bed, very ill of the Stone, so that he could

not go to *Adrianople*, though he had receiv'd Orders to appear there. However he sent a Message to the *Caimacan* who sent him the Order, to tell him, That he was sick a Bed, so that it was impossible for him to Travel; nevertheless he would send his Son in his stead.

But so it happen'd, that all the Letters which the *Grand Vizier* met with in the *Venetian General's* Packet, were writ in Ciphers; so that all the Renegado's and Interpreters in the *Ottoman* Court were sent for in vain; for there was not one that had a Key to the Lock: which enrag'd the *Vizier* so much the more. And as for *M. de la Haye* the Son, he found him in such an ill Humour, at his coming to *Adrianople*, that upon his returning him an Answer, somewhat more boldly perhaps than the Circumstance would bear, *Cuperly* transported with passion, not only caus'd him to be abus'd in his Person, but sent him Prisoner to a Tower adjoining to the Wall of the City; saying withal, *That he was not to endure that from an Ambassador's Deputy, though his Son, which he might bear with in the Ambassador himself.* However, the *Vizier* did no harm either to the Merchants or the Interpreters, that went along with *M. de la Haye*: nor to the Secretary or Chancellor; being all discharg'd at the expence of that fear, into which he had put 'em at first, by Threats and cruel Menaces of Torment and Death if they did not Decipher the General's Letters. Only one of the Interpreters fell into such a Distemper upon it, that he has continu'd sick every since, and 'tis thought he will never recover.

The *Ottoman* Court was then at *Adrianople*, as I have said, making great Preparations for the *Transylvanian* War. So that *M. de la Haye* the Father, understanding the *Grand Vizier* was ready to march, and fearing his departure before he had enlarg'd his Son, as it really fell out, strove with his Distemper, and took a Journey to *Adrianople*; to which his Daughter-in-Law perswaded him, urging him continually, That if he did not speedily labour the Discharge of his Son, he might be in danger of his Life; and that the *Vizier* was cruel and incens'd; and therefore he ought to use his utmost Endeavours to pacifie his Fury.

A Month after the *Vizier's* departure, the Ambassador ventur'd upon a bold Exploit, that deserves to be remember'd.

A little before *Vertamont's* coming to *Constantinople*, there arriv'd in the same place a certain *French* Man, whose Name was *Quiclet*, together with his Wife, and another *French* Man

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whose

whose Name was *Poulet*, so enamour'd of *Quiclet's* Wife, that he never forsook her in all her Rambles. This *Quiclet* was a great Interpreter of Ciphers, a Man of Learning, but of little Judgment. He had also been employ'd to Decipher Characters by several Ministers of State, and divers Ambassadors. But he was so much a Beggar, that he could not well be poorer than he was; nor do I know what unlucky Star brought him to *Constantinople*. It is reported however, that he having heard of the great Rewards which the *Grand Vizier* promis'd to any one that could Uncipher the *Captain General's* Letters, the Wife of this wretched Fellow addressing her self to some Gentlemen that belong'd to *Monsieur de la Haye*, gave it out, *That though his Excellency refus'd to lend her Husband Money, yet if he would himself, he could have what he pleas'd of the Grand Vizier.* I am not certain whether it were really so, as the Thing was related to me: but however it were, *Monsieur de la Haye*, who well knew the great desire which *Cuperly* had to understand what was contain'd in the Intercepted Letters, and fearing lest they should reveal some Things as well to his own, as to the Ruine of all the *French* in the *Levant*, he sent for the Fellow, carry'd him up to the Terrace of his Palace that lookt into the Garden; and after he had walk'd two or three Turns, holding him in a discourse, which what it was, nobody knows, he gave a sign to some persons plac'd there for the purpose, who threw him headlong over the Battlements, at what time another Gang, posted near the place where he fell, perceiving he was not dead with the Fall, finish'd the Work, and bur'd him privately.

After this, the *French* Ambassador having Audience of the *Grand Vizier*, he sent for the Intercepted Letters, and desir'd the Ambassador to explain 'em. To which *Monsieur le Haye* made Answer, That it was well known to all the World, that the Ambassadors and Ministers of the *Christian Princes*, never wrote one to another unless it were in Characters, whatever the Subject were; nevertheless they did not understand the Characters themselves; as having their Secretaries who compos'd and writ the Ciphers, and then explain'd them when they had done: That as for the Person by him employ'd for that purpose, he had sent him back into *France*, about six Months ago. Yet if the *Grand Vizier* would permit him to carry the Letters home, he would try to Uncipher 'em, and if it could be done, he would be sure to let him know the Contents. But the *Grand Vizier* having heard this Answer, only smil'd upon

upon the Ambassador, and so presently rose from his Seat, without speaking so much as one word. Some few days after the Chief Minister departed for *Transylvania*, leaving *Monsieur de la Haye*, the Son, in Prison, but not so closely restrain'd as before, and *Monsieur de la Haye*, the Father, without any manner of Answer.

The *Grand Signior* did not go in Person to the *Transylvanian* War, but remain'd at *Adrianople*, where the Ambassador also tarry'd, in hopes to obtain of his Highness his Son's Enlargement; but no body durst open their Mouths to the Emperor without the *Grand Vizier's* order. Who having put a quick end to the *Transylvanian* Disorder return'd Victorious to *Constantinople*. Where so soon as he arriv'd, he was put in mind of both the *Monsieurs de la Haye*. At which the *Vizier*, feigning a kind of surprise, And what, said he, *Are those Gentlemen still here?* Which was as much as to say, *They might go where they Pleas'd*; as it appear'd by the discharge of the Son, which was order'd forthwith: And so both the one and the other return'd to *Constantinople* without so much as seeing the *Vizier's* Face.

When it was known in *France* how unkindly the *Grand Vizier* had us'd *Monsieur de la Haye*, the Cardinal dispatch'd a Gentleman to the Prime Minister, to prevent the ill Consequences of such Proceedings. Cuperly, whose Malice augmented through desire of revenge, as one that mortally hated the two *Monsieurs de la Haye*, would fain have sent them back, and oblig'd the Gentleman to have tak'n upon him the Title of Ambassador in their Room, engaging to interpose so effectually, that the Alteration should be approv'd in *France*. But the Gentleman would not hear of that Proposition by any means, excusing himself fairly and genteelly. And it is moreover reported that he highly pleas'd the *Grand Vizier's* Humor in all their Transacting together. I am sorry I know not his Name, which would have been an Honour to this Relation.

The Accompt which the Gentleman gave of his Negotiation, caus'd *Monsieur de la Haye* to be recall'd. However there was not any one sent to succeed him; only he had orders to leave in his Place, as Resident, a French Merchant, that had liv'd for several Years in *Constantinople*, whose Name was *Monsieur Rokely*. Nor had *France* any other Minister in those parts till the end of the Year 1665.

The King, who had then tak'n the Government into his own Hands, and Rul'd with no less Renown then Success, had

had already sufficiently reveng'd himself for the Affronts offer'd to the Family of his Ambassador, and for the heavy Fines and Impositions laid upon his Subjects in *Turkie*, by lending powerful Succours to the Enemies of the *Ottoman* Empire. All which did but heighten the bad Understanding which was between the Two Empires, and Things were arriv'd to that Point, that there must either be an absolute Breach, or a New Alliance. The Importance of the *Levant* Trade advis'd the latter; so that the King resolv'd to send an Ambassador to *Constantinople* to renew the Articles of Peace. *Monsieur de la Haye* was then at *Paris*, soliciting for Employment, and several Arrears due to him as Heir to his Father, who had been dead in that City some years before. Now in regard he understood better than any other Person, the Gains and Advantages of a *Constantinopolitan* Embassie, together with the Splendor and Authority that belongs to it, he made great Friends for the Place; and to remove all Opposition and Obstructions in his way, he offer'd to quit all his Arrears to the Chief Minister.

Thereupon, his Friends at Court alledg'd His great Experience in the Affairs of *Turkie*; and that his Courage and Resolution was such as was requisite for an Embassie to the *Ottoman* Port. On the other side, that it was for the King's Honour to send him thither, were it only to humble the *Grand Vizier*, who must now be constrain'd to honour that very Person, whom his Father had abus'd and hated; Meaning *Cuperly Mahamed Pacha*, who dy'd in the Year 1662. after he had setl'd his Son in his Room. Nor can I tell how this Counsel, as bad as it was, came to be embrac'd, unless it were in prosecution of that Design which the Court always had to bring the *Turks* to a Compliance by force. The Event of Affairs will shew that there was something of that Nature in the Management of this Business.

Monsieur de la Haye arriv'd at *Constantinople* in the Month of *November* 1665. He also made a Magnificent Entry, and behav'd himself for five Years together that he continu'd Ambassador, with as much State as could be expected from a Resolute Minister, and one that bore the Character of an Ambassador from a Potent and Formidable Prince. He discours'd of nothing in the Visits that he made to the Ministers of the *Divan* but of the Grandeur of the King his Master, and the Invincible Strength of his Armies. This offended the *Vizier* extreamly, who lookt upon it as an Affront done to him, and the

the *Grand Signior*, even in his own Court; and this Forefallment of his Honour, caus'd him to treat the Ambassador with disdain and contempt. So that when he gave him Audience, he receiv'd him with that pride and scorn which was unsufferable, not vouchsafing so much as to look upon him, or to rise from his Seat according to the ancient Custom, and the usual practice at the Reception of Ambassadors either from the Emperor or any other Crowned Heads. And not content with that, he upbraided him in bitter Language, with the Succours which *France* had sent into *Hungary* and *Candy*, and the Enterprize of *Gigery*. *Monsieur de la Haye* dissembl'd his Resentment, believing that when he took his leave, the *Vizier* would shew him more Civility: but he was deceiv'd; for the *Vizier* dismiss'd him with the same Indifferency, wherewith he had receiv'd him.

The Ambassador reflecting upon the Affront, which the *Vizier* had done him at that Audience, sent to him to demand another, upon Condition that he should receive him standing, and forbear any farther Reproaches. The *Raisquitab*, who is the High-Chancellor of the Empire, and the *Vizier's Kiaia*, or Chief Controller of his Household, answer'd the Interpreter, That he might assure his Master, the *Vizier* would receive him, as became him. Thereupon, the Ambassador relying upon a promise, that indeed carry'd with it a manifest Equivocation, went to his Audience, but his Reception was nothing different from what it was before. Which disgusted *Monsieur de la Haye* to that degree, that he told the *Vizier*, That the Emperor of *France* having sent him to the *Port*, to Confirm the League of Amity between the two Princes, he would not take the Audience which he had giv'n him for an Audience, because he had not paid him those Honours which were due to the Ambassador of the Greatest and most Potent Monarch in *Christendom*. Moreover he declar'd, That he had Order to give him up the Articles of Peace, and return into *France* in the same Vessel that had brought him, if he did not treat him answerably to the Grandeur of his Master. Which so incens'd the *Vizier*, that he fell into a passion, and vented his Choler in reviling and reproachful terms. On the other side, the Ambassador was so highly provok'd, that snatching the Articles of Peace out of the Interpreters Hands, he threw 'em at the Knees of the Haughty Minister, and rising from his Seat, flung out of the Room without speaking a word, or vouchsafing to tarry for an Answer. But he was stopp'd at the Door
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of the Anti-Chamber ; at what time the *Vizier* sent for the *Mufti*, *Vani Effendi* the *Grand Signior's* Tutor, and the Captain *Basba*, to deliberate what was to be done in an Accident of such Importance as this. The Result was, That they should inform the *Grand Signior*, who was then gone a Hunting Twenty Leagues from *Constantinople* ; which was the Reason that the Answer was delay'd for three days, during all which time, *Monsieur de la Haye* lay under Confinement in an Apartment of the *Grand Signior's* Palace.

In the mean while the Captain *Basba* brought a Message in the *Vizier's* Name, That if the Ambassador would Kiss his Garment, he would receive him as he had receiv'd Count *Lesley*, Ambassador from his Imperial Majesty ; that he would also receive him standing, and pay him all those Honours which he had paid to that Count. To which the Ambassador answer'd, That he was not to be govern'd by Presidents of any Person, when they were prejudicial to the Honour of the Emperor of France. The Captain *Basba* demanded what he could object against the Example of Count *Lesley*, whose Master was the Emperor of Seven Kings ? a Title which the Emperor assumes among the *Turks*, as being Elected by Seven Electors. At length, after many Disputes on both sides, and that the *Grand Signior* had given his Answer, it was concluded between the *Vizier* and the Ambassador, That he might return to his Lodging when he pleas'd, that the two Audiences which he had receiv'd should stand for nothing, and that he would grant him another with all the Customary Civilities and Ceremonies.

This Audience was giv'n him in the Month of January 1666. At what time, the *Grand Vizier*, because he would not be oblig'd to rise when the Ambassador was introduc'd, order'd him to be brought into a particular Room of State, whither he came to meet him. At his first Entrance he demean'd himself with an extraordinary Civility, approaching the Ambassador with a smiling Countenance, and reaching forth his Hand. On the other side, *Monsieur de la Haye*, who was glad to see such a Compliance, answer'd his Civilities and Compliments with all suitable Decency, as if he had never seen him before ; and the Audience ended with all the Courtesie and Decorum that could be expected on both sides : The Ambassador and his Retinue being Treated with Perfumes, Coffee, Sorbet, and Four and Twenty Turkish Vests. The next Month he had Audience of his Highness, where every thing was manag'd

nag'd according to the usual Custom, with all Civility; it not being proper to discourse of Business to the *Grand Signior*.

Monsieur de la Haye had Orders to demand the renewing the former Articles of Peace, and Liberty of Trading to the *East-Indies* through the *Red-Sea*. But the *Grand Vizier* would not consent either to the one or the other, upon the Conditions that were propounded: and in *March* he left *Constantinople*, and attended the *Grand Signior* to *Adrianople*, from whence he departed for *Candy*. At the same time also *Monsieur de la Haye* follow'd the Court to *Adrianople*, where he had several Conferences with the *Caimacan* in reference to his Negotiation; but in regard that Minister durst not conclude any thing without consulting the *Vizier*, *Monsieur de la Haye* return'd to *Constantinople*, having made no farther progress in his Business.

Soon after happen'd the Treaty of *Genoa*, already spok'n of, which put the whole Affair into an absolute Confusion, and exasperated both Parties. For on the one side, the *Genoefes* were entertain'd notwithstanding the Protestations and Threats of the Ambassador, and on the other side, the Ambassador, in his Complaints and Protests, made use of Expressions that offended the Turkish Ministers. They had written to him, as I have already related, *That it was not for the King his Master to oppose the Reception of any whoever they were, whom the Grand Signior was pleas'd to favour with his Friendship; and that it was sufficient for his Master to be acknowledg'd at the Ottoman Court, for the first Prince in Christendom.* To which *Monsieur de la Haye* made Answer, *That as for what concern'd his High Titles, the Emperor of France was only beholding to God and his Victorious Arms.* Which was tak'n very ill, as being the same Titles which the *Grand Signior* assumes to himself, and which the *Turks* believe to be only due to his Highness. And therefore the Ministers signifi'd to *Monsieur de la Haye*, *That never any Ambassador had made use of those Titles before; neither was it a Thing which had been ever allow'd by the Divan, to any other Person whatsoever.* In the mean time the *French* sent very considerable Succours to *Candy*, which much retarded the Conquest of the Island, while the *Turks* on the other side oppress'd the *French* Merchants with new Impositions and Extortions. In so much that their Complaints, which grew louder and louder every day, oblig'd the King to send express Order to *Monsieur de la Haye*, to re-

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turn to *France*, and lay aside all thoughts of renewing the League, at least if it were not a Thing first sought and desir'd by the Ministers of the *Port*. Which Orders were deliver'd to him toward the end of the Year 1668. not a little to his dissatisfaction. However he did not forbear to Visit the *Caimacan* at *Constantinople*, telling him that he had receiv'd Orders from the King his Master to return home; to which purpose he expected the Arrival of the Vessels which his Majesty had sent, and his leave of the *Port*, in order to his Departure; requesting him withal to write to the Court, that he might be sent for withal Expedition.

The Court was then at *Larissa* in *Thessaly*, whither his Highness was gone, to the end that being somewhat the nearer to *Candy*, he might be a means to hasten the Conquest. And therefore, before the *Caimacan*, who is as it were the *Grand Vizier's* Lieutenant, would write, he demanded of *Monsieur de la Haye*, Whether any other Ambassador came in his Room? To which he answer'd, *Not any*; but that the Emperor his Master had commanded him to leave a *Secretary* or a *French Merchant* for his Resident, like the Representatives of the *Hollanders* and *Genoeses*. The *Caimacan* ask'd him, Wherefore no Ambassador was sent? To which the other reply'd, *That it was not a Thing which he could declare in publick*. By which Answer the *Caimacan* apprehending that he had something of secrecie to impart to him, gave him a private Audience. And then it was that the Ambassador discover'd to him, the reasons which oblig'd the Emperor of *France* to recal him, with a Resolution never to send any more Ambassadors to the *Ottoman Port*. First, for that the Dignity of the Ambassador of *France* had not been regarded nor respected as it ought to be. That no heed had been given neither to the Complaints nor Requests which his Majesty had made for three Years together. That they refus'd to renew the Capitulations of Peace, which was an unsufferable Damage to the *French Merchants*, who were constrain'd to pay Five i'the Hundred Customs, whereas the *English*, *Hollanders* and *Genoeses* paid not above Three per Cent. That they had entertain'd the latter in *Turkie*, contrary to all his Remonstrances and Protests, and had forc'd the *French* to pay within less then three Years, above Two Hundred Thousand *Livres*, for unjust and oppressive Impositions. To which *Monsieur de la Haye* farther added, That if these Grievances might be taken into Consideration, so that the Emperor his Master might be assur'd of Redress, he did not

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question but that his Majesty would rest satisfi'd and not recal him. Upon this the *Caimacan* made answer, That he would write to the *Caimacan* of the *Port*, who is also another of the *Vizier's* Lieutenants, and one who never stirs from the Person of the *Grand Signior*; and also that his *Excellency* would do well to write himself, which would add the greater weight, and give the quicker dispatch to the Affair. Nevertheless all the Answer which the *Caimacan* of the *Port* sent to *Monsieur de la Haye*, was only this, That he would give an Accompt to the *Grand Vizier* of what he had writ, and that he should know his Answer with the first Opportunity.

While the Ambassador tarry'd for this Answer, Four of the Kings Men of War arriv'd in the Haven of *Constantinople*, being sent to bring back the Ambassador. And this Squadron struck no small fear into the *Turks* at first; but finding that *Monsieur d'Almeras*, who was the Commander, had sent to the City, so soon as he came to an Anchor, for Fifteen Hundred Weight of Bisket, and that with no small Importunity too, they began to flight him under the want of Provision, and reduc'd to such a Condition that he could not subsist, if they should refuse to supply him.

In *March 1669*. *Monsieur de la Haye* receiv'd the *Grand Vizier's* Answer, containing a Permission to come to the Court; where he arriv'd in the Month of *April*. And here I shall pass over the Motives and Design of this Journey, not but that I sufficiently know what was discours'd at *Constantinople*; but because those Discourses were different from what *Monsieur de la Haye* sets down in the Relation which he gave the King at his Return to *Paris*; from whence I took the chiefest part of this Recital: and where he declares that he had no other end but to take his leave. Nor shall I say any thing for the same Reason, of what he did at the *Ottoman Court*, from whence he wrote to Admiral *d'Almeras*, who then lay at *Constantinople* with his Four Men of War to come and take aboard him at *Vola*, in the Golph of *Salonica*, a Turkish Ambassador, which the *Grand Signior* was sending into *France*.

This Turk was nam'd *Soliman*, being then *Muttifar Aga*, or the *Grand Signior's* Porter. And when he was sent to the French King, he was a Fellow that serv'd for Fifteen *Aspers*, or about Six-pence a day. He arriv'd in *France* toward the end of the Year 1669. and departed thence the next Year in the Month of *August*. All *Paris* had a sight of him, and they that were acquainted with him, knew him to be as haughty,

as brutish, and as crafty a *Turk* as ever was in the World. The *Provençalls* that were in the *Levant* call'd him *Monsieur de la Haye's* Ambassador, and took the Liberty to affirm that *Monsieur de la Haye* turnish'd him with Money for his Equipage. And they grounded their Assertion upon this, That *Soliman's* Equipage was far short of the Magnificence of the Turkish Ambassadors. And *Monsieur de la Haye*, when he was jeer'd for *Soliman's* Rigging, had no other way to justify himself, but by saying, That *Soliman* had not time to make better Provision for himself. Others would put it closer upon him, That the Title of *AMBASSADOR* was not to be found in *Soliman's* Credentials. But for that he had another shift, That while *Soliman* lay at *Cale Saint Nicolas* near *Cerigo*, expecting the Admiral's arrival to take him aboard, the *Grand Vizier*, secure of taking *Candy*, and finding no farther necessity to keep fair with *France*, or dread their Assistance, alter'd all *Soliman's* Titles, Instructions and Dispatches; recalling the first, and sending him others: But that it was most certain, that the Name and Title of *Soliman Aga* were bestow'd upon him in the Quality of an Ambassador; of which there needed no farther proof then this, That the Great Turk gave him the Scimitar and Vestment which he gives to his Ambassadors, and that the Fortrefs of *Napoli* in *Romania* saluted him with several Guns at his entrance into the Haven.

However it were, *Monsieur de la Haye* return'd to *Constantinople* in *July*, and three Months after he receiv'd Order to embark, if he could, aboard the Fleet under the Command of *Monsieur d'Almeras*; but if the *Caimacan* prevented him, that at the same Instant he should lay down the Title of Ambassador, to the end the *Turks* might not have the Opportunity to Glory that they had in their Power an Ambassador of *France* to abuse at their pleasure. But as I said before, the Men of War were gone before this Order arriv'd: so that *Monsieur de la Haye* could not obey the first part of the Order; and as to the second, he excus'd himself, by writing into *France*, That the *Turks* had a great Veneration and Respect for him.

But this excuse not being so thoroughly acceptable at Court, was the Occasion that *Monsieur de la Haye* was peremptorily recall'd. Besides the *Provençals*, were so incens'd against him, that they sent continually into *France*, clamouring that so long as he should be continu'd Ambassador at the Port, the
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League would never be renew'd, neither would the Passage to the *Indies* through the *Red-Sea* be obtain'd; in regard the *Vi-zier* had an old Grudge against his Person. Which Complaints being believ'd, it was resolv'd that *Monsieur de la Haye* should be recall'd, and that *M. de Nointel* should be sent in his stead. Who was a Counsellor of the Parliament of *Paris*, a Person of great Integrity, and so curious that his Curiosity had carry'd him to *Constantinople* before that Time; but he was of too mild a Disposition to negotiate in *Turkie*. Neither were they resolv'd at first to have giv'n him any higher Title then that of *Resident*; till the Importunity of his Friends and of the *Levant* Company, procur'd him that of Ambassador. For the Company judging of what begat Esteem and Reverence among the *Turks*, by the Humours of the *Europeans*, represented to the Chief Ministers of State, that in the transacting matters of such High-Importance, as the renewing of an Advantageous Peace and the obtaining a Free Trade to the *Indies* through the *Red-Sea*, the *Grand Signior* would sooner condescend to the Dignity of an Ambassador, then the more obscure Quality of a Resident.

Monsieur Nointel therefore departed out of *France* in the Month of *August* 1670. together with the Turkish Ambassador, *Soliman Aga*, and arriv'd at *Constantinople* in *October* following; the King allowing him four Men of War for the security of his Passage under the Conduct of *M. d'Aplemont*. By the way I have heard several Persons of great Sagacity and Judgment affirm, that *M. de la Haye* had wrong done him, and that they were deceiv'd who vainly imagin'd that it was either out of disrespect to his Person, or for want of Good Management, that the *Turks* refus'd to renew the League at his Sollicitations. Which the Sequel of Affairs has justifi'd for Truth, plainly demonstrating that the Blame was to be laid upon the Ill timing the Embassy, and the Potent Succors which the King of *France* sent to *Candy* at the very Instant when he had sent his Ambassador to desire considerable Favours and particular Advantages of the *Grand Signior*.

M. Nointel made a Magnificent Entry into *Constantinople*; but the *Turks* were nothing pleas'd with so much Pomp, altogether unseasonable, and no way agreeable to the Circumstances of Time and Business. The *Ottoman* Court was then at *Adrianople*, where *Monsieur de la Haye* with little difficulty obtain'd leave to depart, and to that purpose embark'd himself in the Admiral of the Squadron, Commanded by *M. d'Aplemont*.

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But soon after both the Admiral and the rest of the Squadron were Imbargo'd before the *Castles*, by reason of two Slaves that had made their escapes, as was suppos'd, into the French Ships. There were it seems about an Hunderd in all, who had broke their Chains, of all sorts of Nations; of which Number was the *Chevalier de Beanjen*, who had been a Prisoner in the *Seven Towers*. The *Caimacan* sent to demand the Slaves of *M. Nointel*, and *M. Nointel* went to demand 'em of the Captains of the Men of War, who answer'd, That there were none such in any of their Vessels: and *M. de la Haye* was forc'd to write from the *Dardanel*s to the *Vizier* to attest the same under his own Hand; who seeming to be satisfi'd with his answer, sent an Order to let the Vessels go.

Sometime after the departure of *M. de la Haye*, *M. Nointel* went to *Adrianople*. Where he had all the usual Honours duly paid him; but demanded Audience before he had made known the Subject of his Negotiation at the *Ottoman Port*, which he should have declar'd before-hand. For it is the Law in *Turkie*, That all Ambassadors before they see the Face of the Prime Minister, or of the *Grand Signior*, should signifie the Occasion of their Coming, what their Demands are, and what it is that they have in Commission to Treat about. And the same Law is observ'd over all the *East*. Of which *M. Nointel* was not ignorant. But he found it in his Instructions, That he should Negotiate his Affairs in Person with the *Grand Vizier*, and that he should not disclose the Kings Orders but in a full *Divan*, when he might also speak to the *Grand Signior* himself. Which was therefore so resolv'd upon in the Kings Council, because it was said in *France*, That his Highness knew nothing of the Severities of the *Grand Vizier* toward the *French Nation*; no more then did the *Divan*. That the Haughty Minister refus'd to renew the Treaty of Alliance upon the Kings Conditions, out of a particular hatred which he bore the *French*, and therefore it behov'd him to get himself out of his Clutches, and free himself from any Dependance upon his Absolute Authority. But it is a Failing predominant in all the Courts of *Europe*, that they take false Measures as to the Affairs of *Turkey*: a certain sign that the *Genius* and Politicks of the *Turks* are not as yet rightly understood. However most assuredly these Counsels were ill given, and worse follow'd. For *M. Nointel* did all he could to observe his Orders, sometimes he would disclose nothing at all; then again he was for discovering part of his Commission: but finding

he could not obtain Audience, he was forc'd to unbosom himself, and to send a Memorial of all the Demands which he had to make at the *Ottoman Port*.

This Memorial he gave to the *Vizier's* Interpreter, whose Name was *Panaioti*; a Grecian, and a Man of a piercing Wit, who understood several of the *European* Languages; and among the rest *Latin* and *Italian*, which he writ as well as spoke with great Judgment and Dexterity. He was a Person untaintedly faithful to the *Grand Vizier*, and it appear'd that he was intirely devoted to the Interests of the *Port*, to the prejudice of the Christians. Which firmness of his, whether it proceeded from a dread of the Turkish Severity in the punishment of Treason and Treachery, or the Obligations of his Birth, or the Influences of Turkish Slavery, I will not here dispute; however it be, he bears the Title of *Chief Interpreter*, and *Secretary* of the *Ottoman Empire*. The Commonwealth of *Genoa* also made him a Noble-Man of that City for the good Offices he did their Ambassador the Marquis of *Durazzo*. He was Interpreter to the Emperor of *Germany*, before he serv'd the *Vizier*; who allow'd him a Pension of a Thousand Crowns, which as some say is still privately paid him. And moreover he had the chief Management of the Treaty of Peace between the two Empires, which was not so honourable for *Germany*. He also carry'd on the Treaty of *Candy*, wherein he acted so much to the Satisfaction of the *Grand Vizier*, that at the time of the Ratification he gave him the Revenue of the Island of *Micone* in the *Archipelago*, worth Four Thousand Crowns a Year. I have been the longer in giving an Accompt of this *Panaioti*, because he is a Person so well known to all that have Business at the *Port*: as being the only Man that Treats in the *Vizier's* behalf with all Christians that make their Addresses to him, of what Quality soever, and whatsoever their Business may be.

The Ambassadors Demands were comprehended under Thirty Articles, of which these were the chief.

First, *That the Grand Signior should not entertain within his Dominions any European Nation, except what were already sett'd there, but under the French Banners; and that particularly the Italians, except the Venetians and Genoefes, that should come into Turkey, should be oblig'd to put themselves under the Banner of France, and the Protection of that King's Ambassador.*

This Priviledge was granted by the *Turks* to the *French* in the Capitulations made in the Reign of *Francis* the First, and the *French* enjoy'd em till the beginning of this Age ; at what time by reason of certain Pyrates that Cruis'd upon the Coast of *Egypt* under *French* Colours, the *Port* struck out that Article in a new Agreement then concluded. Afterwards the Article was restor'd, and the same Priviledge granted a second time in these words.

All Nations of Europe, that do not maintain Publick Agents at the Port, nor are in Alliance and Confederacy with the Grand Signior, which shall come into the Levant under French Colours, shall be there receiv'd and entertain'd, and enjoy the same Advantages which the French do. But the Turks refuse to acknowledge these latter Capitulations ; and therefore making use of the former, they alledge moreover, That the words [shall come] are not exclusive ; and therefore though the Port be oblig'd to receive all Strangers that shall come under French Colours, yet they do not debar the Grand Signior to entertain Strangers, if it be his Pleasure, that come under other Colours.

Secondly, *That the French shall not pay above Three in the Hunderd Customs, which is no more then the English, Hollanders, and Genoeses do.*

Thirdly, *That the Grand Signior shall grant Free Liberty to the French to Traffick to the Indies, through his Dominions and Territories, more especially through the Channel of the Red-Sea, without paying any other Duties then those of Entrage.*

Fourthly, *That the Grand Signior shall restore to the Religious Orders of the Roman Catholicks the Holy Land, and the Holy Places from whence they were expell'd by the Greeks in the Year 1638.*

Fifthly, *That the King of France shall be acknowledg'd at the Port, the Sole Protector of the Christians.*

Sixthly, *That all the Roman Catholick Christians that live within the Dominions of the Ottoman Empire, shall be lookt upon and consider'd as under the Protection of his Majesty.*

Seventhly,

Seventhly, *That the French Capuchins, that live at Constantinople, may have Liberty to Rebuild their Church at Galata, which was burnt down about Fifteen Years ago.*

Eighthly, *That all the Churches of the Roman Christians within the Ottoman Empire, may for the future be Repair'd or Rebuilt, as often as need shall require, without being put to the Tronble of asking Leave.*

Ninthly, *That all the French Slaves shall be set at Liberty.*

The other Proposals were of less Importance in particular, only their Number render'd 'em considerable. But the Port look'd upon these Demands to be so extravagant, nay so ridiculous, that the Prime Ministers believ'd, or else pretended to believe, that the King sought only an Occasion to break with his Highness. Thereupon the *Vizier* sent to know of the Ambassador, Whether he had any Letter from the Emperor of *France* directed to the *Grand Signior* or Him, which contain'd those Proposals, set down in the Memorial which he had deliver'd in his Majesties Name. For that he could never think the Emperor of *France* would ever give Order to make such Proposals to the Port, so exorbitant, and so remote from Reason and Justice in his own Name, unless he saw 'em expressly written in any Letter under his Majesties Hand. *M. de Nointel* taking no farther notice of the *Vizier's* Demand, return'd only for answer, That he had Letters of Credence from his Master for the *Grand Signior*, and the *Grand Vizier*, which was sufficient, for that his Majesty did not use to write about Business himself. And therefore that the Port was under a mistake to question the Mind and Intentions of the Emperor of *France*, because it was not shown in Writing under his Majesties Hand. True it is, that the Ambassador spoke Reason, and the Impediment pretended by the *Vizier* was only a Litigious Nicety. However, notwithstanding all that *M. de Nointel* could say or alledge to the contrary, he would not grant him Audience, till he promis'd and engag'd to send for a Letter from the King that should contain precisely the same things that were set down in his Memorial, and that the Letter should come in six Months.

It was toward the end of *February 1671.* that *M. de Nointel* made this promise : and the next day the *Grand Vizier* sent to him,

him, to let him know that on the Morrow he should have Audience of himself, and that two days after he should have Audience of the *Grand Signior* likewise, upon condition that he would not discourse of any Business. True it is, the *Vizier* gave him but a cold Reception. For the Ambassador entering into discourse upon several Subjects, which were all too long and tedious for the Turkish Humour, they went in at one Ear and out at the t'other: The *Vizier* for the most part giving him no other Answer but only a short *Yes*, or as brief a *No*. Particularly *Monsieur Nointel* enlarg'd upon the Grandeur of the King, and his vast Forces: which the *Vizier* taking to be a kind of secret Threatning, *Yes*, said he, *the Emperor of France is a Great Monarch, but his Sword is but a new Weapon yet*. Intimating that the King had done no Exploits that deserv'd such loud Elogies; but therein he was not well inform'd of what had pass'd among the Christian Princes. Neither did *Monsieur Nointel* escape some other Quips of the same Nature. For the Ambassador talking of the Antiquity of the Alliance between France and Turkey, was saying, *That the French were the Turks true Friends*. To which the *Vizier* smiling, *Ay*, said he, *the French are our Friends indeed, but we always find 'em among our Enemies*. But the next was more home and sharp.

The Ambassador being ready to take his leave, order'd the Interpreter to tell the *Vizier*, *That he had Orders from the Emperor his Master, earnestly to recommend to him the Business of the Red-Sea. That it was a Thing which his Majesty had set his Heart upon, and desir'd the Port would give him Satisfaction in that Particular with all Expedition*. To whom the *Vizier* drily, *Can it be*, said He, *That your Emperor, so great a Monarch as you say he is, should set his Heart so affectionately upon the profit of his Merchants?*

Nor was the Ambassador better satisfy'd with the Audience which he had of the *Grand Signior*. For after he had made his Reverence, they led him up to the end of the Room of State, Face to Face to his Highness, to whom he made his Harangue, which lasted about a quarter of an Hour. But it signify'd little. For the Interpreter explain'd no more then the Sense of it to the *Vizier*, which the *Vizier* abbreviated in two words to the *Grand Signior*. Which done, *M. de Nointel* began to discourse of Business to his Highness; contrary to Custom, to the *Vizier's* Request, and his own Promise. The *Grand Signior* listen'd attentively to what the Interpreter said, and for answer, looking upon the *Vizier*, who

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upon such Occasions is always near the *Grand Signior's* Person, *This Ambassador*, said he, *addresses himself to our Lala*. Which word *Lala* signifies both a *Tutor*, and a *Father*. The *Turks* made use of the word, to denote a Person who has a particular Care and paternal affection for another.

Then again, it is the Custom, after the Ambassador has had his Audience of the *Grand Signior*, for him to Dine in the *Divan*, where the Ambassador sits with the *Grand Vizier*; and the Gentlemen of his Retinue Eat with the *Viziers of the Bench*; who are the Greatest Lords of the Empire. There would *M. de Nointel* be talking also of business. Which put the *Vizier* so out of Patience, that being forc'd to be somewhat rude with him, after he had desir'd him to be silent, *Good Mr. Ambassador*, said He, *Keep to your promise, in Six Months we shall understand whither you are Friends or Enemies*.

This was the first Disappointment of *M. de Nointel*, and the success of his Journey to *Adrianople*. He return'd to *Constantinople* in *March 1671*. from whence he wrote to *France*, what he had done at the *Port*, and upon what Terms he stood with the *Vizier*. By which it was apparent to the Court, that the *Vizier* did but make sport with the Ambassador and the *French*. Upon which it was debated whether they should break with the *Port*, or whether they should dissemble such an Affrontive Entertainment. And therefore that they might not proceed with too much Precipitancy in an Affair of that Importance, the Chief President of *Aix*, *M. d'Oppede*, was order'd to assemble at *Marseilles* all the *Levant* Merchants, and others that were vers'd in the Affairs of *Turkey*, and to take their Opinions upon what several People had offer'd to the Council. That *France* might refrain from Trading into the *Levant*, at least for several Years, and that it was easie to do so much Damage to the *Turks* by Sea, that the *Grand Signior* should be constrain'd to grant his Majesty his own Demands. Upon which the Result of the Assembly, by the Plurality of Voices was, That the Proposals were certainly true; that *Provence* was so sufficiently stock'd with *Turkey* Commodities, that there was enough to furnish *France* for Ten Years: And that if the King would send but Ten Vessels into the *Grecian Seas*, and particularly to the *Dardanel*s, there would soon be such a Famine in *Constantinople*, that the People would certainly make an Insurrection to the Advantage of the *French*.

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Upon this the *Provençalls* made no question but that there would suddainly be a War with the *Grand Signior*. They wrote over all the *Levant*, what had pass'd at *Marseilles*, and assur'd their Friends that the King was setting forth a Fleet of Fifty Ships to send against the *Turks*. And *M. de Nointel* reciev'd Letters from *Marseilles*, which ascertain'd him the same thing. In so much that the News was spread in an Instant through *Constantinople*, *Adrianople*, and over all the Ports of the *Levant*. Besides, I have been credibly inform'd, that the *Grand Vizier*, and all the Prime Ministers of the *Port*, were very much startl'd at it. Insomuch that he sent to the other Ambassadors and Residents of Christendom, to know whether the King of *France* intended a War, and were making preparations for it. To which they all sent him answer, that it was true that the *French* were setting forth a very great Fleet. But whither it were design'd against *Turkey* or no, they could not tell: but the general Report, and that which they believ'd to be the truest was, that they were intended against the *Hollanders*. Which Answers abated the Fears of the *Turks*, and soon after a French Bark arriving in two Months at *Constantinople* rid 'em of all their Jealousies. For tho' they thought at first, that it had been a Boat which had brought fresh Orders to the Ambassador and for all the *French Nation*; yet were they no less glad, when the Master being ask'd, where the *French Fleet* lay, that was design'd against the *Turks*, made answer, that he did not understand what they meant; that he had heard no talk of a Fleet, and that he was sure there was no such thing, as any Preparations at *Toulon*.

The first of September, the *Grand Vizier* wrote to *M. de Nointel*, That the Six Months were expir'd, which was the time he had tak'n to send for a Letter from his Master; desiring farther to know whether it were come, what it contain'd, and what Instructions he had receiv'd from his Majesty. To which the Ambassador reply'd by word of Mouth to the Messenger who brought the Letter, That the Emperor of France's Answer was not yet come, which was all he could say to the *Grand Vizier*, being resolv'd not to give any other Answer to a Letter, that did not give his Master all the Titles that belong'd to his Imperial Majesty. Which *M. de Nointel* did on purpose, for that the *Vizier* had not given the King either in his Letter, or in the Superscription, any other Title then that of *Craul*, which among the *Turks* is not so high as that of *Padcha*, though they both signifie a Sovereign Prince. But *Padcha* is the Title which they always give

give the *Grand Signior*, and which they were always wont to allow the King of *France*. *Padcha* being a *Persian* word; *Craul* a *Sclavonian*, and the very Title which the *Polonians* give their King: and in *France* the word *Padcha* is tak'n for Emperor.

All this while the Resolutions and Results of the Council of *France* in reference to the Affairs of the *Levant*, after the Assembly held at *Marseilles*, did not answer publick Expectation in the Prosecution of that Assemblies Advice. For the King designing a War with *Holland*, would not engage in another with *Turkey* at the same time, which requir'd the best part of his Navy to maintain. Therefore he resolv'd to spin out time, and to endeavour an Accommodation; that so he might not be oblig'd to break with the *Turks*. To which purpose *Monsieur de Lyone* wrote to the *Vizier*, That the Emperor of *France* admir'd he should refuse to give Credit to his Ambassador, since the Port had never till then question'd the Truth and Reality of the Proposals of the French Ambassadors. That his Imperial Majesty would not trouble himself to explain his meaning any otherwise then by his Ambassador *M. de Nointel*: so that if the *Grand Signior* or his Ministers refus'd to give him Credence, they would do well to let him return in the Vessel that brought the Letter.

With this Letter *M. d'Hervieu*, Interpreter to the *Dolphin*, and at present Consul at *Aleppo*, was sent, having Orders to deliver it himself to the *Grand Vizier*, and withal to carry the King's last Instructions to the Ambassador. He set Sail from *Marseilles* in September, in one of the King's Men of War call'd the *Diamond*, commanded by the *Marquis de Prully*, but did not arrive at *Constantinople* till February following, bad Weather having detain'd him Four Months between *Malta* and *Constantinople*.

So soon as the Vessel arriv'd, and that *M. de Nointel* had seen the King's Instructions, he wrote to the *Vizier*, That his Majesties Answer was at length come, after it had been Five Months upon the Seas, and that he only tarry'd for Leave to appear at Court, that he might impart it to him. To which the *Vizier* return'd answer, That he might come when he pleas'd, and be Welcom. More then that, he had superscrib'd his Letter according to the Ancient Custom, To the Ambassador of the Emperor of *France*; whereas he had only writ upon his former, To the Ambassador of the King of *France*. The same day also that the Ambassador receiv'd this Letter, the *Caimacan* sent a

Messenger to him, to let him know, That he had Order from the Vizier to furnish his Excellency with Thirty Wagons, Twelve Horses, and a Thousand Crowns toward the Expence of his Journey; which should be sent him with all speed. In short, the Money was brought the next day, and the Wagons and Horses were punctually ready according to the time which the Ambassador had prefix'd.

And this was the State of Affairs and Condition of the Alliance between France and Turkey when I arriv'd at Constantinople in March 1672.

The Ambassador departed from Constantinople the 29th of March, carrying along with him the Abbot of Noimel his Brother, a Gentleman, a Confessor, a Steward, a Secretary, three Interpreters, two Janisaries, and of meaner Officers a competent Retinue. Besides all these, he had also in his Train, M. d'Herzieu, who brought the Letter from M. de Lyonne to the Vizier; one of the Directors of the Levant Company, whose Business it was to Treat about the Conditions of the Red-Sea-Trade; Two Spanish Fryers, Commissaries of the Holy Land, who were to sollicite the Restitution of the Sacred Places, from whence they had been expell'd by the Greeks by Authority from the Port, about Thirty Years before; a Merchant of Marseilles, who had Business at the Port, together with Four French and Italian Gentlemen, who, as I my self, made that Journey meerly out of Curiosity. The Caimacan also sent a *Chiaus* to attend the Ambassador, to provide him Convenient Lodging, and to preserve that Respect to his Person, and his Retinue, which the Turks are subject to violate upon the slightest Occasions, if not overaw'd by the dread of Punishment. We were Six Days upon the Road; it being reck'nd Fifty Leagues between Constantinople and Adrianople. A Road no way to be found fault with, as being very broad and level, over Plains, and a lovely Champaign Country: besides that we pass'd through a great many very neat Villages, accommodated with fair and handsom Inns.

We lodg'd half a League from Adrianople, in a most pleasant Situation, upon the River *Hebrus*, call'd *Bosna-Koy*, that is, the Village of the *Bosneans*. Ten days after our Arrival, *Panaioti*, the Vizier's Interpreter, of whom we have already spok'n, came to visit the Ambassador in his Masters Name, and to know the King's Resolutions touching the renewing of the Alliance. After which Preamble to M. de Noimel, he told him, That it was the Grand Vizier's Opinion, that it was not

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convenient for him and the Ambassador to have any Personal Interviews and Discourse together, till all Affairs were concluded and fully agreed, for fear lest any Exceptions or Differences should happ'n between 'em, which though but upon slight and impertinent *Punctilio's*, might break or put a stop to the Negotiation, and hinder its good success. To which *Panaioti* added, as it were in Confirmation of the *Vizier's* Judgment, That Affairs in *Turkey* were never well manag'd, unless it were by a Third Person, in regard the *Vizier* and the Ambassador being equally concern'd to preserve the Honour and Interests of two great Empires, neither of the two would be the first that should forego the smallest Tittle of their Pretensions; but that a Treaty carry'd on by their Interpreters could not easily produce those unlucky Accidents either in the One or the Other. In short therefore, the *Vizier* desir'd that favour of him, that he might not give him Audience, but only to deliver into his Hands the new Articles of Peace and Agreement. *M. de Nointel* could have wish'd with all his Heart, it might have been otherwise: but there was a Necessity of condescending to the *Grand Vizier's* Pleasure, which was to Treat by the Intercourse of Interpreters. Thereupon *Panaioti* took the Letter which *M. de Lyonne* had written to the *Vizier*, and the Memorial of the Conditions upon which his Majesty was resolv'd to renew the *Alliance*, and no otherwise, as the Ambassador alledg'd; and so took his Leave, after he had made a Thousand Vows and Protestations to the Ambassador of the Services he would do in that Negotiation. Particularly he told him, That he took it for so great an Honour to have the Management of this New League between the *Grand Signior* and the Emperor of *France*, that there was no way or means which he would leave unstudy'd that he might bring it to a Conclusion, to the Satisfaction of his most Christian Majesty. But Time discover'd, that his Protestations were altogether deceitful and fallacious, and that *Panaioti* had not the same Inclinations for the Interests of *France* as for those of the *Grand Vizier*.

First then, the *Vizier* read over the Ambassador's Memorial, and then gave it to be examin'd in the *Divan*. It was not so long by half as that which he had presented the time before, as not containing above Eleven Heads. Nevertheless he found it to be very Extravagant. So that when the most Considerable Articles were read, he would still cry, The *Port* will never grant 'em. Upon others he would pass Sentence,

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saying, This may be granted ; and we shall endeavour to pass over such an Obstacle and to remove such and such Difficulties. So that he absolutely refus'd one part of the Demands, and gave his Opinion of the rest but very doubtfully. Which was a piece of Policy in the *Grand Vizier*, to discover by the Ambassador's Answers, whether it were true that his Instructions were not to recede in the least from his Memoires. And it fell out according to his desire, for by that means he found that the Ambassador had private Orders.

At the end of *April*, the two Fryers, Commissaries for the *Holy Land*, were very much troubl'd at a Report that ran among our selves, That they needed not to tarry, as they did, in expectation of being restor'd to the Sacred Places, from which the Greeks had expell'd 'em, for that the *Vizier* having declar'd, That he would agree to the Abatement of the Customs, and the *Red-Sea-Trade*, on Condition the Ambassador would not insist upon the *Holy-Land*, he had answer'd, *That that was a Point to be reserv'd till the last*. Which because it is an Affair of much Curiosity, I shall here set down the principal Passages relating to it ; withal in some measure to divert the Reader, weary'd perhaps with a long Story of the French Negotiations at the *Ottoman Port*, for the Renewing of an Alliance.

The Kingdom of *Jerusalem* was Conquer'd by the Christians in the Year 1099. and lost in the Year 1177. At what time a certain King of Syria whose Name was *Nexer-Salah-el-din-Joseph* reconquer'd it, and expell'd all the Western Christians, especially the *Knights* ; leaving only behind the Oriental Christians, *Syrians*, *Armenians*, *Georgians* and *Greeks*. In a short time after one of the Kings of *Naples*, of the House of *Anjou*, purchas'd of the King of Syria the Sacred Places of *Palestine*. However the Bargain was kept secret, the King of Syria being afraid lest the *Mahumetan* Princes his Neighbours, should reproach him for what he had done, and quarrel with him about the Sale. Thereupon the *Franciscan* Monks were sent to take possession of the Sacred Places according to the Compact, who continu'd there, and were confirm'd by the *Soldans* of *Egypt*, and the Turkish Emperors who afterwards Conquer'd *Palestine*.

All this while the Fryers had the Keys and Possession of whatever Christian Devotion had Consecrated at *Jerusalem*, *Bethlehem*, *Nazareth*, and in all other Sacred Places of the *Holy Land*. Moreover, the Eastern Christians, who were very numerous,

numerous, had also their Chappels in several of those Holy Places, as well in the Church built upon the Sepulchre of Christ, as in those that were rear'd in the Places where he was Born and Crucifi'd. The Popes likewise who make it their Business to bring over to their Communion all the *Greeks*, commanded the *Franciscans* that they should have all manner of Liberty in the *Holy Places*, and withal to permit 'em to build Chappels, to keep Lamps and Tapers burning, and to erect Images and Altars.

This Allurement of so much Freedom, which the *Greeks* enjoy'd in their Churches, say the *Franciscans*, was that which entic'd 'em into a design to make themselves the sole Masters of those Places; though the *Greeks* most stiffly deny any such thing. However it were, in the Year 1634. the *Greeks* repair'd to the *Port*, and there produc'd several Ancient Records, setting forth their Title to the possession of Mount *Calvary*, the *Grotto of Bethlehem*, and other Places. Thereupon the *Franciscans* were cited to the *Divan*; who appear'd with the Ambassadors of the Christian Princes that were then resident at the *Port*: and the Cause was several times argu'd before the *Prime Vizier*. All the Christians also who were in Alliance with the *Port*, as well Protestants as Roman Catholicks, interest'd themselves in the Suit; and both sides were at extraordinary Expences. But at length the *Greeks* gain'd the Cause, and were put into possession of the Holy Places, according to their own desires.

The *Grand Vizier*, who gave Judgment in favour of the *Greeks*, being dead at the end of two Years, the *Europeans* demanded a Rehearing of the Cause. Which was granted, and it went clearly for the *Franciscans*, who were thereupon restor'd to the possession of what the *Greeks* got from 'em, but they did not keep it above two Years more. For after that, another *Grand Vizier*, more favourable to the *Greeks*, resetl'd 'em again in all the Places which had been recover'd by the *Franciscans* four Years before. After that, the *Latins* us'd great Endeavours to regain the Possession, but all to no purpose, the *Divan* being still deaf to all their Sollicitations, Promises and Offers; and constantly alledging, That it was not just, that the *Greeks*, who were the *Grand Signior's* Subjects, and who paid him the yearly Tribute of Eight Hunderd Thousand Crowns, should be depriv'd their share of the Custody of the Sacred Places in *Palestine*, which was part of the Demeasns of the *Ottoman Empire*. Yet for all that, the *Franciscans* have

not forbore to renew their Importunities, their Petitions, and their Offers of Money, as often as they found any seasonable Opportunities to do it. In the Year 1665. *Count Lesley* in the Name of the Emperor took all the care and pains imaginable for the Restoration of the *Franciscans* to their Rights, pray'd, pay'd and promis'd Mountains, but all was labour lost. Four Years after, the *Procurator Molino* in the Name of the Republic of *Venice* undertook their Cause with the same Vigour; so that the *Franciscans* had now no other hopes but in the King of *France*. To which purpose they deputed two of their Order to his Majesty, who presented him with Letters of Recommendation from *Rome*, *Spain*, and the most part of the Roman Catholick Princes, to make use of his Credit and Reputation in the *Ottoman* Court, for the Restoration of the *Latins* into the Sacred Places, from whence they had been expell'd by the *Greeks*. But there was no need of a Recommendation to excite the King in the prosecution of such a Pious Act, to which his own Zeal was a sufficient Incentive. Immediately therefore he wrote to *M. de la Haye* to insert the Demands of those Religious Persons among the Conditions for the renewing the Alliance. And after that, both *M. de la Haye*, and *M. de Nointel* protested to 'em several times, That they had express Orders not to Treat with the *Port*, nor to renew the Articles of Alliance, unless they would restore the *Franciscans* to the Places they had lost. Nevertheless it appear'd at the end of *April*, that an Affair of that Nature might be dispenc'd withal, rather then to put a stop to such an Important Treaty for the Custody of three or four silly Chappels.

These two Fryers told me, how that upon their Arrival at *Constantinople*, *M. de la Haye* bid 'em rest satisfi'd; for that he understood so well the Resolutions of the Prime Ministers of the *Port*, that they would never renew the Treaty, upon the Conditions which the King demanded, in regard the Restoration of the *Sacred Places*, upon which the King so firmly insisted, was an Article the *Port* would never grant. To which, as they inform'd me, they return'd this Answer, which included good Advice indeed for the success of their own Interest. If your Excellency, said they, have positive Instructions in Reference to the Restoration, and that you know the *Port* will never consent to it, make no other Demand to the Grand Vizier till that be concerted; and declare withal to the Prime Minister, That you will not Treat, till he has promis'd to restore us what the *Greeks* have tak'n from us. If your Excellency observe this Method, either

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the Vizier will grant or deny. If he grant, the greatest Impediment to the renewing of the Treaty will be remov'd: If he refuse, the Rupture will redound to the King of France's Honour. He will appear not to have sought his own Interest: All Europe will admire his Majesties Piety and Zeal; and there is no Person but must be forc'd to acknowledge that his High Respect to Religion was the only cause that incited him to break with the Turks.

The well-meaning Fathers told me this Story with an extraordinary Vehemence, which is usual among Spanish Monks. For they believ'd it to be one of the most Noble Actions in the World to enter into a War with the Ottoman Empire, to force the Great Turk to take from the Christians of Jerusalem, his own proper Subjects, the Custody of five or six petty Churches, and bestow it upon Foreign Monks, who not content to make use of 'em when they pleas'd, would have the Keys hung at their Girdles.

About Mid-May *M. de Nointel* finding that the Grand Signior and Vizier were ready to depart for Poland, and that there was but little Progress made in his Negotiation, went to visit the *Reisquitab*, or Lord Chancellor: With whom he had three Conferences, before they could conclude the Treaty. But at the third Conference, which was upon the 26th of May, all things were agreed and setl'd, and the Alliance was renew'd upon the following Conditions.

That the French for the future should pay no more then Three per Cent. Customs.

That they should have the Red-Sea open for a Trade into the Indies, paying Five per Cent. Customs, which should be paid at their Entrance into the Grand Signior's Dominions, without any farther Payments either for their Passage, or at their Departure.

That the French Capuchins should rebuild their Church of St. George at Galata, burnt down by Fire: And that the same Church, together with the Jesuits in the same Place, and all other Appurtenances belonging to the French within the Ottoman Empire, should be under the Protection of the King.

That the Ambassador should be acknowledg'd Protector of the Hospital of the European Christians in Galata, and that they should have Liberty to say Mass in the said Hospital.

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That all the French Captives that were in Turkey, or should happen to be taken for the future, should be set at Liberty, provided they were not taken in any Fleets or Armies, or before any Places in Hostility with the Port.

And this was all that was to be chang'd or added in the New Capitulations ; for the Article concerning Foreign Nations was to continue as it was before in the former Treaty.

When all things were accepted and mutually agreed, the Ambassador of *France's* eldest Interpreter spoke to *Monsieur de Nointel*, that he should not stir till the Chancellor had made out a Draught of the New Capitulations. Which advice was well giv'n, but the Ambassador gave more Credit to *Panaïoti* the *Grand Vizier's* Interpreter, who told him, it would be an Affront to the Chancellor, to distrust what he deliver'd by word of Mouth, by asking him for a Draught in Writing ; and that he would engage his Word, and be Security for the performance of what the Chancellor had declar'd. Upon which the Ambassador suffer'd himself to be over-ru'd ; and return'd to his Lodging extreamly joyful and well satisfi'd, and with all the Chearfulness and Gaiety in his Countenance which generally displays it self upon the good success of Business. Insomuch that sitting down at Table, *Come, Gentlemen*, said he, *the Capitulations are renew'd ; let us now be merry, and drink to this Renovation of the League.*

Now the Chancellor had promis'd to send a Copy of the Draught in the Evening, to the end it might be examin'd, and afterward writt'n out fair : but he fail'd in his promise, nor was the Ambassador troubl'd in the least. The next Morning however he sent for it : but he was strangely surpriz'd, to find that the Article about Foreign Nations did not oblige, as it should have done, all those that were under no settlement already at the *Port*, to put themselves under the Banners and Colours of *France*. Then *Monsieur de Nointel* began to mistrust that he had been deluded. At last he fell into a Passion, and presently call'd for his second Interpreter, to go and tell the Chancellor, That if that Article were not put down as he understood it, he would not accept the New Capitulations. Which his chief Interpreter observing, stepp'd in, and adviz'd him to be wary how he enhanc'd the price as he was going to do ; that it was not safe to put the Market into the *Turks* Hands,

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as he did ; and therefore desir'd him to take care how he engag'd himself in a heat to break with the *Port*, for a single Article of little Importance. But such was *M de Nointel's* Impatience, that he bid the Messenger go forthwith, and carry his Message to the Chancellor ; who answer'd, That he would report it to the *Vizier*.

The 29th the Ambassador went to the Chancellor's House ; who told him, ' That it became not *France* to demand of the ' *Port* a thing which was not in their Power to grant : For that ' the *Grand Signior* had engag'd to the *Engliss*, the *Venetians*, ' the *Hollanders* and *Genoeses*, That all Strangers that should ' come into *Turkey*, under their Colours, should be welcom, ' whoever they were ; should enjoy the same Priviledges, and ' in a word be entertain'd as their Friends were. That having ' also granted the same Priviledges to the Emperor, particularly ' for the Imperial *Hans-Towns*, for the Subjects of the House of ' *Austria* and the *Italians*, his Highness could not without violating his Faith, grant to the *French* what they demanded ; ' that is to say, That he should admit no Foreigners but what ' came under the *French* Colours, unless they were such as had ' their Establishments already confirm'd at the *Port*. To which ' the *Chancellor* added, That what he had represented to his ' Excellency was notoriously publick, and a most convincing ' Argument, and therefore besought him not to insist any further upon that Article. To which *M. de Nointel* reply'd with a Protest not to renew, unless that Article were granted in the same form as he demanded. The *Chancellor* return'd, That he would report his Protest to the *Vizier*, and then he should know his Answer. The Ambassador told him, He should think himself highly oblig'd, so that his Conveniency would permit him, if he would be pleas'd but to go immediately and speak to the *Vizier*, while he staid for his coming back. The Chancellor consented ; went, spoke to the *Vizier*, and return'd with this Answer.

' The *Grand Vizier* has order'd me to tell your Excellency, ' That you made him promise ye about a Month since, That ' provided the *Port* should grant the Emperor of *France* an ' Abatement of the Customs, and a Free Trade through the ' *Red-Sea*, he would be contented, as to what remain'd, with ' what was reasonable and just. That upon that word he had ' granted in the *Grand Signior's* Name those two Articles, and ' other Favours which you know ; but now seeing you have ' not

not kept your word with him, he declares expressly, That he recalls his own, and will grant you nothing at all.

This Answer was like a Thunderclap. *M. de Nointel* and those that were with him stood like Men in a Trance. They begg'd to resume, and ratifie the Treaty, but it was impossible, though they proffer'd upon the place to quit and renounce the Article contested. To which the Chancellor answer'd, That he had no other Orders from the *Vizier*, then to deliver his Message, and that he had no Power to Treat any farther. The Ambassador reply'd; That he had a Letter from the *Prime Minister* of *France*, which he desir'd only to deliver into his Hands, and so to take his leave. The Chancellor made Answer, That for his Audience it might be easily obtain'd, but as for the Letter from the *Prime Minister* of *France*, the *Grand Vizier* car'd not a Straw to look upon it.

Monsieur de Nointel returning to his Lodging with that vexation and perplexity of Mind which may be conceiv'd without any great difficulty, propounded to his Council, which were the Abbot his Brother, the Director of the *Levant Company*, and his two chief Interpreters, That since the *English* and *Hollanders* had lately given Ten Thousand Pounds Sterling apiece, for renewing their last Capitulations, it would be convenient for the *French* to give the same Money for the renewing of theirs. Upon which the two Interpreters had order to propose the Sum to the Chief Ministers: but it nothing avail'd. For there are some Favours obtain'd at the *Port* by the Force of Money; others which no Money will procure. And such for Example was the Business solicited by the two *Commissaries* of the *Holy Land*, who offer'd an Hundred Thousand Crowns to the *Grand Vizier* to put 'em in possession of the *Sacred Places*, and to expend as much in Presents to the *Grand Signior*, and Ministers of the *Port*. But their Money was Dross, the *Divan* not being to be brib'd in that case.

By the way, I shall say this farther, in reference to those *Religious Fathers*, that their making such large Offers was not a thing to be wonder'd at. For they have assur'd me, that the Devotion which *Spaniards* have toward those *Sanctifi'd Places* is so great, that they themselves would expend whole Treasures for Liberty to enjoy 'em again. They affirm'd to me moreover, That the Money expended in the *Holy Land* amounts to Eight Thousand Pounds Sterling a Year, of which a third part goes in Presents to the *Turks*; and that the Guar-

dian who is Triennial, expends in Presents at his Arrival no less than Two Thousand Five Hundred Pounds.

The Third of *June*, which was the Day appointed for the *Grand Signior's* departure for *Poland*, the Ambassador went betimes in the Morning to the Camp, to the Quarters of the *Grand Vizier*, with a design to oblige the Haughty Minister to grant him that Audience which he had refus'd him ever since his Arrival, and to receive the Letter from *Monsieur de Lyonne*. He carry'd with him also *M. d'Hervieu*, to the end that as he was the Person that brought it, he should deliver it into his Hands. But the *Vizier* was not then in the Camp, being gone to Convoy the *Sultane's*, Mother to the *Grand Signior*, to her first Lodging. Which constrain'd the Ambassador to go to the Chancellor's Quarters, where he waited seven compleat Hours, sometimes in one Tent, sometimes in another, because the Camp was then just upon Dislodging. At length a little after High Noon, the News came that the *Grand Vizier* was come to the City. Whither the Chancellor went to him, and told him, That the Ambassador of *France* staid in the Camp to Kiss his Hands, and to know his last Commands. The *Vizier* order'd him to tell his Excellency, That he needed not to give himself the trouble of waiting, for that he was then taking leave of his Wife, his Mother, and his Family, and should not return to the Camp till Night: and therefore that it would be sufficient for him to leave only one of his Interpreters, to whom he would give his Answer. Which was, *That he would impart the Ambassador's Demands to the Grand Signior and the Divan; but that he could not do it so soon as he might expect, by reason that the Army was upon its March. That in the mean time, his Excellency might return to Constantinople, and there await the Grand Signior's Resolution. That he would in the mean time write to the Caimacan to grant a Pass for the King's Ship in the Harbour; and for what remain'd, had it not been but that he confided in the Faith and Honour of the Ambassador, he would have stopp'd him at Adrianople, to have prevented his departure without leave.*

At the same time the Interpreter had also Orders to know the *Grand Vizier's* Commands touching certain particular Affairs relating to Trade in several places of the *Levant*. Which he order'd to be dispatch'd the next Morning in manner and form, as the Interpreter desir'd.

And this was the Success of *M. de Nointel's* second Journey to the *Port*; upon which both Parties made different Reflections. For the *Turks* with great assurance lay the blame of this Rupture upon the *French*: Affirming that the Abatement of the Customs was not a thing to which the *French* could justly pretend. For that if other Nations paid not so much, as the *English*, *Hollanders*, and *Genoeses*, yet there were some Nations that paid more, as the *Germans* and *Venetians*: Or if the first who paid but Three per Cent. had formerly paid Five, then the *French* had had some reason to have demanded an Abatement. Nevertheless, that the *Port*, who is Free to bestow his Favours where he pleas'd, having Treated upon their Arrival with the last Comers upon Terms more advantageous then those which he granted to his first Allies; he was not oblig'd to alter the Conditions of Commerce that had been for so long time concluded. Then for the rest of the Kings Demands, they said, That they were Favours which could not be in Conscience demanded; as being such which the *French* were so far from having deserv'd from the *Port*, that they had always oppos'd him in all his Enterprises. To which they added, That the *French* had made their Demands, as if they had had the Market in their own Hands, threatening, and acting like Lords and Masters, while the *French* that were in the *Levant*, did nothing but talk of Burning *Constantinople*, making War upon the *Grand Signior*, and Sacking his Islands, and his Sea-Ports. That the Men of War that brought *M. de Nointel* to *Constantinople*, openly protected the escape of a great number of Slaves of several sorts of Nations, that put themselves aboard. And that the *French* Ambassadors in all the Visits which they made to the Great Personages, discours'd of nothing but his Majesties Conquests, and the Puissance of his Arms. This Defence the *Turks* made for themselves. With whom other Nations also sided, alledging, That the *Turks* were not too blame, as having shew'd themselves upon this Occasion less Barbarous then they were said to be: not having manifested any thing of violent Resentment either against the *French* in the *Levant*, or his Majesties Ambassador, of the numerous and powerful Succours which they had many times giv'n their Enemies; of the War which they carry'd on, even in Countries under the *Turk's* Protection; or of their Affronts and Menaces not forbore ev'n in the Court it self. Nor could these things be otherwise spok'n then out of an Ardent Desire to see some Unlucky Accident happ'n, which might engage

France

France to imploy against the *Turks* those mighty Preparations of War which the greatest part of her Neighbors dreaded.

And now having thus giv'n an Accompt of the whole Progress of *M. Nointel's* Negotiation at the *Port*, I shall add something in short in reference to the Negotiations of *M. Witzosky*, the *Polish* Agent; and Signor *Quirini*, Procurator of *Venice*, of which two the one happen'd to depart as soon as I arriv'd there; but the other remain'd at the Court all the while I staid.

The *Grand Vizier* order'd 1700 Crowns to be giv'n to the *Polish* Agent at his departure, for the discharge of his Debts; and his Expences upon the Way; allowing him besides seven Wagons and a *Chiaus*. The *Basba* of *Silistria* also had Orders to cause him to be Conducted through the Frontiers of *Tartary*; and to Command the *Tartars* to detain him, till they understood that the *Turkish* Envoy who was in *Poland*, had pass'd the Frontiers, and was enter'd into *Turkey*. The *Divan* did all they could to compose all Differences with this Agent, and to prevent a War with his Master. For the *Port* had some Designs upon *Persia* and the *Red-Sea*, so that it was only by constraint if they turn'd their Arms against *Poland*. On the other side the *Polander* could not brook the Protection which the *Grand Signior* had given to the *Cossacks*. For which reason the King demanded that his Highness would publicly renounce the Protection which he had publicly allow'd. To the end that the *Cossacks* being terrifi'd by such a Desertion, might be compell'd to submit the sooner to the *Polish* Prince without Fighting, and he by that means regain the Possession of the *Ukraine*, which is his particular Demeasns, and the Patrimony of his Ancestors.

During the Raign of King *Casimir*, *M. Ratzienuskie* was sent to demand the Ratification of the Treaty of *Coſtchin*, which was observ'd between *Poland* and *Turkey*; and some other Things. To which the *Port* made answer, That they would Ratifie the Treaty purely and barely without mentioning the *Cossacks*. But *M. Ratzienuskie* dy'd at *Adrianople* before he could conclude his Negotiation. Whose Imployment of Agent his Secretary, *M. Witzosky* by the Order of the King that succeeded *Casimir*, was appointed to supply, and receiv'd Instructions to represent to the *Port*, That seeing the *Ukraine* was the particular Estate of the Prince who then Raign'd, he had a double Reason to claim the Repossession of it. To which the *Port* return'd for answer, That they would not hinder his

Majesty

Majesty of *Poland* from regaining the Possession, and that he might do what he pleas'd with the *Cossacks*; but in regard the *Grand Signior's* Honour was concern'd, he could not op'nly disavow the Protection which he had openly granted. But *M. Witoski*, being a Person of a violent hasty Humour, would not accept of that Expedient, nor of any other which the *Turks* propos'd. But loudly protested in a full *Divan*, 'That though the King, the Senat and the Republick should agree 'to accept a single Ratification, he would prevent 'em from 'doing it, by the Power which he had, as a Gentleman of 'Poland.

But when the King and the Senat understood that the *Grand Signior* was turning his Preparations against them; and that most assuredly the next Spring they should have him at their Gates, they were both surpriz'd and confounded. Nor did the Agent himself know what to do, being deceiv'd by the Rumours that were spread abroad of the Revolt of the *Arabians*, and Sacking of *Mecca*; as also for that through the Assurances which *M. de Nointel* had giv'n him that his Most Christian Majesty would send a Fleet of Fifty Ships into the *Archipelago*, he had always writt'n to the Republick to hold fast their own, and not to relinquish the least Tittle of their Demands, in regard that infallibly the *Grand Signior* would suddainly have his Hands full on every side.

And indeed *Poland* was very desirous at that time not to have diverted his Highness from his *Asiatick* Designs. For which reason, they sent an Interpreter to the *Port*. Who arriv'd the 23 of *May* with a Train of eight Men, six weeks after the departure of the Agent; and had a Lodging assign'd him, and Twenty Shillings a day for his Expences. The Letters which he brought were from the Great Chancellor, superscrib'd to the *Grand Vizier*, purporting, 'That *Poland* 'was very much surpriz'd to understand, that the *Grand Signior* was preparing for a War against them; that they 'knew not the Reason, nor had they giv'n him any Occasion. 'That if the *Port* would Ratifie the Treaty of *Cotchin*, the 'King was ready to do it, and would send an Ambassador Extraordinary for that purpose. But that if the *Grand Signior* 'persisted in his Design of making War, his Majesty was ready to defend himself; protesting withal that the *Polanders* 'were not the Violators of the Peace. The Interpreter was dispatch'd and sent back again in eight days, with Letters to this effect, That *Poland* might send an Ambassador Extraordinary;

dinary, and that he should be welcome. But in the mean time the *Grand Signior's* Army and the *Grand Vizier* at the Head of it, continu'd their March toward *Silistria*.

In the Negotiation of the Signor *Quirini* there was nothing particularly observable. Only he had peculiar Instructions to press the release of such Prisoners as had been tak'n in the War of *Candy*: but after great Pains and vast Expences he could obtain no more then an Exchange of Eight and Twenty of the Principal for as many of the *Turks*. Which Exchange was made at *Castello Tornese* in the *Morea*. As for the rest of the Prisoners to the Number of a Thousand or thereabouts, the *Grand Vizier* told the *Procurator* of *Venice*, That the *Ottoman* Gallies were destitute of Slaves, and therefore to release a Thousand at one Clap, would weak'n 'em too much; especially at a time when they had so much need of Rowers to carry Men and Ammunition through the *Black-Sea* for supply of their Army in *Poland*. However he promis'd that when the *Campaigne* was at an end, he would order Two Hundred and Fifty to be releas'd; and so the like Number every year till they were all at Liberty.

The *Venetians* are at that vast Expence at the *Port*, that it may be truly said they buy whatever they obtain, and that at a dear rate too. There is no Person of Credit either in the Court or the *Divan*, to whom they do not make considerable Presents every year. For the *Republick*, that has no Neighbor to be afraid of, but the *Turk*, spares for no Cost to be at peace with him. They pay him Tribute, out of several Islands in the *Archipelago*, as *Zant*, and *Cerigo*. They connive at his Humours, his Affronts, his Tyranny; and all to prevent Quarrels and Wars that arise every day between Potent Neighbors, as much as may be done by the Prudence of their Conduct: and the same *Republick* sends for her Ambassadors to *Constantinople*, the Ancientest, and most Experienced of her Senators. The *Procurators* also of *Venice* are usually such as have been Ambassadors in all the Courts of *Christendom*, and which have been employ'd in Treaties of Peace and War, and all other Negotiations. Persons in a word that understand all the Politicks of all the Princes of the World, and the Sights of the most Crafty Ministers of State, in the Art of concealing their own, and discovering the Thoughts of others. These *Procurators* are fully Commission'd to expend and give whatever they deem requisite. Generally they reside three years at *Constantinople*, during which time they pick

up above an Hunderd Thousand Crowns; or at least it is in their power so to do; for the *Republick* never calls 'em to Accompt. And this they do for two Reasons; the first is, to balance by their Gains the Trouble and Hardship of an Embassie to *Constantinople*, which arise from the Danger and Toil of Travailing; and from the ill Humour and Contempt of the *Turks*. And secondly, to recompence those *Procurators*, who have wasted their Estates in *European* Ambassies.

I have heard *M. Quirini* affirm, at several times that I have had the Honour to visit him, That the *Turkish* Policy did very much surpass that of the *Europeans*: That it was not confin'd within Maxims and Rules; but consisted altogether in Sense and Judgment, as being grounded altogether upon Reason, and never acting but according to Reason. Which sort of Policy, having neither Art nor Principles, was as it were unapproachable; insomuch that he seriously acknowledg'd, That the Conduct of a *Vizier*, was to him an Abyse, of which he could not Fathom the Judgment, the Foresight, the Perspicacy, the Secrecy, the Cunning, with all its Windings and Labyrinths. He assur'd me, That if had a Son, he would send him to no other School then to the *Ottoman* Court; where he could not too highly admire the *Vizier*, who without speaking, writing, or so much as moving himself, Govern'd one of the most Potent Empires of the World, and had extended the Limits of it in several places.

During my stay at *Adrianople*, I had the Honour several times to converse with this *Venetian* Ambassador; and because that then our most general discourse was concerning the War of *Candy*, I learnt from him and several other Eminent Personages of the Court, divers Particulars worthy Observation; of which I shall here set down the most Memorable.

One of the Principal Performances which the Law of *Mahomet* enjoyns, is the Pilgrimage to *Mecca* and *Medina*. There is nothing that can legally dispence with it but an extream Poverty: and it further lays a strict Injunction upon those whom either Sicknes, or Imployment, or other Occasions will not permit to go in Person, to make their Pilgrimage by Proxy; that is, to send to those Places of Devotion, a Person on purpose, to perform all those Duties which he himself ought to have done, could he have gone thither himself.

The *Ottoman* Emperors are very punctual in the Discharge of this Duty, as well for themselves, as for their whole Families. They send every year Considerable Presents to those Cities, of which they esteem it a High Honour to call themselves the *Lords* and *Protectors*: and these Presents are sent sometimes by Land, and sometimes by Sea. In the year 1644. they were put aboard a great Gallion, which was to carry 'em to *Cairo*. Several Eunuchs and Women of the *Serraglio* were embark'd in the same Vessel, together with the *Grand Signior's* Delegates, and a great Number of Passengers and Souldiers. This Vessel putting to Sea from *Constantinople*, with several other Vessels under her *Convoy*, was set upon not far from *Rhodes* by the Galleys of *Malta*, and after a fierce Engagement taken. Nevertheless the Galleys could not carry her off to *Malta*, by reason that she leak'd in several places, as having receiv'd several Shot in the Fight; so that they were forc'd to carry her into a Port of the Island of *Candy*. Where they stopp'd her Leaks the best they could, and took all the care imaginable to have carry'd her Home, but all to no purpose; for she sunk by the way. However the Cargo which they unladed into their Galleys was valu'd at a Million of Money.

The News of the taking this Gallion put the *Grand Signior* into a Rage: insomuch that he threaten'd to exterminate all the Christians that were in *Constantinople*, as well Ambassadors and Foreign Ministers, as others. And he thus menac'd all sorts of Nations, because, said he, the Galleys of *Malta* were Mann'd with *Christians* and Souldiers from all parts of *Christendom*.

M. Soranzo, the *Venetian* Ambassador at the *Ottoman* Court, presently address'd himself to the Ministers of the *Divan*. For he was in great hopes to divert the Storm from falling upon his Head, and to appease the *Grand Signior* by giving him to understand, that there was not any one Subject of the *Republick* who was a Knight of *Malta*. The Ambassadors of *England* and *Holland* made the same Remonstrances. So that in all probability the Tempest was like to fall upon *M. de la Haye* the Father, then Ambassador of *France*. And questionless he had severely felt the Barbarousness of the *Turks*, and the Fury of the *Grand Signior*, if *Givan Capigi Bachi* the *Grand Vizier* had not Warded off the Blow. Who being a Person of great Wit, of singular Worth, and Illustrious for his Descent in *Turkey*, as being descended from a Family famous for Six *Grand*

Viziers, took upon him to secure the Ambassador of *France*, the *French* and all the Christians that were at *Constantinople*, except the *Venetians*. He gave his Highness to understand that the *Venetians* were the most guilty, for having permitted the Gallies of *Malta* to bring in the Gallion into their Harbours, and not securing it. By which means he turn'd all the *Grand Signior's* Wrath upon *Candy*, who thereupon determin'd to make that the Seat of his War. But this Resolution of his was privately carry'd, and the better to conceal his Design, he display'd his intended Revenge only against *Malta*. To which purpose he proclaim'd open War against that little Island, and order'd all his Forces to be in a readiness by the end of *March* 1645.

The Ambassador of *Venice* spar'd neither Industry nor Presents to penetrate the Truth of this Design, whether it were real, or only a Trick to cover some Enterprize against the *Republick*. On the other side, the Ambassador of *France* assur'd him, that it was only a dissembl'd Pretence, and that the true Design was upon *Candy*. But he gave no heed to his Intelligence, suffering himself to be deluded by the Assurances which the *Grand Vizier* gave him from time to time to the contrary.

But toward the end of *April* the *Ottoman* Fleet consisting of Fourscore Ships and as many Gallies, under the Command of *Iffouf* Captain *Basha*, putting to Sea from *Constantinople*, Landed in *Candy*, and in Ten Days took *Canea*. They who were acquainted with that same General, affirm'd him to be a great Commander, and that he would have Conquer'd the Island in a small time, had he not been depriv'd of his Life and the Conduct of the War. For the *Grand Signior* being put i' th' Head that *Iffouf* had Vast Treasures; and that he could Conquer the rest of *Candy* without his Assistance, caus'd him to be strangl'd at *Constantinople* some few days after his return. However his Highness had not only a great loss by his Death, but miss'd of the Treasures which he expected. In the following Years he sent other Armies into *Candy* under different Generals: and for the Success which they had, it is too well known, to speak more of it in this place.

For it was neither to the Strength of the Island, nor the Weakness of the *Turks*, that we are to ascribe the length of that War, which lasted Four and Twenty Years; but to the strange Revolutions that happen'd in the *Ottoman* Court almost at the beginning of that Enterprize; and to the Wars of

Transylvania and *Hungary* that lasted till the Year 1665. But the Prince who undertook the Conquest of *Candy* was *Ibrahim*, then about Two and Thirty Years of Age, who was advanc'd to the Empire Four Years before, contrary to his own and the Expectation of all the World. For he had been kept in a close Imprisonment during the Reign of *Osman*, and *Murat* his Brothers; the latter of which, after he had caus'd his two younger Brothers to be strangl'd, when he saw himself near his End, commanded also that *Ibrahim* should be strangl'd, who was the only Brother that remain'd. However this Rigorous Command was not put in Execution, for that *Amureth* not having any Children, *Ibrahim* that was the only Remainder of the *Ottoman* Family, was also Heir of the Empire. By the way we are to observe, that the reason which induc'd *Amurat* to let *Ibrahim* alone, and put his two other Brothers to death, though much younger, was his want of Wit, which rendring him unfit for Government, secur'd him from any fear of a Rebellion for his sake. So soon as he came to the Throne, he plung'd himself into all manner of Vice and Wick-edness. His Debaucheries, his Extortions, and his Cruelties renderd him Odious and insupportable to all his Subjects. He seiz'd upon the Revenues of the Mosques, and private Mens Estates, without any distinction of Sacred or Prophane, and frequently put to death such as he thought to be Rich, to the end he might with more ease make himself Master of their Estates, and all this to supply the inordinate Expences of his Pleasures, and the excessive Luxury of his Court. The Soldiers were ill paid; which caus'd 'em to mutiny, with a Resolution to depose *Ibrahim* in the Month of *August* 1648 and to set upon the Throne *Mahamed* his Eldest Son, about seven Years of Age; so that twelve Days after they strangl'd *Ibrahim*.

I have already related, how that in the Minority of *Mahamed*, the Empire was Govern'd by Women and Eunuchs, who fill'd all the chief Places of Trust, as they thought good themselves, and particularly that of the Prime Minister, till they gave it to *Cuperly Mahomet* who undertook the VVar of *Transylvania*. His Successor, who was his Son, began that of *Hungary*, which being ended by the Peace in the Year 1665. as already has been said, for the next two Years he closely pursu'd the War of *Candy*, where he found a longer and more vigorous Resistance then he expected.

Had *Candy* held out another Winter against the *Turks*, 'tis not to be question'd, but that the *Grand Vizier* must have been forc'd to raise his Siege, and then strange Commotions would have happen'd in the Empire. The Veterane Janizaries were all either slain or dead in the Siege: The rest would not budge a foot. The *Turks* murmur'd at the War; and cry'd out that the *Ottoman* Forces were commanded to dash out their Brains against a Rock: The People of *Constantinople* were for advancing the *Grand Signior's* Brother to the Throne. His Highness was solicited to put the *Grand Vizier* to death by means of such a Sacrifice to appease the Fury of the People and Souldiery. Both the one and the other of these Changes had been sufficient to have rais'd the Siege.

The *Grand Vizier* knew all this. So that he despair'd of putting an end to the War; dismally afraid at once to lose both his Honour and his Life. It is reported that he tore his very Hair from his Chin. However it is most certain that it brought upon him a most Incurable Distemper, difficult to be nam'd. It was an odd kind of seizure of the Heart, or fainting of the Spirits, caus'd by Fear, Affliction and Pannick Terror. For which the Physitians prescrib'd him to drink pure Wine without any Mixture; which he did every day; nor could any thing but that do him any good.

When the News of the Surrender of *Candy* was brought to the *Grand Signior*, his Highness could not believe it; but when the Tydings were confirm'd, it transported him to such an Excess of Joy, that rather seem'd to be a sort of Frenzy for the time. And both He and the whole Court frequently repeated these words, *The Franks have had pity upon Us*.

The *Turks* boasted upon the taking of *Candy*, That they had Conquer'd all *Christendom*. Because the Town had been defended by Soldiers and Volunteers from all parts of *Christendom*; and they said moreover, That the Siege had lasted three Years, for that all *Christendom* had been there, and done the utmost of their Endeavours.

The most useful and provident Preparation which the *Grand Vizier* made for the Siege, was to make his *Kiaia*, or Steward of his Household, High Treasurer of the Empire. For he knew the Love and Friendship which that Lord had for him, and that for a need he would not spare his Life to do him Service. And this same Foresight of his was the gaining of the Place, and the safeguard of his own Life. For the High Treasurer would not suffer any want to be in the Camp. Sheep were there

there in great plenty at a Crown apiece. The Markets were stor'd with all Things necessary for Food and Raiment. And Men car'd not what they gave, or what Risco's they ventur'd, to carry Ammunition to a Place where Money abounded.

By the Accompts which the Treasurer brought into the *Divan* of the Extraordinary Expences at *Candy* the three last Years of the Siege, it appear'd that Seven Hunderd Thousand Crowns had been spent in Gifts to *Renegado's* that turn'd *Turks*, or left the Island, to recompence such Souldiers as had behav'd themselves more bravely then others; and to pay the Prizes fet upon the Christians Heads; which was half a Guinea for every Head. By that Accompt it appear'd that the *Turks* had made an Hunderd Thousand Shot with their great Guns against the Place; and that there had been slain before the Place Seven *Basha's*, Fourscore Captains and Colonels, 10400 Janisaries, besides other Souldiers and Troops of the Provinces, whose Pay is not charg'd to the State.

The Day that the *Grand Vizier* enter'd *Candy*, Signor *Molino*, who was sent by the *Republick* to make a Peace with the *Port*, Riding a' one side of him, the *Grand Vizier* told him, That the *Grand Signior* had paid dear for the *Island of Candy*. To whom *Molino* reply'd, That it had cost the *Republick* as much; no less then the Lives of a Hunderd Thousand Men, without reck'ning the *French*. The *Grand Vizier* ask'd him, VVhy the Place was not surrender'd sooner, in regard they had been but in a bad Condition a long time to hold it out. To whom the Ambassador made answer, That the King of *France* had hinder'd the Surrender, by his Promises of Powerful Assistance, and to declare a VVar against the *Turks*.

The Procurator *Molino* arriv'd in *Candy* in the Spring of the Year 1669. and lay at a place call'd *Gozzi*, not far from the Island. From whence he sent to offer the *Grabusi*, *Spina Longa*, *Suda*, and *Tine* Islands of the *Archipelago*; *Clissa* and other Places upon the Continent, the whole Expences of the VVar, and an Annual Tribute of Fifty Thousand Crowns a Year for the City of *Candy*, so that the *Republick* might keep the possession of it. To which the *Grand Vizier* return'd for answer, That the *Grand Vizier* valu'd his Honour at a Higher Rate, then all the VVorld beside; and therefore he would only have that Bit of a Rock, which his Highness had been labouring for above these Four and Twenty Years.

But it was *Captain General Morosini* who made the Truce with the *Vizier*; which he did without *Molino's* knowledge, or imparting to him the least Tittle concerning it. Which Tranfaction of his had like to have cost *Morosini* his Life at *Venice*, but the large Sums of Money which he paid in one Night, deliver'd him from his Fears: For this General minded no other Interest in Treating but the Publick Welfare. He neither troubl'd himself about Religion or Trade: But wholly apply'd himself to what concern'd the Island of *Candy*, and the War, and agreed with the *Vizier*, that all other Things should remain in the same Condition as before the Rupture. Which was the reason that *Signor Molino* found it so difficult to rebuild at *Galata*, part of the Suburbs of *Constantinople*, the *Venetian Church*, that had been burnt down; and labour'd so sedulously to remove the Obstacles which he met with on every side, that he dy'd in the midst of all his Toyl: but by Good-Luck the Work was almost finish'd. He requir'd several other Things of the *Grand Signior*; as the Abatement of the Customs, which the *Venetians* paid; but could not obtain it. For, said the *Grand Vizier*, *Signor Molino*, 'The Alliance between the Port and the Republick is an Ancient Alliance, and the Port values it for its Antiquity. If you change some of the Articles, the Alliance will be a new one, for which the *Turks* will never have that high esteem. Besides, if you require Favours of the *Grand Signior*, he will demand something more of you. *Signor Molino* understood well enough what he meant, which was the Reason he spake not a word more of the Abatement of the Customs, nor of changing the Ancient Capitulations.

And thus I have giv'n a fair Idea of the *Grand Vizier's* Conduct, not to say any more in particular concerning his Person. But in regard it was to his Father, who was also *Grand Vizier*, that he was beholding to for his Fortune and his Honour, I shall in the first place, and in few words, give an Accompt of the most Remarkable Atchievements of that Renowned *Vizier*.

He was call'd *Cuperly Mahamed Basba*, rais'd to that High Dignity by the Fantastick Humour of the Women and Eunuchs, who Govern'd during the Minority of *Mahamed* the Fourth. Before his Advancement, it was that which he least dreamt of; but when he was Invested in his Employment,

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he began to consider the frequent Changes of the *Grand Viziers* his Predecessors almost every three Months, and therefore for the Preservation of his Life and Dignity, he thought it his best way to put to Death his Envyers and Competitors, and to set new Wars afoot, on purpose to remove the *Grand Signior* from *Constantinople*, and to keep himself still at the Head of an Army

He began with the *Serraglio*, where he caus'd several Eunuuchs to be strangl'd; and having in a little time made himself Master of the Credulity and Affections of the Young Prince, he perswaded him, that to make himself Absolute Sovereign of the Empire, to free himself from the Fears of Tumult and Sedition, and prevent the Souldiery from making the same Attempts upon him as they had done upon his Father, the best way would be for his Highness to remove from the Capital City, where the People were Mutinous, and the Janizaries were Masters, and that he should rid himself of all those Persons that had depos'd his Father, and dipp'd their Parricide Hands in his Blood. In pursuance of this Project, Cuperly caus'd *Dely Ussein Pascha* to be strangl'd, who had been General at *Candy*, and was accompted the most Famous and Valiant Captain of the Empire. Then he remov'd the Court to *Adrianople*, and began the *Transylvanian War*, in regard the War in *Candy* would have call'd him too far from the *Grand Signior's* Person, not being as yet of Age to March at the Head of his own Armies.

This *Transylvanian War* was short, and honourable for the *Grand Vizier* by the defeat of Prince *Ragotsky*, and by the taking of *Waradin*, though it cost him the Blood of the choicest *Ottoman Troops*, and the bravest of their Officers. He return'd Victorious to *Adrianople*, and though he had made a Peace with the Emperour, yet he set himself to make preparation for a new War against him in *Hungary*. But being ready to take the Field in the Year 1662. he dy'd; yet so prevalent at Court as to obtain his only Son *Achmet Pascha* to be admitted into his Place, though at that time he had scarcely attain'd to Thirty Years of Age, which was a Thing altogether extraordinary, and not to be parallell'd in the History of the *Ottoman Monarchy*.

'Tis a question whether ever there were a *Grand Vizier* more capable to Govern the *Ottoman* Empire, then *Achmet Pacha*. He was very tall, and somewhat full and plump of Body. His Eyes large and wide: His Face well shap'd; his Complexion Fair and Smooth: The Air of his Face Modest, Grave, Affable, and Obliging. He was no Tyrant, mortally hating Oppression, Justice and Equity appear'd in all his Actions, nor did he suffer himself to be sway'd by his own Interest. For whether it were that he did not give his Mind to thirst after Riches, or whether it were that his own Estate which was very Great, satisfi'd his desires, he was never known to be Covetous like the rest of the *Turks*: And this is particularly said of him, very much to his Honor, that of all the Persons, that address'd themselves to him with Presents, to accomplish their Ends, not any obtain'd 'em by that means. His Wit was of a large extent, penetrating and reserv'd: His Memory happy and prompt: His Judgment sound, and always well apply'd: For he still fell directly upon the Point. He spoke little and Modestly, but with that Solidity and Knowledge which it is not easie to describe. The First Years of his Ministry were very Honourable and Advantageous to the *Ottoman* Empire, and his following Atchievements much more.

This Great Personage therefore having observ'd the Happy success of his Father in the Government of *Turkey*, labour'd to follow his example and tread his Steps as near as he could. He began the War against the *Emperor* which his Father had projected, and was about to have undertak'n. To which purpose he march'd to *Buda*, with an Army of Threescore Thousand Men, and besieg'd *Neubausel*, which he took in the Year 1663. He rais'd the Siege of *Canisia*, and carry'd the Fort *Serini* toward the beginning of the next Year. And designing a farther Progress of the *Turkish* Armies even to the Walls of *Vienna*, he caus'd a Bridge to be lay'd over the River *Raab*: Over which Twelve Thousands *Turks* had already pass'd; and all the rest of the Army was about to have follow'd; had they not been prevented by the *Emperor's* Forces, who being reinforc'd with the Succors of the *Allies* of the Empire, and particularly the *French*, cut to pieces the greatest part of the Twelve Thousand *Turks*, put the rest to flight, and gain'd that Famous Battel, call'd the Battel of *St. Godard*, from the Name of the Village where it was fought.

The *Grand Vizier* repair'd the loss of that Battel by a Treaty of Peace as Honourable and as Advantageous as if he had gain'd

gain'd the Victory; and perceiving the *Grand Signior's* earnest desire to return to *Constantinople*, carry'd him thither so well guarded, that there was no Commotion to be fear'd; where he stay'd till the beginning of the Year 1666. At what time he undertook the War of *Candy*, in which he spent Three Years, as has been already said. Two Years after he began the War of *Poland*; observing always his Fathers Great Maxim, *That it behov'd a Prime Vizier still to keep himself at the Head of an Army.*

We departed from *Andrianople* the 9th of *June*, and return'd to *Constantinople* the 15th. The 17th by Break of Day *M. de Nointel* went *incognito* to visit the *Caimacan* and to demand a Passport for the Kings Ship. The *Caimacan* return'd for answer, that he had receiv'd no Orders from the *Grand Vizier* to give him one, and therefore could not do it. At which the Ambassador was very much surpriz'd, and as highly concern'd; and thereupon complain'd to the *Caimacan* of the *Grand Vizier's* unkindness toward him. Upon which the *Caimacan* made a shew of taking his Part, and being concern'd for the Unjustice done the Ambassador; and then concluded with his Excellency, that they would send a particular Messenger and Letter's to the *Prime Vizier*. As for the *Caimacan*, he fail'd not to send, on his part, to the *Vizier* an accompt of all that the Ambassador had told him, and represented to him by way of Complaint. On the other side *M. de Nointel* in his Letters tax'd the *Vizier* of Breach of his Word. He conjur'd him not to injure his Patience, which he had now contain'd as long as he could; to let him know the Final Resolution of the Port, and particularly to send him Order for a Pass for the Kings Ship.

The Expresses that carry'd these Letters set forth at several times. The *Caimacan's* Messenger departed the 18th of *June*, and the *M. de Nointel's* the next Day. The *Caimacan's* Messenger found the Court not far from *Silistria* from whence he return'd to *Constantinople* the Ninth of *July*. So soon as he arriv'd, his Master sent for the Ambassadors Chief Interpreter and told him, that the *Vizier* had given no answer to his Express; only had sent him word that he would let him understand the *Grand Signior's* Pleasure by another way. The Ambassadors *Courrier* was not return'd the 20th of *July*, when I left the City; and therefore I know not what answer he brought.

At the end of *June* the Ambassador sent for a Pass for the Director of the *Levant Company*, and for my self; a License to bring in a Parcel of Wine, and another to be admitted into the *Santa Sophia*. To which the *Caimacan* return'd for Answer, That he could not grant any one of the Ambassador's Demands, until he first knew the *Grand Vizier's* Mind: That it very much troubl'd him to refuse him such Trifles; but considering how Things stood between the *Grand Vizier* and the Ambassador, he should make himself a Publick Offender to grant Passes to his Excellency: but that so soon as he had leave, his Excellency should find the great Affection which he had for the *French Nation*.

This Refusal troubl'd me extreamly; for that it seem'd to confirm the Report, which ran about, That the *Grand Vizier* intended to Arrest the Ambassador and all the *French Nation*. I found I had a large Stock of Goods; as much as two Horses could carry, as I have said before. My Comrades Baggage and my own was as much as would load four Horses more. So that it was to no purpose to think of escaping by Flight, much less of concealing our selves. Besides this, three other Considerations very much augmented my cares and my perplexity. The first was, That whatsoever way I took to get into *Persia*, I could not get out of *Turkey* in three Months. during which time the *Port* would have time enough to send their Orders to the utmost Limits of the Empire to stop the *French*, if they design'd any such violent proceedings against 'em. The second was, That nothing of all that I carry'd of greatest Value, had paid at the Custom-House, so that if I happen'd to be search'd either at *Constantinople*, or any other Cities of *Turkey*, I could not expect any Assistance from the Ambassador. The third was, That because of the Heat of the Weather, there was no Caravan that travell'd into *Persia* till *October*.

In the midst of this Intricate Perplexity, *GOD*, whose Infinite Favour I have always experienc'd in my most pressing Necessities, shew'd me a ready way to make my escape from *Constantinople*. The *Grand Signior* has a Fortress about Twenty Miles from the River *Tanais*, over against that part where the great River discharges it self into the Lake *Maotis*; which Fort is call'd *Azac*. The *Port* sends thither every Year a New Commander with Souldiers and Money: and they send by Sea, because it is not above 1300 Miles by Water; and to avoid the Hazards by Land for fear of the *Tartars*, *Cossagues*

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and *Muscovites*. Moreover, the *Saique* which is a sort of *Turkish* Vessel that takes the Commander aboard, is not expos'd to the search of the Customers, as are the rest of the Ships that Sail into the *Black-Sea*. That which is aboard may be said to be free, there being none but the *Turkish* Commander that has any Authority to take Cognizance of it. This *Saique* touches at *Caffa*, which is a City and famous Port in the *Crimean Tartary*. Whence all the Vessels that are bound for *Mingrelia* or *Colchis* put to Sea in the Months of *September* and *October*, from whence it is not above seven or eight days Journey before ye enter into the *Persian Dominions*. There is no shorter way from *Constantinople* to *Persia*, nor less troublesome. For the whole Voyage may be made in three Weeks, all by Sea till within about Sixty Leagues, yet is there no passage less us'd, nor more unknown, by reason of the Dangers of the Sea; nor could I find any one Person at *Constantinople* that ever had undertaken it. I met with a great many that confirm'd my Report, and that had been at the Havens of *Mingrelia*, where there are great Numbers of *Armenians* and *Georgians*, the Subjects of the *Persian King*, who told me that it was not above six or seven Days Journey from thence into their Territories.

The Dangers of this Passage which discourage People from attempting it, are twofold: First, For that the *Black Sea* is very Tempestuous, to the loss of the most part of the Vessels for want of skill and good Havens. Besides that the People that inhabit between the Sea and the *Persian Territories* are naturally barbarous and wicked, without any Religion, and under no Government: So that I should never have so much as dreamt of the Way of *Colchis*, whatever might have been the Allurements of Curiosity, or Easiness of Passage, had not the Road through *Turkey* presented it self much more Formidable, considering the Mischievous Circumstances already mention'd. But that which most inclin'd me to the Voyage by Sea, was the Conveniency of the *Saïc* bound for *Azac*, which to me seem'd a most infallible way to get out of *Constantinople*, without much Trouble, and without any Danger, unless it were that of the *Black-Sea*. But that Sea so nam'd and so fam'd from terrible and frequent Shipwracks that happ'n in it for want of Skilful Pilots among the *Turks*, made me tremble to think of it. Nevertheless I saw the Hazards to which I expos'd my self, and the Dangers of the Voyage; however they did not terrifie me so much as the Dangers and Perils

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which I have mention'd either in staying any longer at *Constantinople*, or in travelling quite through *Turkey*.

The Danger indeed of the *Black-Sea* was the greatest, because it threaten'd the loss of all ; but it was more uncertain. The Hazards of *Turkey* were less ; for there was no fear of Life's being lost ; or of losing entirely the whole *Cargo*. But it was more difficult to be avoided, so that at length I resolv'd for the *Black-Sea*, and prepar'd to embark.

One of my Friends to whom I imparted my Design, engag'd a *Greek Merchant* to assist me, who was bound for *Colchis*, and went in the *Saïc* prepar'd for *Azac*. He was a very honest Man, besides that my Friend had some hand as well over his Estate as Person. So that he oblig'd him to serve me to the uttermost of his Power, under the forfeiture of his Friendship if he fail'd. Thereupon the *Greek Merchant* undertook to help me, and did it so cordially and sedulously that the Success answer'd both his Diligence and Fidelity. He took upon him to hire Cabbins for me in the *Saïc*, never discovering for whom it was ; he put my Goods aboard, some and some, as he saw his Opportunity. He gave me advice, and necessary Instructions how to make my self respected in the Vessel, and to get good Entertainment at *Cassa*, whither I was first bound. Among the rest of my Directions, he order'd me to get good Recommendations to the Officer that was to Command at *Azac*, and to take along with me the *Grand Signior's Pass*. As for the Recommendation, I did not much fear to get it, but the Pass drove me to despair, because I had already been refus'd it.

Thereupon I discover'd my perplexity to *M. de Nointel*, beseeching his Excellency to give me leave to make use of the Letters of Recommendation which I had from the *English Ambassador*, who was at *Paris*, when I departed thence, for the *English Ambassador* at *Constantinople*, that I might by his means obtain a Pass as an *English-Man*. Which although *M. de Nointel* scrupl'd at first, yet he consented at length, when I told him the Urgency of my Occasions. So that he caus'd his Secretary both to write and carry his Letter to the *English Ambassador*, who was very glad to serve his Excellency in my behalf. And indeed the Ambassador pursu'd his Kindness with the greatest Grace in the World, and with a real Affection, but without success. For as the *Caimacan* was ready to sign the Pass, Some-body gave him private Intimation to take a care what he did ; for that the Pass requir'd of him was for

a *French-Man* under pretence of being *English*. Which spoil'd all; and made a Difference between the *English* Ambassador and the *Caimacan*, who complain'd of the Surprize; and between the *English* Ambassador and *M. de Nointel*, whom he tax'd for having giv'n the *Caimacan* his private Intelligence.

The 19th of *July* the *Greek* Merchant who was to Conduct me to *Mingrelia*, came to give me notice that the *Saïc* lay at an Anchor near the Mouth of the *Black-Sea*, and only expected a fair Wind. So that I would presently have gone aboard, but my Friends did not think it convenient, till the Vessel was ready to Sail, for fear I should be discover'd for a *French-Man*. Thereupon I staid three days with *Signor Sinibaldi Fieschi*, Resident of *Genoa*, at a Country-House which he had upon the *Bosphorus*, and four days more at a fair Monastery of the *Greeks*, at the end of the Channel upon *Europe* side, over against the Harbour where the *Saïc* lay at Anchor.

The *Thracian Bosphorus* is certainly one of the Loveliest parts of the World. The *Greeks* call *Bosphori*, those Streights or Arms of the Sea which an Ox may be able to swim over. This Channel is about Fifteen Miles in length, and about Two in breadth, in most parts, but in others less. The Shores consist of Rising Grounds cover'd over with Houses of Pleasure, Wood, Gardens, Parks, Delightful Prospects, Lovely Wildernesses Water'd with Thousands of Springs and Fountains.

The Prospect of *Constantinople*, when ye behold it from the top of the Channel, at the distance of two Miles, is beyond compare, as being to my Eyes, as to all that ever saw it, the most Charming Prospect that can be seen. The Passage through the *Bosphorus* is the most lovely and fullest of Diversifement that can be made by Water: And the number of Barks that Sail to and fro in fair Weather is very great. The Resident of *Genoa* told me, He made it his Pastime to tell the Boats that Sail'd to and fro before his House from Noon to Sun-set, in what time he told no less then Thirteen Hundred.

There are Four Castles that stand upon the *Bosphorus* well Fortifi'd with great Guns: Two, Eight Miles from the *Black-Sea*, and Two more near the Mouth of the Channel. The Two latter were built not above Forty Years ago, to prevent the *Cossacks*, *Muscovite* and *Polanders* from entring into the Mouth

Mouth of the Channel; who before made frequent Inroads into it with their Barks, almost within sight of *Constantinople*.

The 17th by break of day I embark'd, our Vessel being then under Sail. Above Fourscore Vessels of different Burthens put to Sea at the same time. In ours there were about Two Hundred Men; the Commander of *Azac* with his Train, to the Number of *Twenty*; a Hundred Janisaries, Thirty Mariners, and Fifty Passengers. I had three Cabbins, two for my Comrade and my self, and the third for our Goods. Our Servants lay upon the Deck. Their Cabbins are very narrow and incommodious; ours being at the Prow. There were in all Thirty two in the *Saie*, with a great Cabbin for the Captain, very spacious and handsomely furnish'd; wherein Ten Persons might lodge very conveniently. But that which is very inconvenient in the Turkish Vessels is this, That they make no Provision of any thing for Subsistence, not so much as of Wood and Water; for the rest might well be endur'd. Every one has his Liberty to dress his Vittles three or four times a day. The Fire Place is upon the Deck near the Poop: where they who have any thing to dress carry their Kettle, their Wood and their Water. So that I have seen about Eighteen Pots together upon the Fire. Their Places of Ease are with outside of the Ship near the Poop, like Cages, which they take off and hang on as they please themselves.

The *Saies* have no more then one Deck. Nor but two Masts with a Boltsprit; that is, a Main Mast and Mizzen. These Masts carry but two Sails, and for the most part but one. They have no Shrouds but one that is very small, which is fix'd to the Main Mast, and hangs down upon the Deck. They have no Skuttles at the top of their Masts. So that the Turkish Seamen never run up to the Yards Arms to furl or loosen their Sails, which is needless, because the Yards Arm is always below upon the Deck; so that when they would take the Wind, they only draw up the Yards Arm to which the Sail is fix'd. The Top-Sail is ty'd to the Yards Arm, and when they would make use of it, they pull up the Yards Arm with a Pully fasten'd to the Top-Mast-Head. Thus it may be easily seen that they neither understand the Use of the Yard-Arms nor Masts of a Ship.

Neither have they in these Vessels either Pumps to pump out the Water, nor Capstalls to weigh their Anchors; but they empty out their Water with Pales: and then when they weigh

Anchor, there are Twenty or Thirty Men that take hold of the Anchor-Cables that run through two small Pulleys fasten'd to the Prow of the Ship, and draw up the Anchor with all their Might, till it be high enough. When a Vessel enters laden into any Port, they fix four Anchors, two to her Poop, and two to her Prow, and so let her lie. And this is all I have observ'd in reference to the Building and Rigging of these sort of Vessels among the *Turks*.

As for their Navigation there is nothing of Art, nor Security in it: The best of the *Turkish* or *Greek* Pilots depend only upon a bare Experience, without any Foundation of Rules. They never make any use of Sea-Carts, nor ever make those exact Observations, like our Seamen, of the Ships way every day set down in Journals, by which Observations they know how far they are from the place whither they intend. They understand very little of the Compass; only they know that the *Flower de Luce* always tends toward the North. When they are to make any Voyage they stay for a good Wind and fair Weather. Nor do they, when that is come, presently put to Sea till they have staid eight or ten Hours to see whether the Weather will hold or no: and generally they Sail along by the Shore, having the Land always in sight. But when they are forc'd to take the Main Sea, then they make use of the Compass: To which purpose they know either by report or experience upon which hand they ought to have the North, that they may gain such a Harbour; which is all they have to guide 'em; for more then this they know not. Were they to make long Voyages in the open Sea, hardly one Ship would escape a Tempest, which they happily avoid, keeping as much as they can within sight of Land, or near some Harbour. When the Wind is very high, they furl their Sails, and let the Vessel drive with the Waves. If the Wind be contrary, they never strive against it, but veer about, and rather return from whence they came, then endure the Violence of a contrary Sea. That which ruins 'em, is when the Wind blows 'em upon the Shore; for then they are so out of heart, that they split immediately not knowing what it is to lie by.

I have heard several old *Turkish* Captains affirm, That there are Fifteen Hunder'd Vessels upon the *Black-Sea*, of which they lose a Hunderd every Year. The most dangerous place where Shipwracks are most to be fear'd being at the Entrance of *Bosphorus*.

The Entrance into it is very Narrow, where generally the Winds encounter one another; of which there is one that still keeps back the Vessels, which if it be violent dings 'em upon the Coast which is full of sharp Rocks; to the loss of so many Gallies and Ships that their Number is hardly to be numberd. 'Tis but a little while since that no less than seventeen Gallies were cast away in one day. And there is no question but that the frequent Storms that arise at all seasons in the *Black-Sea*, the Surges short, and cutting one upon another, its streight and narrow Channel, and the dangerous Coasts that in part surround it, are the chief cause of the several Shipwracks that happ'n there. On the other side there is no doubt also but that skilful Pilots and good Seamen would save above half the Vessels which are there lost.

The Third of *August* in the Morning we arriv'd at *Cassa*, after a Voyage of eight days, all which time we had very fair Weather and little Wind. Upon the Fifth we spy'd the Point of the *Tauric Chersonnese*. For the *Greeks* call that a *Chersonnese*, which the *Latins* call a *Peninsula*, and they gave that Name to this almost *Tauric* Island, because it was first inhabited by the *Scythians* of *Mount Taurus*. It lies toward the East and West, being about 250 Leagues in Circuit; that is, 35 Leagues in length, which I take from the North to the South, and 55 Leagues in the broadest part. But the *Isthmus* that joyns it to the Continent is not above a League in breadth. The Modern Geographers call it *Crim Tartary* and *Precopensian Tartary*. As much as to say *Tartary* full of Towns; to distinguish the *Tartars* of this *Peninsula* that live for the most part in Cities, especially all the Winter long, from those other *European Tartars*, which inhabit without the *Peninsula*, call'd *Nogays*, as also *Hordes* or *Hordon*, a word which signifies an Assembly, and of which the *Turks* and *Persians* generally make use to signify the Camp of an Army, or the Numerous Train of a Court. The Country belonging to these two sorts of *Tartars*, *Precops* and *Nogays*, is that which we call the *Lesser Tartary* to distinguish it from the *Asiatick Tartars* that inhabit beyond the *Lake Maotis*, to the East of the *Caspian Sea*, and thence as far as *China*.

The Sea-Coast of this *Precopens Peninsula*, to speak of that part which shoots farthest into the Sea as far as *Cassa*, consists of very high Shoars, and Mountains cover'd with Woods and Villages. And by the Account of the Seamen, it is from *Constantinople* to *Cassa* through the *Black-Sea*, 750 Miles. Tho I know

know not how they reck'n, nor how it can agree, with what frequently happens, for the *Sails* to make the Voyage in two Days and two Nights just. And therefore by my Accompt it is no more then Two Hunderd Leagues. Upon our coming to an Anchor, our Vessel fir'd two Guns, and the Commander design'd for *Azac* made all his Musketeers give the Castle a Volley. Which done, he went ashoar with the Officers that were come to receive him in the *Basba's* Name. Both the City and Port are very free; for you have Liberty to go in and out, never asking any leave: Nor do they come aboard to search the Vessels. But when a Ship drops her Anchor, several Boats make from the Haven to carry those ashoar that are desirous to go.

Caffa is a great Town built at the bottom of a little Hill upon the Sea-shoar. It extends it self more in length then breadth, lying in length very directly from the South to the North; encompass'd with very strong Walls, that advance a little into the Sea, which is the reason that when we take a Prospect of the City from the upper part of the Deck, it seems to be built like a Half-Moon. The Castle upon the South side stands upon a Rising Ground that commands all the parts thereabout, being very large, and the Residence of the *Basba*. The other is not so big, but well stor'd and defended with great Guns; the Sea washing that side which is next to it. They reck'n about 4000 Houses to be in *Caffa*; of which 3200 are inhabited by *Mahometans*, *Turks* and *Tartars*, and 800 by *Christians*, *Greeks* and *Armenians*; though the *Armenians* are more numerous then the *Greeks*. The Houses are but small, and all built of Earth, as are also their *Bazars* or Market-places, their Publick Structures, Mosques, and Baths. There is not one Building of Stone in all the City, except eight Churches somewhat gone to decay, formerly built by the *Genoeses*. This *Caffa* was once call'd *Theodosia*, which the *Greeks* built in the fifth Age. Afterwards it fell under the Dominion of the *Genoeses*, with several other Sea-Port Towns in several parts of that Sea, in the Thirteenth Age, in the time of the Holy War, and during the weak and low Condition of the Eastern Emperors. But *Mahomet* the Second won all those Places from the *Genoeses* toward the end of the Sixteenth Age; *Caffa* being taken in the Year 1574.

The Soyl about *Caffa* is Dry and Sandy; nor is the Water good; but the Air is very pure and wholsom. There are very few Gardens about it, nor is there but little Fruit. However

ever they bring great Quantities from the Neighbouring Villages, though it cannot be said to be very delicious. However I do not know whether there be any other City in the World where other Provisions are cheaper and better. Their Mutton is exceeding well-tasted, and not above one Farthing a Pound. Their other Provisions of Bread, Fruit, Wild Fowl, and Butter, is sold proportionably at a cheaper Rate. Salt is as good as giv'n ye; and in a word, whatever is necessary for Human Sustenance costs little or nothing. Nevertheless by the way take notice, that Fresh Fish is a very great Rarity, and very small whatever that they catch in the parts round about the Harbour, and that only at certain times, as in *Autumn* and the *Spring*. Almost all the *Turks* and *Tartars* that live in the Town wear little Bonnets of Cloath fac'd with Sheepskins. But in regard that over all *Asia* Bonnets are most usually worn among the *Christians*, those of *Cassa* are oblig'd to fasten to theirs a little piece of Cloath, such as the *Jews* in *Germany* wear upon their Cloaks, to distinguish 'em from the *Mahometans*.

The Road of *Cassa* is shelter'd from the Winds, except it be to the *North* and *South-East*: and the Ships lie at Anchor near the Shoar in Ten and Twelve Fathom Water, Ouzie at the bottom and very safe. There is also a great Trade driven there, more then in any other Port belonging to the *Black-Sea*. During the Forty Days that I staid there, I saw come in and go out above Four Hundred Sail of Ships, not counting little Vessels that keep close to the Shoar. The most usual and most considerable Trade which they drive consists in Salt Fish, and *Caveare*, which comes from the Lake *Maotis*, and is thence transported into *Europe*, and as far as the *Indies*. 'Tis incredible what a World of Fish is caught in that Lake, considering its extent. And the reason which the Country People give for the Infinite Multitude of Fish there bred and taken, is this, For that the Water of that Lake being muddy, thick, and not very salt, because of the *Tanaïs* that empties it self into it, it invites not only the Fish out of *Tanaïs* and the *Black-Sea*, but also out of the *Hellespont* and the *Archipelago*; where they breed and grow fat in a small time. Several Persons have assur'd me, That they usually catch Fish in that Lake, which weigh every one Eight and Nine Hundred Pounds, and of which they make between three and four Hundred weight of *Caveare*. 'Tis true, I never saw any such large Fish alive at *Cassa*; however I am apt to believe it, by the pieces of

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Fish

Fish which I have seen, and the vast Quantities which they export into a Thousand Places. Their Fishing lasts from *October* till *April*. And perhaps it is the Mudd of that Water of *Mæotis* which makes them call it a *Merse*; for otherwise it would be more properly call'd a Lake, in regard it bears Vessels of Burden, nor do the Waters rise or fall, and besides that it continually partakes of a great River and the Sea.

Next the Exportation of *Caveare* and Fish, the most considerable Trade is driv'n in Corn, Butter and Salt, with which this City furnishes *Constantinople*, and several other places. The *Cassa* Butter is the best in all *Turkey*. The *Venetians* have several times desir'd leave to Trade to this Town; but it would never be granted. In the Year 1672. *Signor Quirini* was at great Expences to obtain it, and he had obtain'd it indeed, but the Customer of *Constantinople* caus'd the Licence to be revok'd upon this Occasion.

All the *Europeans* have it agreed in their Capitulations, That they shall pay no Customs, but in such places where they unlade their Goods. By Virtue of which Article the *Venetians* would pay no Customs at *Constantinople* for Goods that came in a small Vessel bound for *Cassa*, which the Farmer of the Customs claim'd. And *Signor Quirini* obtain'd an Order from the *Defterdar* to the Farmer, not to take any Cognizance of what was in the said *Venetian* Vessel: (Which *Defterdar* is the High Treasurer of the Empire; and has all the Customs under his Inspection.) But the Customer seeing this Order, wrote to the *Vizier*, That the Trade of the *Venetians* into the *Black-Sea*, would be very prejudicial to the *Grand Signior* and the Port, and that the particular Damage to his Highness was most visible, in regard the Merchandize which is proper for the *Black-Sea* and brought from *Venice* pays Customs twice, at their coming into the Port of *Constantinople*, and going out. That it was the same thing as to the Commodities that were brought out of that Sea, and which the *Venetians* Export, all which the *Grand Signior* would lose if the *Venetians* had Liberty to Trade thither, in regard that by Virtue of their Capitulations, they ought to pay no Customs but where they discharge their Merchandises. Besides, that to permit the *Venetians* an Entrance into the *Black-Sea*, was to open a new way for the *Christian* Princes to Correspond and Confederate with the Princes whose Dominions border upon those Seas who are all Enemies to the Port. And lastly,

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That

That it behov'd him to consider that such a Permission would ruine a great Number of Seamen, of the *Grand Signior's* Subjects, as well *Turks* as *Christians*, for that in regard there is more Security in the *European* Navigation than in the *Turkish*, the *Venetians* would have all the Carriage of Goods through the *Black Sea*, and every one would Ship his Goods in their Vessels. The *Grand Vizier* was sensible of this; and therefore gave Orders to the Governor of *Constantinople* not to let any *Venetian* Ship pass into the *Black-Sea*.

The 30th my *Grecian* Guide unladed my Goods, Baggage, and whatever belong'd to me out of the Ship that brought me to *Caffa*, and Ship'd it aboard another Vessel bound for *Colchis*. Which done, he went to the *Customer* of *Caffa*, and told him, That there were two *French Papa's* aboard the Vessel of *Azac*, who were desirous to Embark themselves in another Vessel, being bound for *Mingrelia*. That those *Papa's* carry'd several Trifles along with 'em, as Books, and other Things of no value, for the Use of a Monastery; and that if the *Custom-House* thought fit, that he should send some of their Officers to search the Ship. For the *Oriental Christians* as well as the *Turks*, call *Papa's* all manner of Ecclesiastical Persons that Officiate in Holy Orders, whether Single or Married; and therefore my Guide thought fit that my Companion and my self should both take upon us the Title of *Papa's*.

To that purpose our *Greek* made 'em believe, that we were going to the *Italian Missionaries* in *Colchis*, and that we were of their Fraternity. However the *Customer* sent his Officers aboard to search our Packs; and our *Greek* came along with him. Presently I open'd two Chests before the Searcher; who put his Hand into one that was full of only Books, Papers, and Mathematical Instruments, and finding nothing more at the Bottom, then what he saw at the Top, fell a laughing, and ask'd the Man that brought him, If such Rubbish as that were worth carrying out of *Europe* into *Mingrelia*? With that I fumbld out one of those Pieces that are worth Three Shillings, like a Man that had not much to spare, but look'd upon five or six of those Pieces to be a great Treasure; and presented the Searcher with it; who refus'd it at first, but took it at last, when I told him 'twas only to pay for his Boat, which he could not deny; and so went away without more ado. My Guide went along with him, and heard the Report which he made to the *Customer*, That we had nothing but

but a few Books and Papers, with some few Toys of Brass and Wood that were of little or no Value.

At the end of two Hours my faithful Guide return'd, and told me, That to protect us absolutely from any further danger of the *Customers*, it behov'd us to give the Clerk of the Vessel as much as we had giv'n the Searcher; in regard the Clerk took an exact Note of all that was embark'd, and gives it every Evening to the *Customer*, who keeps it for a Control: to which I answer'd, That he might do what he thought fit. Thereupon presently calling to the Clerk, Thou seest, said he, that the Searcher has found nothing in the *Frank Papa's* Chests. They have one more full of Papers, and five or six Boxes of Pictures for their Church. That they did not op'n 'em because the Air spoils the Colour of the Painting, and because the Pictures were carefully ty'd up in Bundles; and therefore I desire thee to accept of this Three Shillings which they give thee, and to put down in thy Note no more then the two Chests which the Searcher has seen, without taking Cognizance of the rest. Upon which he let us carry away all that we had, and bid us, *Farewel in the Name of God*. So that we carry'd off all our Goods in two Boats, and put 'em aboard the Ship that was bound for *Mingrelia*. Nor did any Body demand any thing of us. For the *Customers*, and the Seamen of the Ship which we left as well as of the other Vessel wherein we embark'd again, really believ'd us to be *Papa's*, and that all we carry'd with us was of little worth: that the Sacks wherein I told 'em were our Provisions were full of nothing else beside. For there are certain Sights and Shifts which we cannot so well set down, that are absolutely necessary for those that travel *Turkey*, that they who can make a right use of may pass securely and without trouble. For thereby we avoid Forfeitures and ill usage, and we free our selves dextrously from the Custom-Houses, which take 'em all together, are none of the severest. But after all, it requires Good Luck, that is to say, a prudent Conduct and a Contrivance proper to the Genius of the *Turky*; and a Man must also be sure to watch his Opportunities.

The 25th of *August*, the Vessel that brought us to *Cassa*, set Sail for the Fortrefs of *Azac*, with three *Saics* of the same Burden in her Company. The New Commander would not have had her set Sail till the return of the *Courrier* which he had sent to the Fortrefs, to know whether they were at Peace with the *Muscovites*, and whether there were any Pirates or

not Cruising upon the Lake *Maotis*. The People of *Caffa* reckon it 450 Miles from thence to *Azac*: though it be not so much by Land, in regard they travel it easily in Twelve or Thirteen Days. As for the Streight of the Lake *Maotis*, or rather the Channel between the Lake and the *Black-Sea*, it is about five Leagues in length. Which Channel was by the Ancients call'd the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*; but now the Moderns call it the Streight of *Caffa*, and also the Mouth of *St. John*. The great Vessels that go to *Azac* put in at *Palestra*, which is Forty Miles from the Fortrefs, and Twenty from the River *Tanais*; for that there is not Water deep enough for 'em to Sail any farther. The Fortrefs of *Azac* is Fifteen Miles from the River: And it is very dangerous and hazardous to send either Men or Money to that Place; for they are attack'd by strong Parties of the *Muscovites* as well by Sea as by Land. The Commanders of this Fortrefs make always Leagues with the Neighborhood, though they seldom last long: for that either of one side or t'other there arise every day new Occasions to break 'em. The *Turks* have two little Fortresses where they keep Garison at the Mouth of the *Tanais* upon the Banks of that great River which the Ancients call'd *Orientes*, and which the People of the Country call *Don*, being about Fourscore Leagues in length. They Fortifie the Mouth of this River with a vast Chain, to prevent the *Muscovites* and *Circassians* from Roving with their great Barks upon the Lake and the *Black-Sea*. For before those two Fortresses were built, and this Chain fasten'd athwart the River, those People came down with their Boats and Cruis'd about all over those Seas. But there is a stop now put to their great Vessels. However in the Night-time, and by the power of Number, they sometimes force their smaller Barks over the Chain; but 'tis very rarely that they will venture, for fear of being sunk by the Shot from the two Forts. There was also formerly another Fort three Leagues off from the *Mersb* call'd *Tana*, belonging to the River *Tanais*; but it is now ruin'd; nor is it *Azac*, as some would have it to be, which is fifteen Leagues distant from it.

The 30th our Vessel put to Sea, and Sail'd to a place call'd *Donflow*, or the Salt-Pits; which are great *Mersbes* of Salt upon the Shoar fifty Miles from *Caffa*. We arriv'd there the 31st in the Morning: Immediately all the People went to Lade Salt; for there was no Guard kept upon it; and they assur'd us that Two Hunderd Vessels were Laden there every Year

with Salt, and that there was enough for twice as many if there were occasion. These Salt-Pits are supply'd without any Charges: For they only let in the Water into the *Merſb*; which is a fat and hard Earth at the bottom. There it congeals and becomes a white Salt, which has all the good Qualities of Salt, and among the rest that it preserves the Moisture of Salted Meats. They only pay Three Shillings a Day to those that they employ to lade the Salt, without any further Examination how much they carry away.

About a Mile from the Shoar there is a Habitation of the *Tartars*; whither I went with some of my Servants to buy Provisions, but I did not see in all that place above Ten or Twelve Houses with a little Mosque. Only round about it there was a great Number of Tents, Round and Square very well clos'd, together with several Wagons close and cover'd, which serve 'em in stead of Houses. The fairest of their Tents were very handsome, being made of Round Poles lay'd a cross one upon another, and cover'd without with large Furs very light and well stretch'd. The Door is made after the same Manner, with an opening at the Top, for the Light to come in, and the Smoak to go out. The Door is shut with a piece of Felt. The inside is Hung with Tapeſtry, and the Floor cover'd also with the same. Every Family has one Tent of the same Fashion and two others. The other is cover'd with a great Sarpler of Wooll, for their Cattel and Horses. The other cover'd with the same, but not so handsome, and much larger; in the midst of which is a round Pit five Foot deep and two Foot wide, and there it is that they dress their Vittles. Here their Slaves lie, and here they keep their Provisions for the Family. The *Tartars* store up their Corn and their Forrage, as do all the Country People in the *East*, in deep Pits under Ground which they call *Amber*, or Magazines. Which they cover so exactly, that you cannot discern where they have remov'd the Earth, so that only they that made the Pits can tell where to find 'em. The *Tartars* dig these Pits either in their Tents or in the Field; and as I have said they cover these Pits so like the rest of the surface of the Earth round about it, that you cannot perceive where they broak the Ground. When they remove their Quarters, they do it presently and without any Trouble; their Tents being pull'd down and lad'n in less then Half an Hour. Their most usual Carriage is by Oxen and Horses of which they breed a Great Number. The People profess the *Mahumetan* Religion but

but intermix'd with strange Superstitions and Ridiculous Opinions of Fortune Telling and Divination.

The 2d of *September* the Wind blew hard and contrary, so that we were constrain'd to return for *Caffa*, in regard the Coast where we lay was very dangerous.

The Seventh at Midnight we put again to Sea with fair Weather, which did not long continue. For in the Morning rose a most furious Tempest, insomuch that we were afraid of being cast away; and that which encreas'd our fears was this, that our Vessel was very deep Loaden, not only the Hold being full, but Twelve Foot High above Deck. But the Storm, thanks be to God, was soon over, and that which sav'd us was this, that the Wind was with us.

Our Ships Lading consisted in Salt, Fish, *Caveare*, Oyl, Biscuite, Wooll, Iron, Tin, Copper, Copper and Earthen Ware, in all sorts of Harness, Arms, Utensils of Husbandry, Cloth, Linnen of all Colours, Habits for Men and Women, Coverlets, Carpets, Leather, Boots and Shooes, and in a word in all things most necessary for Mans Use. There were all sorts of Grocery and Potheary's Ware, Spices, Perfumes, Drugs and all manner of Oyntments. So that the Vessel seem'd to be a little Town, where every thing was to be had; besides the People that were aboard, to the Number of a Hunderd.

The 8th in the Morning we discover'd the Coasts that bound the Lake *Mæotis*, which were very High Lands about 30 Miles distant from us. In the Evening we found our selves near *Cape Cuodos* which *Ptolomy* calls *Cirocondoma*, thouting out far into the Sea; the shoar being all very High Land, and seen a great way off. From *Caffa* to this Point, we sail'd all along in the Channel, from whence to *Mingrelia* we always kept along by the shoar.

It is Six and Twenty Mile from *Caffa* to the Channel of the Lake *Mæotis*. The Country on each side is all in Subjection to, and inhabited by the *Tartars*, but so very thinly that all the Coast is like a desert. From the Channel of the *Palus Mæotis* to *Mingrelia* they reck'n it Six Hunderd Miles along the Coast, which consists of pleasant Mountains cover'd with Woods, inhabited by the *Circassians* whom the Turks call *Cherks*. By the Ancients they were generally call'd *Zageans*, as also Mountaineers. *Pomponius Mela* calls 'em *Sargacians*. They are neither the Subjects of the *Port*, nor Tributary to it; their Climate being very bad, cold and moist;
it

it produces no Wheat, nor indeed does it afford any thing that is rare and valuable ; which is the reason that the *Turks* leave all this vast Country to the Natives, not worth the Toyl of Conquering, nor the Charge of Keeping. The Vessels that are bound from *Constantinople* and *Cassa* for *Mingrelia*, cast Anchors in several places along these Coasts, and stay at every place a Day or two : During which time they Trade with the *Cherks* with their Arms i' their Hands. For when any of them desire to come aboard, they give Hostages, and so they likewise do when any of the Seamen or Persons in the Ship desire to go ashoar, which is very seldom ; for they are a very perfidious People : and therefore they give three Hostages for one. The Seamen carry thither all the very same Commodities which they carry into *Mingrelia*, for which they take in Exchange Slaves of all Sexes and Ages ; Honey, Wax, Leather, and *Chacal*-Skins ; which *Chacal* is a Beast like a *Fox*, but much bigger. *Zerdava's*, which is a Furr that resembles a *Martin* ; with the Furrs of other Beasts that breed in the Mountains of *Circassia*. Which is all to be had among these People. They Exchange their Commodities after this manner : The Ship-Boat Rows close to the Shoar, and they that are in it are well arm'd. Nor will they suffer a greater Number of *Cherks* to come nearer the place where the Boat lies then they themselves are : For if they see a greater Number approach, they presently put out to Sea. When they are come so near as to talk one to another, they shew their Commodities, agree upon the Barter to be made, and presently make the Exchange : however it behoves 'em to stand upon their Guard all the while : For the *Cherks* are Infidelity and Perfidy it self ; and it is an Impossibility for 'em to find an Opportunity to steal, but they take their Advantage.

They are a People altogether Savage : formerly Christians ; but now of no Religion, not having so much as the Light of Nature among 'em. For I look upon their Superstitious Customs as nothing ; which seem to be a Mixture borrow'd from the *Christians* and *Mahumetans* their Neighbors. They live in Wooden Huts, and go almost Naked. Every Person is a sworn Enemy to those that live in the Provinces round about 'em. The Inhabitants make Slaves one of another, and sell one another to the *Turks* and *Tartars*. And for their Ground the Women Till and Manure it. The *Cherks* and their Neighbors live upon a kind of Paste made of a very small Grain like to Millet : and they who have Traffick along these Coasts will

will tell ye a Thousand Stories of the Barbarous Customs of these People. However there is no safety in believing the Reports which are spread abroad either of those that live upon the Sea-Coasts, or of those that inhabit farther up in the Country; in regard that no body travels thither, and all that we know is by means of the Slaves that are brought from thence, who are all meer Savages, from whom there is nothing to be learnt of Certainty. This is the reason why I have made no more Descriptions of Places in my Map of the *Black-Sea*, which is at the beginning of this Book, chusing rather to leave a space for the *Circassians* and *Abca's* void, then to fill it up upon the Credit of People so illiterate, who for the most part can hardly tell the *North* from the *South*.

The *Abca's* border upon the *Cherks*, possessing about a Hundred Miles of the Sea-Coast between *Mingrelia* and *Circassia*. However they are not altogether so much Savages as the *Cherks*, but they are equally inclin'd with *Them* to Thieving and Robbery. The Seamen also Trade with 'em, with the same Precautions as with their Neighbors already mention'd. They stand in need of the same Commodities as their Neighbors, and make their Exchanges in Slaves, Furrs, Does and Tigres Skins, Linnen, Thread, Box, Wax and Honey.

The 10th of *September* we arriv'd at *Isagaour*: Which is a Road belonging to *Mingrelia*, pretty safe in the Summer: and there the Vessels that Trade into *Colchis* lie; so that we saw seven great Ships there, when we arriv'd in the Road. Presently our Captain fasten'd his own Vessel to four Anchors, two at the Prow and two at the Poop, and carry'd his Masts and his Yards ashoar. As for *Isagaour* it is a desert place without any Habitations: only according to the Number of Traders that come thither, they build up Huts and Booths of Boughs, as they find themselves secure from the *Abca's*, which does not often happen. But besides those Huts, there is not one House to be seen.

Now before I enter into the Relation of the Hardships which I suffer'd, and the Dangers I underwent in *Mingrelia*, I shall give ye a Description of the Country and Parts that border about it, without intermixing any thing Dubious, or what I have not learnt by exact Information.

Colchis is situated at the end of the *Black-Sea*. To the East it is enclos'd with a little Kingdom, which makes a part of *Georgia*, which by the People of the Country is call'd *Imiretta*,

by the *Turks*, *Pacha tchconk* or *Pacha Koutchouk*, as much as to say, the *Little Prince*: to the *South*, by the *Black-Sea*; to the *West*, by the *Abca's*; and to the *North*, by *Mount Caucasus*. In length it lies between the Sea and the Mountains; in breadth, it extends from the *Abca's* to the Kingdom of *Imiretta*. The *Corax* and *Phasis*, famous Rivers in Ancient History, at present call'd *Coclours* and *Rione*, serve for its Bounds; while the first parts it from the *Abca's*; the second from *Imiretta*. The length of *Colchis* is a Hundred and Ten Miles at most, the breadth Sixty. Which I know to be true, not only by the concurring Report of the People of the Country, but also as having cross'd it my self from one end to the other. It was formerly Fortifi'd against the *Abca's* by a Wall Sixty Miles in length, which has been laid in Ruines these many Years: So that now the Thick Forests are its chiefest Defence, and its greatest Security. The Inhabitants of *Caucasus*, that border upon *Colchis*, are the *Alane's*, whose Country was formerly the Northern Frontier of *Armenia*; the *Swane's*, the *Gigne's*, the *Caracioles* or *Cara-cherks*; a sort of People more Barbarous then their Names. These *Cara-cherks*, as they are call'd by the *Turks*, that is to say, the *Black Circassians*, are the Northern *Circassians*. The *Turks* so call 'em, though they are the fairest People in the World, by reason of the Fogs and Clouds that continually dark'n their Skie. Formerly they were Christians; and some Relicks of their Customs they retain, and some certain Ceremonies also they observe, yet at present they profess no Religion, but live by Robbery and Rapine, utterly ignorant of all Arts and Sciences, and having nothing that may entitle 'em to Humanity, but their Speech. They are much taller and more portly then other People; so furious in their Looks, and speaking with such a terrible Tone, that you may easily thence discern their Dispositions and their Courage to be no less savage. Their very Countenances are frightful to look upon; more especially when you come to experience their Civility, and understand 'em to be the most resolute *Assassins*, and most daring Robbers in the World.

The Ancient Kingdom of *Colchis* was not so small a Kingdom as now; for it extended on the one side to the *Palus Maotis*, and the other way as far as *Iberia*. The Capital City was also call'd *Colchis*, seated at the Mouth of *Phasis* upon the Western side of the River, and that was the Reason that *Mingrelia* was formerly call'd *Colchis*; for that *Mingrelia* is bounded by this River, to the *East*. Our Modern *Geographers* have seated another

ther City which they call *Fasso*, in the place where *Colchis* stood; but this I know my self to be a grand Mistake.

All the Oriental People call *Colchis Odische*, and the *Colchians Mingrelians*; though I could never understand the Etymology of either of those Words. The Country it self is unequal; full of Hills and Mountains, Valleys and Plains; which causes great variety of Prospect, and it rises insensibly from the Sea-shoar. It is almost all over cover'd with Woods, except the Fields that are Manur'd, which are not very many; and besides, the Woods are so thick and tall, and the Trees grow so fast, that if they did not grub up the Roots that spread themselves into the Till'd Land, and the High-ways, the whole Country in a short time would be nothing but a Thick Forest altogether Impassable. The Air is temperate as well in respect of the Heat as Cold, but very moist and very unwholsom in regard of the extream wet Weather; for it rains there almost perpetually. In Summer the Moisture of the Earth, being heated by the Sun, infects the Air, and causes not only frequent Pestilences, but several other Distempers and Diseases. Therefore insupportable to Strangers. For it reduces 'em to a Ghastly Leanness, and renders 'em in a Years time yellow, juiceless and faint. The Natives of the Country, more us'd to the Climate, are not so much incommoded by it, for the time that they live, which is seldom above Threescore Years.

Colchis abounds with Water-Streams, which fall from the Mountains of *Caucasus*, and discharge themselves into the *Black-Sea*. The Principal Rivers are *Codours*, which is that *Corax* I have already mention'd; the *Socom*, which I take to be the *Terscen* of *Arrian*, and the *Thasseris* of *Ptolomy*; the *Langur*, call'd by the Ancients *Astolphus*; the *Cobi*, by *Arrian* call'd *Cobo*, which before it enters into the Sea, meets with another River call'd *Cianiscari*, which was the Ancient *Cianeus*. The *Tacheur* which *Arrian* calls *Sigamus*; The *Scheniscari*, that is to say, The *River Horse*, so call'd from the Rapidness of its course, and which the *Greeks* for the same Reason call *Hippus*; and the *Abascia* to which *Strabo* gives the Name of *Glancus*, *Arrian* that of *Caries*, and *Ptolomy* that of *Caritus*. These two Rivers intermix with *Phasis*, about Twenty Miles from the place where it discharges it self into the Sea. I have set down as well the Ancient as Modern Names of the *Mingrelian* Rivers, in regard that all the Historical Geographers, especially *Arrian*, and several of the Moderns place 'em ill. But besides these Rivers there are are some others of lesser note; of which

I say no more, for that before they fall into the Sea, they lose themselves in those larger Torrents already mention'd.

The Soyl of *Colchis* is very bad, and produces little Corn or Pulse. The Fruits are almost all wild, without any taste, and very unwholsom; and yet there grow in *Colchis* almost as many sorts as we have in *France*. They have also very large Melons, but they are worth very little or nothing. The only Fruit that thrives best in this Country are their Grapes; of which there is great Plenty. The Vines grow about the Trees, and run up to the very Top of the Boughs. I have seen some Stocks of these Vines that have been so large, that I could hardly compass 'em with both my Arms. They prune their Vines every four Years, and as for the Wine of *Mingrelia* I must needs say it is most excellent. It is strong, and has a very good Body; pleasing to the Taste, and comfortable to the Stomach. Nor do I know where there is better in any part of *Asia*. So that if the Country People knew how to make Wine so well as we do, theirs would be the best in the World. But they never take any pains at all with it. They only hollow the larger Trunks of great Trees, which they make use of in stead of Tubs. In those they bruise and squeeze the Grapes, and then pour out the Juyce into great Earthen Jarrs, which they bury in their Houses, or else hard by. These Vessels contain about two or three Hunderd Quarters. And when the Vessel is full, they close it up with a Wooden Cover, and then lay the Earth upon it. For indeed they cover these Urns just after the same manner as I have told ye that the Eastern People cover the Pits where they store up their Corn.

The Earth is so moist in *Mingrelia* in Seed-time, that for fear of softning too much the Land where they sow their Wheat and Barley, they never Plough it at all. They only cast their Grain upon the Top of the Earth, and that is sufficient: for it comes up without any farther trouble, taking root a foot deep in the Mould. The *Mingrelians* moreover affirm, That should they Plough their Ground where they sow their Barley and Wheat, it would be so soft that the least Wind would lodge the Stalks, so that they would never be able to rise again. Their other Lands they plough, and sow their other Grain with Ploughs and Ploughshares of Wood, which make however as deep Furrows as if they were of Iron, by reason of the softness and moisture of the Earth, as I have already said.

Their usual Grain is *Gom* : which is a sort of Grain as small as Coriander Seed, and very much resembles Millet. Which they sow in the Spring-time after the same manner as they do Rice : for they make a Hole in the Ground with their Finger, then put in the Grain and cover it. This Grain produces a Stalk about the bigness of a Mans Thumb, and grows up as high as most Men are tall ; at the end of which there is an Ear that contains above Three Hunderd Grains : And indeed the *Gom*-Stalk is very like to the Sugar-Cane. They gather this Grain in *October*, and presently lay it upon high Hurdles expos'd to the Sun ; which they do to dry it. After it has been Twenty Days upon the Hurdles, they bind it up in Sheaves ; but they thrash it only as they have occasion to boyl it, and they never boyl it, but just before they go to eat it. It is insipid and heavy. Yet is it presently boyl'd, and in less then half an hour after it is put into the Water, they stir it softly with a Stick ; and after it has stood never so little upon the Fire, it turns into Past. When the Grain is all dissolv'd, and the Past well wrought together, they lessen the Fire, let the Water boyl away, and the Past harden and dry in the Skellet where it was boyl'd.

This Past is very white ; and some there is, which they make as white as Snow. They serve it upon little Woodden Peels made on purpose. And this sort of Bread the *Turks* call *Pasta*, the *Mingrelians*, *Gom*, being easily brok'n between the Fingers : but it is of a very cold and laxative Quality ; nor is it worth any thing, after it is once cold, or when it is heated a second time. However the *Circassians*, *Mingrelians*, and *Georgians*, who are Tributary to the *Turks*, the *Abca's*, the Mountaineers of *Caucasus*, and all that inhabit the Coasts of the *Black-Sea* from the Lake *Mæotis* to *Trebisond*, live all upon this Past. 'Tis all the Bread they have, nor have they any other ; and indeed they are so accusom'd to it, that they prefer it before Bread made of Wheat, as I have observ'd in most parts of those Countries which I have seen. Nor do I wonder at it ; for when Necessity constrain'd me to make it my Food, I found it so acceptable to my Palate, that I could hardly leave it, when I came where I met with our usual Bread. Besides, I found my self very well, and my Body in a better Condition of Health then before. In *Armenia* and *Georgia* I saw a great many of the *Turkish* and *Georgian* Lords, and among the rest the Prince of *Tifles* and the *Basha* of *Akalkike*, who sent for this Grain and eat it for a Delicacy : but it requires good store

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of Wine to wash it down, to correct and temper its cold and laxative Quality.

Besides this *Gom*, they have in *Mingrelia* great plenty of Millet, some Rice, with Wheat and Barley, but very scarce. The People of Quality many times eat Wheaten Bread for a Dainty; but the meaner sort never so much as taste of it.

The ordinary Food of the Country is Beef and Pig; of which latter they have an extraordinary plenty, and that so good, that the World does not afford better. There is also Goats Flesh, but very lean, neither is it well tasted. Their Wild-Fowl is very good, but very scarce. While I was there, there was hardly any to be got, by reason that the Wars had harass'd all the Country. For Fish, there is none but Salt-Fish, which is brought from *Turkey*; Tunny Fish, and some few small Quantities of other Fish at certain seasons of the Year. Their Venison in *Mingrelia* is the Wild Boar, the Hart, the Stag, the Fallow Deer and Hare: which is so excellent that there cannot be better Food. Partridge they have also, Pheasants and Quails in abundance, some River-Fowl, and Wild Pigeons, which are very good Meat, and as big as our Cramm'd Chicken. The *Mingrelians* catch these Pigeons with Nets, and take great Numbers of 'em in *Autumn*; for in the Winter they return to the Mountains of *Caucasus*.

The Nobility of *Mingrelia* spend their whole time in the Field: and their chiefest delight is in Birds of Prey, which they tame and afterwards make use of for their sport. And indeed it may be truly said that these Birds of Prey are nowhere in the World in greater Numbers than in *Mingrelia*, as Lanner-Hawks, Gos-Hawks, Hobbies and others, which build and breed in Mount *Caucasus*. The young Ones, as soon as they are fledged, resort to the Forests round about, where they take great Numbers, and reclaim 'em in five or six days.

But of all their Flights, that which yields the most delightful Pastime, is that of the *Faulcon* at the *Heron*. For River-Fowl and Pheasants they only make use of their Sparrow-Hawks. To which purpose, as they do in *Persia* and *Turkey*, they carry a little Drum at the Pummel of their Saddles to put up the Wild-Fowl with the Noise, and then let fly their Hawks at the Game. When they take any Herons, they only cut off the Feathers upon their Heads to make Heron Tufts for Bonnets, and then let 'em go again: for the People of the Country affirm, that the Feathers grow again as fair and as beautiful as they were at first. Besides the Fowl already nam'd, and which

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are to be found in *Mingrelia*, there are other strange Fowl as well for their Shape as Feathers, altogether unknown in our parts; and not only those, but a great Number of Eagles and Pelicans. All which *Caucasus* produces, besides a great Number of Wild Beasts, as Tigres, Leopards, Lyons, VVolves, and *Chacalls*; which are Creatures much resembling Foxes, only that they are much bigger, and their Hair is much more thick and shaggy: and some will have this *Chacal* to be the *Hyena* of the Ancients. For it digs up dead Bodies, and devours both living Creatures and Carrion. They bury their Dead in the Eastern Country without Coffins, only in their VVinding-Sheets. And therefore I have seen 'em in some parts rowl great Stones over the Graves of the Deceas'd, only for fear of these Beasts to prevent 'em from digging up the Graves, and devouring the dead Bodies. For *Mingrelia* is full of these *Chacalls* and VVolves; insomuch that they beset the very Houses themselves, where they make a most dreadful howling Noise. The worst is, they make most terrible Havock among their Cattel and Horses. The Superiour of the *Theatins* assur'd me, that in one VWeek the VVolves eat him up three Horses and a Colt, close by the House.

There are a great Number of Horses, and very good ones too, in *Mingrelia*, of which every Man has a great many, in regard they cost 'em little or nothing to keep. For as soon as they alight, they take off their Bridles and Saddles, and turn 'em a Field: Nor do they ever Shooe 'em, or give 'em any other Food or Provender, then what they graze of themselves.

In *Mingrelia* are neither Cities nor Towns, only two Villages by the Sea-side: But all the Houses are scatter'd so thick up and down in the Country; that you shall hardly travel a Mile, but you shall meet with Three or Four together. There are also Nine or Ten Castles, of which the chiefeft is call'd *Rucs*, where the Prince of *Mingrelia* keeps his Court. This Castle is surrounded with a Stone-Wall, but so ill built, and so thin, that the least Field-Piece will make its way through it: however there are some few Cannon within it; but the rest of the Castles have none at all: being all built after this manner.

In some level and open place in a Wood, they erect a Stone-Tower about Thirty or Forty Foot High, sufficient to contain Fifty or Sixty Persons. This is the strongest part of the Tower, where they secure all the Treasure of the Lord, and of those
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that desire his Protection. Close by this, stand Five or Six other Towers built of Wood, much lower then the middlemost, which are the Store-Houses for their Provision; and where they put their Wives and Children, when they happen at any time to be assaulted. Beside which there are within the compass of the open place, several Hurts made of Carpenters Work; others, with Boughs of Trees, others of Canes and Reeds. The space is enclos'd with a very thick Hedge and with the Wood it self, which is so thick that it is impossible to come near those retirements but by the way which is cut open on purpose. Which passage, when they are afraid of an Enemy, they dig up and cover with Trees, that 'tis impossible to be forc'd. Nor do the *Colchians* ever retire to these Castles, but when they are in fear of an Enemy; for when the danger is past they return to their Houses.

The Houses in *Mingrelia* are all of Carpenters Work; and Building is very cheap, by reason of the great Plenty of Wood. Of these Houses, the Poorer sort contain but one Story: nor have those of the Gentry and Nobility themselves above two. The lower Rooms are always furnish'd with Beds and Couches to lie down and sit upon, by reason of the great Moisture of the Earth. The Persons of Quality sit upon Carpets, the meaner sort upon Forms. But their Houses are very inconvenient and Nasty; as having neither Chimneys nor Windows. The Fire place is in the middle, and the light comes in at the Door. Their Houses are built upon no Foundations, which is the reason that they are easily Rob'd. For the Thieves dig a hole under the first Beam that lyes upon the Ground, and supports all the rest of the Fabrick, and so creep into the House. And as soon as the People begin to stir, they get out again with the same ease. Which Inconvenience constrains the Country People to have no more then one Room for every Family. Where they keep all that they have about 'em, except their Corn, and sometimes their Wine. So that they lie all together, and House their Cattel in the Night.

Mingrelia breeds very good Blood; So that the Men are very well shap'd, and the Women very handsome. Those that are of any Quality carry always in their Countenances some certain Features and Graces that are very Charming. I have seen some wonderfully well shap'd, that have had a very Majestick Air, with an Aspect and Proportion much to be admir'd. Besides, they have those Obliging Glances, that win the Affections of all that behold 'em, and seem as it were

to command their Love. They that are not so handsome, or in years, paint abominably, Colouring their Eyebrows, their Cheeks, Foreheads, Noses and Chins; but the rest only paint their Eyebrows. They dress themselves with all the curiosity they can. Their Habit is like that of the *Persians*: but their Head-Artire is much like that of the *European Women*; ev'n to the curling of their Locks. They wear a Vail that covers only the Top and Hinder part of the Head. They are naturally very subtle and of clear and quick Apprehensions. Extreamly Civil, full of Ceremonies and Complements; but otherwise the wickedest Women in the World, Haughty, Furious, Perfidious, Deceitful, Cruel, and Impudent. So that there is no sort of VVickedness which they will not put in Execution, to procure Lovers, preserve their Affection, or else to destroy 'em.

The Men are endu'd with all these Mischievous Qualities with some Addition. There is no VVickedness, to which their Inclinations do not naturally carry 'em. But all addicted to Thievery. That, they make their study; that they make their whole Imployment, their Pastime and their Glory. Assassination, Murder and Lying are among them esteem'd to be noble and brave Actions. But for Concubinage, Adultery, Bigamy, Incest, and all Vices of that Nature, they are Vertues in *Mingrelia*. They make nothing to take away one anothers Wives by force: and they Marry their Aunts, their Nieces, and their Wives Sisters without any Scruple. He that has a mind to two VVives at a time, marries 'em without any more ado: and many there are that will have Three. Every Man keeps as many Concubines as they please; the VVives never grudging their Husbands that convenience: for there is seldome any such thing as Jealousie among 'em. If a Man take his VVife in the act with her Gallant, he has a Priviledge to compel him to pay him a Pig by way of satisfaction; which they eat all Three together: and generally that is all the revenge the Person injur'd takes. But this is the greatest VVonder, that this VVicked Nation should maintain, that to have several VVives and Concubines is justifiable: for say they, they bring us many Children, which we sell for ready Money or Exchange for necessary Conveniences. VVhich is nothing to another most Inhuman Tenent of theirs, that it is a piece of Charity to Murder Infants newly Born, when they have not sufficient wherewith to maintain 'em; or such as are Sick and past hopes of recovery. And the reason they give is this, that by so

doing, they put those Childern out of a great deal of Misery which they would undergo in a languishing Distemper, which in the end must of necessity carry 'em off. Such are the Arguments of these Barbarous People that have neither shame, nor Humanity. I am afraid to tell the Truth, lest History should want belief in this particular, or that the Truths which I recount should be look'd upon as the Exorbitances of Relation. But I aver 'em to be really true, as some actions which I shall recite, will sufficiently justifie.

The Gentlemen of the Country have full Power over the Lives and Estates of their Tenants, with whom they do what they please. They seize upon 'em, whether VVife or Children; they sell 'em, or dispose of 'em otherwise as they think fit. Every Country-Man furnishes his Lord with so much Corn, Cattel, VVine, and other Provisions, as he is able. So that their Wealth consists in the Number of their Vassals. Besides, every one is oblig'd to entertain his Lord Two or Three days in a Year at their own Expences. VVhich is the reason that the Nobility, so long as the Year lasts, go from one place to another devouring their Tenants, and sometimes the Tenants of other Men.

The Prince himself leads the same Life, so that 'tis a hard matter every day to know where to find him. VVhen the Vassals of several Lords are at difference, their Masters decide the dispute: but when the Lords are at variance among themselves, force and main strength determine the Quarrel, and the stoutest Arm gets the better. There is not a Gentleman in *Mingrelia* but has some quarrel or other. And therefore it is, that they always go arm'd, and as numerously attended as they can. VVhen they ride, they are arm'd at all Points, and their followers also; nor do they ever sleep without their Swords by their sides; and when they go to Bed, they sleep upon their Belleys, laying their Swords under 'em.

Their Arms are a Lance, Bōw and Arrows, a streight Sword, a Mace and a Buckler; but there are very few that carry Fire Arms. They are very good Souldiers, sit a Horse very well, and handle their Lances with an Extraordinary Dexterity.

Their Habit is peculiar; and unless they be the Ecclesiastical Persons, they wear but very little Beard. They Shave all the Top of their Heads in a Circle, suffering the rest of their Hair to grow down to their Eyes, and then clip it round of an even length. They cover their Heads with a light Cap of Felt

very thin par'd, and cut into several Half-Moons about the Edges. In the VVinter they wear a furr'd Bonnet: They are moreover so beggarly and so wretched; that for fear of spoiling their Caps or their Bonnets in the Rain, they will put 'em in their Pouches, and go Bare-Headed. Over their Bodies they wear little Shirts, that fall down to their Knees, and tuck into a streight *Pantaloon*. Nor indeed is there any habit in the VVorld more deformed then theirs. They carry a Rope several Fadoms long at their Girdles, to tye together such People or Cattel which they Rob from their Neighbours, or take in War. The Nobles wear Leathern Girdles Four Fingers broad; full of Silver Studs, at which they hang a Knife, a Whetstone, and a Steel to strike Fire: together with Three Leathern Purses, the one full of Salt, the other of Pepper, and the other with Pack-Needles, Lesser-Needles, and Thread. The Poor People go almost naked; such is their Misery not to be parallell'd; as not having any thing to cover their Nakedness but a pityful sorry Felt like to the *Chlamys* of the Ancients; into which they thrust their Heads, and turn which way they please as the Wind sits; for it covers but one side of their Bodies, and falls down no lower than their Knees. There are some, that are par'd very thin to keep out the Water, which are not so heavy as the common sort; that are ready to weigh a Man down, especially when thorough wet. He that has a Shirt and a pair of pitiful Drawers, thinks himself Rich; for almost all of 'em go Bare-Foot; and such of the *Colchians* as pretend to Shooes, have nothing but a piece of a *Bufalo's* Hide, and that untann'd too; which piece of raw Hide is lac'd about their Feet with a Thong of the same: so that for all these sort of *Sandals*, their Feet are as dirty, as if they went Bare-Foot.

Almost all the *Mingrelians*, both Men and Women, even the most noble and wealthy, never have but one Shirt, and one pair of Breeches at a time; which last 'em at least a Year: In all which time they never wash 'em above Three times: only Once or Twice a VWeek they shake 'em over the Fire, for the Vermin to drop off, with which they are mightily haunted; and indeed, I cannot say I ever saw any thing so Nasty and Loathsome. VVhich is the reason that the *Mingrelian* Ladies carry a very bad scent about 'em. I always accosted 'em, extreemly taken with their Beauty; but I had not been a Minute in their Company, but the Rank VVhiffs from their Skins quite stiff'd all my Amorous Thoughts:

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The Grandees Eat, sitting upon Carpets, after the manner of the Eastern People. Their Napkin is only a piece of painted Cloath, or Leather, and sometimes they only wipe upon the Boards. The Ordinary sort sit upon a Form, with another Form before 'em of the same height, which serves for a Table. All their Dishes are of Wood to their very Drinking Cups: only among the People of Quality you shall see a little Silver Plate.

Moreover it is the custome in this Savage Country, that the whole Family without distinction, Males and Females, Eat all together. The King with all his Train to his very Grooms. The Queen, her Women, Maids, Servants and all, to the very Lacqueys that attend her. When it does not rain, they Dine in the open Courts, where they rank themselves, either in a Circle, or side by side, one below another, according to their Quality. If it be cold weather they make great rowling Fires in the Court where they eat; for Wood-Firing costs nothing in that Country, as I have said already. When they are sat down, Four Men, if the Family be great, bring upon their Shoulders a large Kettle full of *Gom*, or Grain boyl'd as I have already related; of which, most usually a Poor beggarly half-Naked Rascal serves upon a Wooden Plate, to every one his proportion, which weighs full Three Pound. Afterwards two other Servants, somewhat but not much better equipp'd, bring in another Kettle full of Grain more white than the other; which is only for the better sort. Upon Worky-Days they never give but only *Gom* to the Servants, the Masters being serv'd with Pulse, or dry'd Fish roasted, or else Flesh. On Holy-Days or when they make entertainments. they kill either a Hog, or an Ox, or a Cow, especially if they have no Venison. As soon as they have cut the Throat of the Beast, they dress it, and set it upon the Fire, without Salt, or Sauce, in the great Kettle where they boil their Past. When it has boyl'd a while, they take it from the Fire, throw away the Broth, and serve it in half-raw, without any seasoning. The Master of the House has always standing before him a large Portion of this Vittles: They set before him likewise all the Pulse, all the Bread, and all the Tame and Wild-Fowl. Who presently Carves for his Guests and his Friends their share. They feed themselves with their Fingers, and that so nastily, that nothing but extremity of hunger could provoke the meanest of our Europeans to Eat at the Tables of those Barbarians. When they have begun to Eat, there

there are two Persons, that serve the Drink round the Table: Among the common sort, this Office is perform'd by Women or Maids. 'Tis the same Incivility among them, to call for Wine, as to refuse it. For they must stay till it is presented, and take it, when 'tis giv'n 'em. They never give less than a Pint at a Draught; which at their Ordinary Meals is thrice done; but at Feasts and Banquets, the Guests, and the Gentry Drink on till they are Drunk.

The *Mingrelians* and their Neighbours are very Great Drinkers; far exceeding the *Germans*, and all the Northern People. They never mix their Wine, but Drink it pure, both Men and Women. But when they are once Heated, they think their Pints too little, and therefore Drink out of their Dishes, and out of the Pitcher it self. While I lay near *Cotatis*, I lodg'd at a Gentleman's House, who was one of the stoutest Drinkers in all the Country: and while I stay'd at his House, he made a Feast for Three of his Friends; at what time they were all Four so set upon Carousing, that from Ten in the Morning till Ten in the Evening, they Drank out a whole Charge of Wine, that weigh'd Three Hundred Pound Weight. It is also a custom among these People, practiz'd by all the World, to rise from the Table, and empty as often as they have occasion, and when they return, they sit down without ever Washing their Hands. They provoke their Guests and their Friends, as much as they can, to Drink; it being chiefly at the Table that they observe Civility, and are free of their Compliments. Their discourses between Man and Man, are only Stories of their Robberies, their Wars, Duels, Murders, and Selling of Slaves. Neither is their discourse any better among the VVomen: for they are pleas'd with all sorts of Love-Tales, let 'em be never so Obscene, or never so Lascivious: and their Children learn their filthy VVords and Phrases, as soon as they can speak; insomuch that by that time they come to be Ten Years of Age, all their discourse with the VVomen, is the most beastly that a Brothel-House can utter. And certainly the Education of their Children in *Mingrelia*, is the most Vicious and Lewd in the VVorld. Their Father's bring 'em up to Thievery, and their Mothers to Obscenity.

Mingrelia is at present very much dispeopl'd; there not being in it above Twenty Thousand Inhabitants. Though it is not above Thirty Years ago, that there was no less then Four-score Thousand. The cause of which Decrease proceeds from

their VVars with their Neighbours, and the vast number of People of both Sexes, which the Nobility have sold of late Years. For a long time there has been drain'd out of *Mingrelia* every Year, either by Purchase or Barter, above Twelve Thousand Persons; all which are sold to the *Mahometans*, *Persians* and *Turks*, there being none but they, that deal in that sort of Traffic in those parts. They carry Three Thousand every Year directly to *Constantinople*, which they have in Exchange for Cloth, Arms, and other things which they carry, as I have said, into *Mingrelia*. To which purpose there came every Year Twelve Sail of Ships from *Constantinople* and *Cassa*, and above Sixty *Feluques* from *Gorica*, *Triffa* and *Trebisond*. The Commodities which they export from *Mingrelia*, besides Slaves, are Silk, Linnen Thread, and Wov'n, Linseed, Hides, *Martins*, Beavers, Box, VVax and Honey. The Honey of *Mingrelia* is very Good; and there are two sorts of it, the one Red, the other White; the White is not so plentiful as the other, but it is much better and more Sweet; Sweeter indeed then refin'd Sugar, very delicious to the Taste, and Crumples between the Teeth. Besides their Garden Honey, there is another sort is found in the Trunks and Clefs of Hollow-Trees in great abundance; which the Vessels from *Cassa* carry into *Tartary*, where they make a very strong Liquor of it, mix'd with Barley. The *Turks* make great profit of their *Mingrelian* Trade, selling for Four, what they buy for one Crown; but their greatest advantage is by their Slaves.

Certainly the Inhumanity of these *Mingrelians*, their unnatural Cruelty toward their own Country Men, and particularly of some of 'em toward their own Flesh and Blood, are things hardly to be Credited. They Study Opportunities to fall out with their own Vassals, meerly to find a Pretence to Sell 'em, with their Wives and Children. They force away their Neighbours Children from the Embraces of their Parents, to the same end, and sometimes they will sell their own Children, Wives and Mothers: And I have been shew'd several Gentlemen who have been so Prodigiously Unnatural. One of those Gentlemen sold Twelve Priests in one Day. In which Piece of Impiety there is one particular passage so strange, that it deserves to be related as an Example not to be Parallell'd.

This Gentleman fell in Love with a Lady, whom he resolv'd to Marry, tho he had a Wife already. To which purpose he Courted the Lady, and obtain'd her Good VVill. Now it is the Custom in *Mingrelia*, to purchase their Wives, and

and they Buy 'em, according to their Quality, their Age, and their Beauty. Thereupon the Gentleman not knowing where to raise the Sum which he had promis'd for the Enjoyment of his Mistress, nor to defray the Expences of his Wedding, but by selling of Slaves, and for that reason reduc'd to Despair, bethought himself of a Piece of Treachery, the most Infamous and VVicked that could be. To that purpose he invited Twelve Priests to his House, to hear a Solemn Mass and offer a kind of Sacrifice, upon which the Priests went very Chearfully, never Dreaming that he intended to have sold 'em to the *Turks*, the like Practice having never been heard of before in *Mingrelia*. The Gentleman on the other side receiv'd 'em very Courteously, caus'd 'em to say Mass, and to offer an Ox, and afterwards gave 'em an Entertainment. But after he had made 'em to take a Hearty Cup, he caus'd his Servants to seize 'em, Bind 'em, Shave their Heads and their Beards, and the Night following carry'd 'em to a Turkish Vessel, where he sold 'em for Household Goods, and other Necessaries, but finding he had not yet enough to pay for his Mistress, and his Nuptials, this Tyger went and fetch'd his own VVife, and sold her to the same Vessel.

All the Trade in *Mingrelia* is driv'n by way of Barter: for there is no set price of Money among the People: the currant Money are the Piafters, Dutch Crowns, and *Abasse's*, which are Pieces made in *Georgia*, and Stamp'd with the *Persian* Stamp, to the value of Eighteen Pence every Piece. 'Tis true that the Prince of *Mingrelia*, who died about Twenty Years ago, began to Coyne Money of his own. But the Mint did not work long, in regard there was but little Silver brought into the Country, and for that the Country produces none at all, no more then it does Gold, or any other Metal. I know not what is become of that Gold-Gravel, and Golden-Sand which the People spong'd out of the VVater with their Sheep-Skins, according to the Ancient Stories, and which gave occasion to the Fable of the Golden Fleece. There is no such thing in *Colchis*, nor in the Mountains or Rivers adjoyning. So that which way soever ye go, there is no possibility of Reconciling Antiquity with the present Times.

Mingrelia of it self is not able to raise above Four Thousand Men, fit to bear Arms; which are also all Cavalry for the most part; there not being above Three Hundred Foot to joyn with these Horsemen. Nor are the Souldiers Marshall'd into Regiments and Companies. But every Lord, and every Gentleman

Gentleman, leads his own People to the Fight, without Order, without Ranks, without Officers; and they follow their Leader, whether it be in Flight, or to the Charge.

The VVars of the *Mingrelians*, and their Neighbours, are indeed but meer Incursions, and *Boots-Halings*; and when they make their Inroads into the Enemies Country, they fall on with an Extraordinary Fury; for they want neither Courage nor Resolution. VVhen they have put the Enemy to Flight, they vigorously follow the pursuit, and over-run all the Country, Burn and Plunder all before 'em, carry away Prisoners of all Sexes and Degrees, and then retreat with the same Impetuosity. They take as many Prisoners as they can; so that when they have Dismounted any one, presently they leap from their Horses, bind the Person Vanquish'd, with the Cords which they carry at their Girdles, as I have said, and deliver 'em to the Custody of their Servants. He that has taken a Prisoner, has Power over him of Life and Death, he may dispose of him as he pleases; but generally they make 'em their Slaves, and sell 'em to the *Turks*. On the other side, when these People are invaded, they shew themselves at the Ford of some River, where they lay their Musketeers in *Ambuscado*, endeavouring to prevent the Enemies Passage. At what time, if the Enemy forces his way, they fly to the VVoods, leaving the Country to their Mercy: So that the VVars with these People never last long. In less then Fifteen Days the VVar is at an end, and the Enemy retreats, after he has ravag'd, and ransackt all the Country.

The Revenues of the Prince of *Mingrelia*, amount at most, to no more then Twenty Thousand Crowns a Year. VVhich arises from the Customs of what is Imported and Exported out of the Country, the Slaves which he sells, and his Impositions and Fines. All this he lays up; for he is not at a Farthing Expende, for his Slaves serve him for nothing, and his Crown Lands furnish him with more Provision for his Court then he can spend. He often Presents the King of *Persia* with Falcons, and all sorts of Birds of Prey. For which the King of *Persia* sends him Rich Tissues, Carpets, Tapestries, Arms, all sorts of Cups and Dishes, and such other Necessaries, of which such a beggarly Prince as the Prince of *Mingrelia*, may be thought to stand in need. He also keeps the same Correspondence with the *Cam of Georgia*. His Court upon Solemn Festivals consists of Two Hundred Gentlemen, upon other Days, not above Six Score. His Train consists of Three

Hunderd Persons besides Gentlemen. And as for the Princess, she is attended by a Hunderd of both Sexes: but upon Festival Days, she shews a Court of about Sixty Ladies, all handsome and well dress'd.

The Religion of the *Colchians*, has formerly as I believe, been the same with that of the *Greeks*. The Ecclesiastical Historians say, That a Slave Converted to the Christian Faith, the King, the Queen, and all the Nobility of *Colchis*, in the time of *Constantine* the Great, who sent both Priests and Doctors to Baptize the new-Converted, and to instruct 'em in the Mysteries of Christianity. Others assert, That they owe for their knowledge of Christianity, to one *Cyril*, whom the *Sclawonians* in their Language call *Chinfil*, who liv'd about the Year 860. The *Mingrelians* also shew ye, by the Sea side, at a Place call'd *Pigivitas* near the River *Corax*, a Church with three Bodies, which is a very large one; assuring ye withal, that St. *Andrew* Preach'd in the Place where that Church was built. I have seen it at a distance; and it seem'd to be a very great Pile of Building so far as a Man may guess a Mile off. The *Catholikos* once in his Life goes thither to make the Holy Oyl, which the *Greeks* call *Mirone*. I never discours'd of Religion with any *Mingrelian*, having never found any one, that either knew what Religion, Law, Sin, the Sacraments, or Divine Service were. All I could learn was only this, That the Women sometimes light up small round Candles, which they fix to the Doors of their Houses, or of some Church, where they burn at the same time a Grain of Incense and turning toward the Sun, bow their Bodies very low several times, and cross themselves all over from Head to Foot.

The Priests and Bishops perform the Ecclesiastical Ceremonies, say Mass, and Baptize. I have seen 'em at the performance of their Functions, when no Body has been present for want of Devotion. But in regard I did not understand the Language which they spoke; I had rather in stead of relating what I only saw and heard by report, recite what I met with out of an *Italian* Manuscript concerning the Religion of the *Mingrelians* and *Georgians*, written by Father *Joseph Maria Zampi* a *Mantuan*, Superiour of the *Theatins* in *Mingrelia*. For that Fryer who made me a Present of the Manuscript, had liv'd there Twenty Three Years, and could not be ignorant either of their Ceremonies or their Belief: which made him write at large his own knowledge of the *Mingrelian* Piety. And this is that which he speaks more particularly; and as it lies in the Manuscript.

The *Mingrelians*, says he, are fall'n into the profoundest Abyss of Ignorance and Darkness; that the Understanding of Man was ever plung'd in: in regard the people have not the least *Idea* of Faith or Religion; while the most part look upon Life Eternal, the Day of Judgment, and the Resurrection of the Dead, to be meer Fables, and Humane Invention. Nor do the Clergy perform any Ecclesiastical Duties, there being hardly one of the whole Heard, that can either Write or Read. They have utterly lost the Knowledge of the true service of God: only the Priests make a publick profession of foretelling things to come, and make the people believe that their Books do shew 'em the success of future Events. With which Imposture the *Mingrelians* are so obstinately bewitch'd that when any one falls sick, they call the Priests, not to make Confession of their Sins, or to Recommend their Souls to their Prayers, which is the least thing that troubles the *Patient*, but to bid 'em look in their Books, and see whether he shall die of that Distemper or no; to tell 'em the event and success of it, and what was the reason that he was visited with that Sickness. Presently the Priest falls to turning over the Leaves of his Book which he carries along with him, and after he has turn'd 'em over and over, and over and over again, he pronounces with the Voice of an Oracle, That such a *Cati* (for so the *Mingrelians* call their Images) is angry with him, and has therefore struck'n him with that Disease; nor will he be appeas'd without a good Present, which if he do not send forthwith, the Image will certainly ruine him. Which Present is to be either a Pig, or a Goat, or an Ox, or else Ready Money. The poor sick person upon this, being dreadfully afraid of death, fails not immediately to give the Priests what they appoint for an Offering to the Idol, who divide the spoil among themselves; and in that manner couzen the poor sick person.

The *Catholicos* of *Mingrelia* is the Head of all the Clergy of that Country, of the *Abca's*, of *Guriel*, of *Mount Caucasus*, and *Imiretta*. Whom the Prince of *Mingrelia* appoints and deposes as he pleases himself. His Revenue is very great, as having Four Hunderd Vassals under him, who furnish his House with all Things necessary for Human Life, and many other Superfluities. He sells their Children to the *Turks* besides, and as it is his Employment to visit the Diocesses under his Jurisdiction, he visits 'em indeed, but it is not for the good of his Flock, to instruct the people, or to examine the Miscarriages of the Inferiour

feriour Clergy : Those Cares never trouble his Brains nor his Thoughts ; but his main business is, to rake Money together, to suck the Blood of the poor people, and dispoil 'em of what they have. And as to the Train that attends this *Catholicos* when he makes his Visitations, it consists of no less then Two Hundred persons.

The outward Sanctity of this Pontiff consists in a continual abstinence from Flesh, and Wine only during Lent ; and in long Prayers Day and Night. He is so ignorant that he can hardly read his *Breviary* and *Missal*. And there is so much to be said concerning his Simony, that it would be a difficult task to make a true recital of it. I shall therefore say no more then this, That he never Consecrates a Bishop for less then Six Hundred Crowns ; that he never says Mass for the Dead, under Eight Hundred ; nor any other Masses under a Hundred Crowns a Piece. Not long since the Prince of *Mingrelia's* Vizier, being sick, made his Confession to him, and gave him Fifty Crowns. Which the *Catholicos* took for so small a Remuneration, that upon the Vizier's falling sick again, and sending for him to make a new Confession, he sent him word, that he should pay for his first Confession, and then he would come and hear what he had to say.

There are Six Bishops in *Mingrelia*, but those Prelates take no care of the Souls of their Flocks, nor do they ever visit their Churches, or their Diocesses. They suffer the Priests to live in all manner of Errours, and the People to prostitute themselves to all manner of Vices ; they understand not the Form of Baptism : they let Polygamy Raign, and permit the Mothers to Bury their new Born Children alive. And tho they have been often reprov'd for so much Cruelty more then Barbarous ; Remonstrances operate nothing upon 'em ; this Inhumanity being become a Custom. The Clergy tolerates it, and the Prince near Prohibits any one that pleases, from putting it in practise. The chief Employments of the Bishops, is continual Feasting and Banqueting, where they are Drunk almost every Day : they are Rich and go Sumptuously Habited ; their Principal Revenue arising from what they Sponge from their Vassals, and the price of the Women and Children, which they sell to the *Turks*.

They abstain from Flesh, after the manner of the *Greek* Bishops, and include the whole Christian Religion, within the practise of Fasting. They do not believe themselves oblig'd to any other Duty ; but believe themselves acquitted of all the precepts

Precepts of Christianity, by Fasting. Their Cathedral Church is indifferent neatly kept, and well adorn'd with Images, after the *Grecian* manner, dress'd up and finish'd with Gold and Jewels. They believe that in Beautifying their Images they satisfy the Justice of God, and that the offering of a Jewel, to an Image wipes away all their Sins. And this is the way which they take, when they have offended themselves.

Their Apparel is very Magnificent, considering the Country, being of Scarlet and Velvet. It differs little from the secular Habit. That which makes the peculiar distinction between 'em, is the long Beard which they wear, with a black Bonnet, Round and High, made after the Fashion of the *Greek* Monks. They wear Chains of Gold about their Necks, go a Hunting, and many times to the Warrs, where they Fight no less Courageously at the Head of their Slaves, then the Gentry and Noble-Men. There are some of 'em that are never Consecrated, which nevertheless does not hinder 'em from bestowing Orders, as if they were Consecrated.

There are in *Mingrelia*, certain Monks of the Order of St. *Basil*, which they call *Berres*, who wear the same Habit as the *Greek* Monks, and observe the same manner of living. And a Child may be made one of these Monks by his Father and Mother only. They Consecrate him in his Infancy, by putting a black Bonnet upon his Head, suffering his Hair to grow, hindering him from eating Flesh, and telling him upon all occasions that he is a *Berre*. All this while the Infant understands nothing more what belongs to his Condition, and all his Life long never minds any thing else but to observe his Fasts as others that bear the same Title with himself.

There are also Nuns of the same Order, who observe Fasting Days, and wear a black Vail; but they have neither Nunneries, neither are they under any Vows or Subordination. They that have taken upon 'em to wear the Vail of Sanctity, and to observe Fasting, when they are weary of well-doing, quit their Habit and their Temperance, when they please themselves: For that same manner of living is wholly at their own discretions, whether they be Maids, Wives or Widows; whether Divorc'd, whether Free or Slaves; no Condition is exempted from that Liberty.

The Priests of *Mingrelia* are very numerous; and a sort of miserable Creatures that live upon whatever they can get, and marry again as often as they please themselves. There needs no more then to be able to read and say a Mass by Heart, to

be admitted into the Priesthood. For the Bishop never examines those that he admits into Orders, being many times more ignorant then they : especially if the Priest that desires to be admitted gives him the Value of a Horse for his Ordination. God alone knows the lamentable Condition of those Miserable Priests, and the Validity of their Priesthood ; for many times it is a great Question, whether they are Baptiz'd, and whether the Bishops that Ordain 'em, were ever Baptiz'd or Consecrated themselves.

Nor is it to be imagin'd how these Priests are contemn'd and scorn'd. They Till their own, and the Lands of their Lords, being no less Slaves then the Seculars ; they follow 'em to the Wars, and carry their Baggage. Now that which causes this Contempt is their Ignorance, their Gluttony and their Poverty. Their Poverty is so great, that they go Barefoot, and all in Tattars that hardly cover their Tails. So that there is no respect giv'n 'em but when they are sate down at Table ; for then they are the first to whom they offer Drink ; and they desire 'em to bless the Wine and the Food when they say Mass ; and at another time when they are sent for to visit the Sick, and turn over their Books to know what Image the sick Party has offended, and what Present will appease him. They are only distinguish'd from the Seculars by their Beards, which they let grow very long : for the Seculars wear hardly any at all.

There are but few of their Churches which have any Bells, but they call the people together by knocking with a good big Stick upon a Board. The Images in the Cathedrals are very well dress'd ; being encircl'd by the Offerings of the people, such as are Harts Horns, Boars Jaws and Tusks, Pheasants Wings, and Weapons, to the end the Image should prosper 'em in their Hunting and Wars

The Parish-Churches are more Nasty then Stables ; the Images mangl'd and brok'n, and cover'd over with Dust and Spiders. Their *Sanctum Sanctorum* is so Nasty that I am ashamed to speak it. The Ornaments of the Altar are nothing but a few Nasty Tatter'd Clouts, torn and stain'd with Wine. Their Cup or Chalice is a Goblet of Wood as Nasty as may well be imagin'd ; and the Cover of the Chalice is a Wooden Plate, as Nasty and as Greasie as the Chalice. When they have occasion they wipe it with the Curtain of the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, which is yet more Nasty then all that has been said ; and I say the less, because I would not offend the Reader. But the Cathedrals are very clean and well adorn'd.

And I could wish, that every Bishop had as much care of the Education and Instruction of his Flock, as he has of the Cleansing and Adorning his Church.

The Worship which they pay to their Images, is an Idolatrous Worship. For they adore 'em not with a Relative Adoration, but pay their Devotion to the Material Substance and Figure before their Eyes. The Images which are the fairest, are the best serv'd, and most devoutly ador'd: especially those that are adorn'd with any thing that is costly, as Gold; those that have most Jewels and Pretious Stones; but above all those that are reputed to be Cruel, easily Provok'd, and apt to Kill those against whom they are Incens'd. Which latter are serv'd with an incredible respect: For the People throw themselves to the Ground, as far off as they can see the Church that contains those Images; thump their Breasts, and beseech 'em to Kill their Enemies, and such as have Robb'd 'em of any thing. They are Horribly afraid to swear by those rever'd Images, and when they do, there is no gainsaying such an Oath. For they believe whatever is sworn by those Images. Some there are that will not call these Images to Witness the most certain Truths, for fear of being Kill'd by 'em; and they that do Swear, Swear only by those that have a pleasing, mild, smiling Countenance, and are reputed neither Murderers nor Bloody-Minded.

Nor do they Worship these Images in hopes of any Spiritual Advantages, or to obtain any Assistance in order to a future Life: For the *Mingrelians* acknowledge no other Life but their Present Being. And all that they do is meerly out of a Terrible and Servile fear, lest the Images should deprive 'em of their Lives, or Vex 'em with Diseases, deliver 'em over with their Goods, into the Hands of Thieves and Robbers, or the Fury of their Masters, or suffer 'em to be made Slaves to the *Turks*. When they have been Robb'd at any time, they go to the Church where stands the Image in which they have most Confidence, make it a present of two Loaves, and a Bottle of Wine, bow several times to it; and having driven a Stake into the Earth before it, they Pray to it in this manner. *Thou know'st, O Image, that I have been Robb'd of such and such Goods, and that I cannot discover the Thief, which has prov'd so great a Grief to me, that I come here to make my Prayers to thee, and I offer thee this Present, to the end thou mayst take away their Lives, exterminate 'em from the Earth, and fasten 'em down in the Abyss, as I have driv'n this Stake into the Earth before thee.*

thee. The Priest being present at all this Ceremony, takes the Offering, and having hung it about the Head of the Suppliant, they go and Eat it together. But of all the Images of whose Cruel Usage these blind People are most afraid, there is not any so formidable as that of *S. Giobas*. They relate how this Image being one day carry'd a Journey, and passing by a Lake or Marsh full of Frogs, the noise of the Frogs so amaz'd it, and put it into such a Fury, that it flew away to a Church that stood upon a Mountain. They report moreover, that it Kills all that approach too near it. So that when any Person has occasion to Pray to it, he goes no nearer then just within sight. Where he throws his Present down at a distance, and keeps himself at the same distance all the while he makes his Prayer. The *Mingrelians* are also every one very Zealous for the Honour and Bravery of his Parish-Idol; every one vaunting the Exploits of the Idol he Worships, and how Courageously it has reveng'd him upon his Enemies: or how speedily they die that fall under its disfavour! But to the Images of the *Roman Catholicks*, the *Mingrelians* pay not the least Veneration, nor have they any value for 'em. Only for *St. George*, they accompt him their chiefest Saint, as do all the *Georgians*, *Muscovites* and *Greeks*.

They have several Reliques among 'em, of which the chiefest were brought 'em as they say, by the Prelates that fled for Shelter into those parts, when *Constantinople* was taken by the *Turks*; fearing lest they should fall into the Hands of the Infidels. Our *Theatin* Monks have seen a piece of the True Cross, about a handful long, and one of the Holy Virgins Shifts. The colour of it was something enclining to Yellow, Powder'd with Flowers, and Embroider'd with Needle-Work. The length of it was Eight Spans, the Breadth Four, the Sleeves short but a Span in Breadth, and streight at the Neck. This Shift is lockt up in a little Ebony-Box garnish'd with Silver: They have also a dry'd Hand of *St. Marina*, enchas'd in Gold, adorn'd with several little pretious Stones. Another Hand of *St. Quiric*; with several Bones set in Gold and Silver. The Holy *Smadling Cloaths*, wherein the Happy Virgin Swath'd *Jesus Christ*. A little Square Box, where lie the Hairs of his Beard, and the Twisted Cord wherewith he was Whipp'd. All which Reliques the Prince of *Mingrelia* has in his keeping; and when he shew'd 'em to our Fryers, he spread 'em upon a Carpet, where any one that would, handl'd 'em without any Veneration or Respect. For the *Mingrelians* have a greater
Esteem

Esteem for the Enchasements, then for the Reliques themselves. But as for the Reliques they have little or no Value for 'em, but handle 'em very contemptibly.

Their Mass is after the *Greek* manner, which the Priests Celebrate, without any other Sacerdotal Habit, then only in their Surplices. And if they have no Shooes, they lay a Piece of a Wooden Plank before the Altar to stand upon. If the Priest comes to the House of any one that desires a Mass, the good natur'd Priest never troubles himself to go to the Church to say it; but presently repairs to the place where the Wine lies, and takes the first Plank that he meets with, tho never so Dirty or Dusty, to serve him in stead of an Altar; then he Borrows an Old Shirt, or some other piece of Linnen, to put about his Shoulders, and orders a little Dough to be giv'n, of which he makes a little Cake, and Bakes it in the Cinders. After that he takes a Wooden Cup, and a Dish for a Chalice and Cover, tho never so Greasy and Nasty; which he wipes with his Hands in stead of a Towel; and then says Mass without Book. For the Missal of the *Mingrelians* is a little Book Written in the *Georgian* Language: and several Priests carry about 'em these Missals, all torn or Dog's-Ear'd, and sometimes here a Leaf and there a Leaf torn out, and altogether imperfect. But this never troubles 'em. They say Mass all the while they are Looking for it in the *Missal*, and many times they have done before they can find it: for as I said before, they have it by Heart. Nor is the Office perform'd with any Decency i' the World. For many times, they talk all the while of other matters. During Lent, they never say Mass, but *Saturdays* and *Sundays*, for that all the other Days it behoves 'em to Fast; and it is an Opinion among 'em that the Communion spoils their Fasting.

They Consecrate Unleaven'd as well as Leaven'd Bread, without any difference; nor do they ever mix any Water in the Chalice, unless the Wine be very strong. For they hold that the Communion may be giv'n in Vinegar, as well as in Wine. I enquir'd of several Priests (I still recite the words of the Manuscript) concerning the Form of their Consecration; but I never could meet with above one that could tell me. Him I ask'd, Whether after Consecration, the Bread and VVine were Substantially the Body and Blood of Christ? Upon which the *Mingrelian* Priest fell a Laughing, as if I had spoken to him in Raillery. VVhat, said he, is there any one that can put Christ in a Loaf? VVhich way could he get into it? How is it possible
he

he should be contain'd in such a little piece of Bread? What reason should move him to leave Heav'n and descend to Earth? I never heard the like of the Question that you ask. Then I ask'd him, Whether the Mafs were effectual without the words of Consecration? To which he answer'd, That the Mafs was certainly effectual without 'em, yet that the *Priest* who did not pronounce the words of Consecration, did very ill. But as for the Intention of Consecration requisite in him that Consecrates, that's a thing of which the *Mingrelian Priests* know nothing at all.

They make their *Viaticum* Bread once a Year; that is to say, upon *Holy Thursday*. Which they keep in a Purse of Leather or Linnen that hangs fasten'd to their Girdles. But they have no more Veneration for this *Viaticum*, then for a Morsel of any other Vittles. As for example, when they go to Bed, they lay it under the Bolster with the rest of their Furniture, and when a sick Person sends for any of this *Viaticum*, they open the Purse, and take out a piece, and give it the Messenger for the use of the Person that wants it, whether Man, Woman or Child. And because this *Viaticum* is usually very dry, they break it with their Hands upon a Stone, or in a Platter, never minding to gather up the Bits or Crums that fall to the Ground; which afterwards they put into a Draught of Wine, and give it the sick. At the Years end the *Priest* empties out of his Purse upon the Altar the remainder of the *Viaticum*, if there be any left; where generally the Mice come and eat it. By which you may conjecture what is the Opinion and Belief which the *Mingrelians* have of the Holy Sacraments.

They anoint the Foreheads of their Children so soon as they are born, and the Oyl which they make use of for this purpose is call'd *Myrone*. But they are not Baptiz'd till a long time after: nor does any one Baptize his Child, until he be in a Capacity to make a Feast after the Ceremony is over; which is the reason that many Childern die, without being ever Baptiz'd. And when they do perform the Ceremony, they never carry the Child to the Church, but into a Cellar or Vault, where the *Priest* sits down without minding to put on his Sacerdotal Habit, and reads a good while in a Book; which being ended, the Godfather strips the Child, washes him all over with Water, and then rubs him from Head to Foot; which done, he dresses the Child again, and gives it to eat. And then the *Priest*, the Father, the Godfather, and the Guests invited,

fit down at the Table. There is not one Priest among 'em all that understands the Form of Baptism, so that 'tis a Question whether their Baptism be to any purpose or no. Which is the reason that our *Theatin* Monks Baptize as many Children as they can : which they generally do under the pretence of some Physical Application : by that means concealing the Office of the Priesthood under the disguise of Physical Operation.

There are very few People in *Mingrelia*, whether Ecclesiastical or Seculars, that make any Confessions : and I think I might well say there are none at all. For they believe it to be a sufficient Satisfaction for their Sins to offer a Present to their Idols, which is the utmost address of their Worship, and limit of their Religion. They never make use of Extream Unction, which is a thing of which they are utterly ignorant. They do not believe that Ordination imprints a Character not to be defac'd. And therefore they Ordain anew those who have been degraded, as if they had never been in Orders.

They do not allow Marriage to be in the Number of the Sacraments. 'Tis a Contract by way of Bargain and Sale ; for the Parents of the Maid agree upon the price which the person that demands her in Marriage is to give for her. The price of a Woman repudiated is less, then that of a VVidow ; and the price of a VVidow less then that of a Maid. VVhen the Match is concluded, the Party concern'd makes it his Business to raise the Sum agreed upon for the purchase of his Mistress : which he raises by the Sale of his Subjects if he have any, or their Children to the *Turks*, either for Ready Money or Commodities. However, while he is raising the Sum, he has Liberty to go privately and see his Mistress ; nor is it any scandal if her Belly swell before she is married. At length when the Young Man has rais'd the Sum agreed upon by the Parents, he carries it to 'em : and that Day they make a great Feast together, and that is the first Day of the Nuptials. The next Day the Parents Conduct the Bride to the Bridegroom's House : and usually give him either in Slaves, Cattle or Household-Goods the value they have receiv'd from him : and upon the fourth or fifth of these Feasting Days the Ceremony is concluded, according to the Custom of the *Greek* Church, only in this, that the Ceremony is perform'd not in the Church, but over the Door. But if any one have marry'd a Barren VVoman, or of an ill Disposition and ugly Hu-

mour, they hold it not only lawful, but requisite to Divorce her; in regard it was no Match of Gods making, for that God does always that which is good, and never makes Matches between people that are Barren, or whose Humours are incompatible one with another.

There is not a Man among 'em that understands the Bible, or that reads it; there being very few among 'em that can read or understand the *Georgian*; which is the only Language wherein they have the Holy Scripture written. But as for the VVomen, they are not altogether so ignorant as the Men; so that you shall have some of them who will rehearse several Stories of the Gospel, which they have read and got by Heart.

Their Fasts are almost the same which the *Greeks* observe. For they observe the four great *Lents*; The first before *Easter*, being 48 Days; That before *Christmas*, which lasts 40 Days; That which is call'd St. *Peter's* Fast, which holds very near a Month; and the last which the *Oriental* Christians observe in Honour of the Virgin *Mary*, which continues for 15 Days.

They make the Sign of the Cross upon certain Occasions, but they do not believe the Sign of the Cross to be any Mark of Christianity. Only they make this Sign when they drink VVine and eat Pork. Their Prayers are all address'd to their Idols, relating only to Temporal Benefits, their own Prosperity, and the Ruine of their Enemies.

They offer Sacrifices like the *Jews* and *Gentiles*. The *Priest* prays over the Victim, and then cuts the Throat of it: And when it is Boyl'd, they set it upon the Table. At what time all the people of the Family stand about it with Candles in their Hands, except the person who makes the Offering, who is Kneeling all the while. He first perfumes the Victim with Incense; which when the rest have likewise done, they fall too, and eat it altogether. They also cut the Throats of Beasts and Birds over the Graves of their Relations and Friends, and pour VVine and Oyl upon 'em. And these Libations they observe every day. No Body drinks, till as he holds the Cup in his Hand, he has first said a sentence of a Prayer, with his Eyes lifted up to Heav'n, and pouring out at the same time upon the Ground a small quantity of the VVine in the Cup.

They

They never make Holy-Day upon *Sundays*, or abstain from Work, but upon the Festivals of *Christmas* and Easter. However the celebration of their great Festivals consists only in Eating and Drinking to excess in their Houses. Their greatest Festivals which they observe is, when any Idol is to be carry'd through their Country. Then they put on all the best Cloaths they have. They make a great Feast, and get ready a Present for the Idol which is to pass by.

And this, I believe, may suffice to shew that there is not the least shadow of Religion among the *Mingrelians*. The Manuscript, from whence I took these observations, relates their several sorts of Divination practiz'd among 'em; their Superstitions and Sundry Customes, which are a Medley of Judaism, and Paganism. All which I left behind me, not finding therein the least Grain of Wit or common Sense. But quite the Contrary, nothing but Extravagance. I shall only add, that all that I observ'd in the Religious Ceremonies and Belief or Faith of the *Mingrelians*, is no other then what I have truly reported.

I shall only speak a word concerning their Mourning, which is the Mourning of people in despair. When a Woman loses her Husband, or a near Relation, she rends her Cloaths, strips her self naked to the Waste, tears her Hair, and with her Nails claws off the Flesh and Skin from her Body and Face, she beats her Breast, she crys, yells, gnashes her Teeth, foams at Mouth, like a Woman mad or possess'd, and acts her passion to that degree, that it seems terrible to the sight. The Men also express their Grief after a manner altogether as Barbarous: They tear their Cloaths, thump their Breasts, and shave their Heads and their Beards. This Mourning continues 40 Days, with the same Fury as I have describ'd for the first Ten Days, but afterwards relaxing by degrees. During the first Ten Days, the Relations of the deceas'd, and a great Number of Men and Women come to bewail the Dead, which they do in this manner. The people range themselves in order about the dead Corps, and in their torn Habits, thump their Breasts with both Hands; crying out *Vah, Vah*; and so keeping time with their Thumps and their Cries, they make a dismal Noise; which altogether yields a frightful Spectacle of despair, not to be beheld without a kind of Horrour. Of a sudden you hear nothing, all's quiet, the Mourning stops, and all observe a profound Silence; By and by they all begin again with a loud Cry, and fall into their first Transportments.

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The last Day, which is the Fortieth, they Bury the Dead. Then they make a Feast for all their Relations, all their Friends, all their Neighbours, and all those that came to bewail the Party deceas'd; the Women eating by themselves, apart from the Men. The Bishop says Mass, and then seizes as his Right, upon all that the Deceas'd Person made use of in his Life, his Horse, his Cloaths, his Weapons, his Plate if he have any, and all the rest of that sort. So that these Mournings ruine whole Families in *Mingrelia*. Nevertheless they are oblig'd to this Solemn Performance. The Bishop says a Mass for the Dead, for the great profit he receives; and the Mourners come to waile the Deceas'd, as sure to live Forty Days upon what he has left behind. When a Bishop dies the Prince himself causes Mass to be said upon the Fortieth Day, and seizes upon all his Goods that are Moveable.

This is all that I could learn in *Colchis*, concerning the Nature of the Country, and the Customs and Religion of the Inhabitants. Their Neighbours Live and act after the same Fashion, almost in every respect: only they who Live nearer to *Persia* and *Turkey*, are more Civil in their Manners, and more Honest and Just in their Inclinations. Whereas they who lie nearer the *Tartars* and *Scythians*, are more Barbarous in their Customs, living without any *Idea* or outward Form of Religion, or observance of any Laws. I have spoken also of the *Abca's* and other People that Live at the Foot of Mount *Caucasus*; concerning whom I have related as much as I could learn. But now I shall give an account of what I have seen and heard, most remarkable, concerning those other Countries that border upon *Mingrelia*. Which are the Principality of *Guriel*, and the Kingdom of *Imiretta*.

The Country of *Guriel* is very small; it Borders to the North upon *Imiretta*; Eastward upon a part of Mount *Caucasus* that belongs to the *Turks*. To the West upon *Mingrelia*, and to the South upon the *Black-Sea*. It lies all along upon that Sea in length from the River *Phasis*, that runs a Mile from the Castle of *Gonie*, held by the *Turks*, distant only Forty Miles from *Phasis*. The Country of *Guriel* resembles *Mingrelia* in every thing as to its Nature and the Manners of the Inhabitants. For they have the same Religion, the same Customs; and the same Inclinations to Leudness, Robbery and Murder.

The Kingdom of *Imiretta* is somewhat bigger then the Country of *Guriel*; and is the *Hiberia* of the Ancients. It is Enclos'd and Surrounded by Mount *Caucasus*, *Colchis*, the *Black-Sea*, the Principality of *Guriel*, and *Georgia*: being about Six and Twenty Miles in Length, and Sixty Miles broad. The People of Mount *Caucasus* that lie next to it, are the *Georgians* and *Turks*, and to the North the *Offi* and *Caracioles*, or *Caracherks* or *Black-Circassians*, so call'd by the *Turks*, for the reasons already mention'd. These are those *Caracioles* or *Black-Circassians*, which the *Europeans* call *Huns*, who ransackt *Italy* and *Gaul*, and whose devastations in those Countries, are so frequently mention'd by the Ancient Historians, and particularly by *Cedrenus*. The Language which they speak is almost half *Turkish*.

Imiretta is a Country full of Woods and Mountains like *Mingrelia*; but the Vallies are more Lovely, and the Plains more Delicious; where you may meet much more easily with Bread, Meat, Pulse and Herbs of all sorts. There are also in it some Iron-Mines. Money goes among the People of this Country, and is Coyn'd in the Kingdom; and here ye also meet with several Towns. But as for their Manners and Customs, they are the same as in *Mingrelia*. The King has Three good Castles; one call'd *Scander*, seated upon the side of a Valley, and two in Mount *Caucasus*, call'd *Regia* and *Scorgia*, both almost inaccessible; as being built in places that Nature herself has ingeniously fortifi'd; the River *Phasis* running before 'em. The Prince had also not long since another Fortress call'd *Cotatis*, bearing the same Name as the Country round about it, which perhaps may be the same place that *Ptolomy* calls the Region of *Cotatene*. But the *Turks* are at present Masters of it.

The Kingdom of *Imiretta*, has had under its Jurisdiction the *Abca's*, the *Mingrelians*, and the People of *Guriel*, after they had all Four shaken off the Yoke of the Emperors of *Constantinople* first of all, and then of the Emperors of *Trebisond*. But then in the last Age, setting up for themselves, and revolting one from another, they have been ever since at continual Wars one with the other. They who lay next the *Turks* implor'd their assistance, who readily took 'em into their Protection, and then made 'em all Tributaries one after another. The Tribute of the King of *Imiretta* is Four-score Boys and Girls, from Ten to Twenty Years of Age. The Prince of *Guriel* pays Six and Forty Children of both Sexes; and the Prince

Prince of *Mingrelia* Sixty Thousand Ells of Linnen Cloath, made in the Country. The *Abca's* also were made Tributary, but they seldom pay'd any thing ; and now they pay nothing. The King of *Imiretta*, and the Prince of *Guriel*, send their Tribute to the *Basba* of *Akalzike*: but a *Chiaux* gathers it in *Mingrelia*. When I came to *Akalzike*, the report went, that the *Turks* would take possession of these Countries, under the Government of a *Basba*, not knowing any other way to prevent the perpetual Wars, that apparently ruine and depopulate the Countries. However it be now, the *Turks* formerly forbore to take possession of it, in regard that the Precepts of Mahumarism, could not conveniently be there observ'd, because the best nourishment in those Countries is their Wine and their Hogs Flesh, which are both prohibited by the *Mahometan* Law: besides that they have no Bread; and the People live scatter'd upon and down the Country, so that wherever the *Turks* should build their Fortresses, they would not be able to Command, within their reach, above Seven or Eight Houses. Upon which Considerations they left those Provinces in their Ancient Condition, and are satisf'd only to keep 'em under Subjection for a Nursery of Slaves; which yeilds 'em every Year no less then Seven or Eight Thousand. And the same Reasons and Obstacles most apparently discourage the *Turks* from Incorporating into the Body of their Empire, those Vast Plains of *Tartary* and *Scythia*, and the wide Regions of Mount *Caucasus*. For if the People that inhabit those parts, were united into Cities and strong Places, there might be a way found to reduce 'em, and keep 'em in Subjection. But which way is it possible to subdue a People that change their Habitations every Month, and all their Life-time wander up and down the Country?

The present Prince of *Mingrelia* is the Eighth, since that Country first revolted from the Dominion of *Imiretta*. These Princes of *Mingrelia*, all give themselves the Title of *Dadian*: as much as to say, the Head of Justice; from *Dad* a *Persian* Word, that signifies Justice: from whence the first Race of the Kings of *Persia* was call'd *Pich-Dadian*, that is to say, the first Justice. To denote, that they were the first Men, whom the People of that vast Country, establish'd over 'em for the Administration of Justice among 'em; and to maintain every one in the enjoyment of his own Property. The King of *Imiretta* gives himself the Title of *Meppe*, which signifies a King in the *Georgian* Language. Both which *Meppe* and *Dadian* boast themselves

selves to be descended from the King and Prophet *David*. The Ancient Kings of *Georgia* also assum'd the same descent; and the *Kan* of *Georgia*, among the rest of his Titles, calls himself, the Issue of that Great King by *Solomon* his Son. The King of *Imiretta*, also in his Letters assumes a more Haughty and Pompous Title than the other, calling himself *King of Kings*.

Now so soon as our Vessel was come to an Anchor, in the Road of *Isfaour*, as I have already said, I went a Shoar with the *Greek* Merchant, who was my Guide. For I expected to have met with Houses, where I might have found Provisions and some other Relief. Nor were these hopes without any Ground, to one that saw no less than Seven Vessels together at an Anchor in the Road: but I was utterly deceiv'd; for I found nothing at all. The Coast of *Isfaour*, is all cover'd with Wood. Only they have levell'd and lay'd open, about a Hundred Paces from the Sea side, a certain spot of Ground, about Two Hundred and Fifty Paces long, and Fifty broad; which is the Grand Market of *Mingrelia*. In this there is one Street, containing on both sides of the VVay, about a Hundred small Hutts, made up of the Boughs of Trees, fasten'd one to another: of which every Merchant takes one. There he lies, and keeps Shop, tho with such VVares only as he thinks he shall sell in Two or Three Days. But as for those which he has bought, and such for which he does not see any Probability of a quick Vent, he keeps 'em in the Vessel, there being no kind of Security a Shoar. There was nothing else to be had at this Market, nor a Country-Man's House to be heard of in all the parts there about. Thereupon my Guide spoke to some of those that came to the Market, to bring us some *Gom*, which is that sort of Grain, by them made use of in stead of Bread, some VVine and other Provisions; which the Country-Men promis'd to do, but fail'd in their VVords. So that I was surpriz'd, and very much troubl'd to meet with nothing, for our own Provisions began to grow short, nor to see any thing at such a Market, but a Company of Slaves Chain'd together, and about a Dozen of Tatter'd Fellows, with Bows and Arrows i' their Hands, who it seems were the Officers of the Customs, and look'd more ready to Rob, then relieve us. But I was much more surpriz'd and perplex'd, when I heard, that the *Turks*, and the Prince of *Guriel*, were coming into *Mingrelia*, that the People took Arms, and had begun the VVar, Pillaging and Ranfacking their Neighbours, and clear-

ing the Country both of Cartel and Inhabitants. I must confess I depended very much upon the *Theatin Missionaries* in *Mingrelia*, when I first resolv'd to make choice of that way. I was assur'd they had a House where I might be secure, and that they could much facilitate my passage into *Persia*. But their House was Forty Miles from *Isagour* by Land, and Fifty Five by Sea. However I sent an Express to the Superior of the *Missionaries*, with a Letter wherein I gave him an account, That I was come into *Mingrelia*, and that I was going into *Persia* about business of great Importance. That I had Letters of Recommendation to him from the Ambassador of *France*, the Resident of *Genoa*, the Warden of the *Capuchins* of *Greece*, and the Solicitor for the *Theatins* at *Constantinople*, and therefore I earnestly desir'd him to send me some Person that might give me necessary Informations how to proceed in my Voyage. I would have made my Bargain with the Express for Ready Money, but he rather chose to have Cloth. Thereupon my Guide agreed with him for two pieces of blew Linnen, upon Condition that he return'd in two days and a half. Which two pieces cost Six Shillings at *Cassa*. This done, I return'd to the Vessel, very pensive, and sorely troubl'd to find my self in a Country where there was no Provision to be bought, where Money would not go, nor any Lodging was to be had. And besides the sight of so many Slaves of all Ages and both Sexes, some in Chains, some ty'd two and two, and of the Officers of the Customers that look'd like meer Robbers and Ruffians, had fill'd my Head with a Thousand Fears. However I kept a good Heart still, and did my utmost endeavour to dissipate those Disturbances of my Mind.

All this while I said nothing to my Comrade or to my Servants, only that I had been promis'd Provisions; nevertheless 'twas but prudence to be as good Husbands as we could of that little we had. Nor did the Rumours of the War hinder the Merchants in our Vessel from going a Shoar; where they took every one a Hutt, and carry'd their Commodities along with 'em.

The 18th at Noon, my Guide came aboard, and brought me an Answer from the Superior of the *Theatins*. It was very short: For he only sent me word, That within two or three Days he would come to the Vessel with a Bark, and would serve me to the utmost of his Power.

The 15th toward the Evening, a great Number of Country People that had made their escapes, pass'd by *Isfaour*, and gave us a hot *Alarm*, That the *Abca's* whom the Prince of *Mingrelia* had call'd in to assist him against the *Turks*, pillag'd and burnt all before 'em, carrying away the Inhabitants, and driving away the Cattel, where-ever they came. Thereupon the Merchants endeavour'd to carry off what they could in their Long-Boats. But it was late, and the Vessels rid about a Mile from the Shoar; nor could they make above two Returns. Thereupon every Captain caus'd two great Guns to be carry'd ashoar, which they planted at the Avenues of the Market, and stood to their Arms all Night. For my own part I cannot express the sorrow I was in at such an unfortunate and unexpected Accident. I had hardly Constancy enough to hold out. And that which drove me almost to despair was this, That the Captain discours'd of going to Trade among the *Abca's* and *Cherks*, and then to return back to *Cassa*. Which was to be three Months at Sea, and not to be laid up till the end of the Year. The Recoyl of my Fortune, which such a Resolution set before my Eyes, the danger of perishing at Sea, want of Vittles, the impossibility to get any; all these things which I foresaw distinctly, were not the greatest Trouble that perplex'd me. My greatest Vexation was to see my Friends Concerns, which I thought had escap'd the Dangers of the *Black-Sea* and *Turkey*, expos'd to new Hazards, and my self likely to undergo the Reproaches and Scorn of People, that would be apt to lay to my Charge unexpected Accidents for Miscarriages, and attribute unfortunate Conjunctions to my Imprudence. To this I may add the Grumbling and Imprecations of my Servants, that continually rang i' my Ears: Some cursing Destiny, others the Country, others the People that had adviz'd me to the *Black-Sea*. In a word, I was in such a profound Agony, as I thought would have utterly swallow'd me up. But GOD in his Mercy deliver'd me; He strengthen'd me with Courage, and I hearten'd up my People; but their patience was soon tyr'd, ready to break forth every foot with the same extravagance; for the Hunger which we endur'd heighten'd their Transports even to Brutish Outrage.

The 20th all the People that belong'd to our Vessel, and the rest that lay in the Road, return'd aboard. Chusing rather to leave their Wooll, their Salt, their Earthen Ware, and such like Commodities, then to hazard their being tak'n
by

by the *Abca's*, who as they were assur'd were very near at hand. And indeed their Intelligence was too true. For about Ten a Clock at Night we saw all the Market-place a Fire; and the next Morning such as ventur'd to see what was the matter, found nothing but the Ashes, and Remainders of the Conflagration.

So soon as our People were all come aboard, I endeavour'd to buy of them Bisket, Rice, Butter, Onions, and dry'd Herbs: but no Body would part with their Goods, fearing lest they should not return to *Cassa*; till at length by the power of Money I got of several Merchants Sixty Pounds of Bisket, a few Herbs, Eight Pounds of Butter, and Twelve Pounds of Rice. This was but a small Stock for six People. But good Husbandry made it last longer then I expected. For there was in our Vessel dry'd Fish in abundance, and we scarcely fed upon any thing else. But I was wonderfully pleas'd when I had prevail'd with my Men to make a Meal without Bread, and lookt upon that Abstinence of theirs as the Lucky Chance of a Fortunate Day.

The 27th, seeing the Superiour of the *Theatins* did not come, and not knowing what I might hope for from him, I propos'd to my People the Necessity there was that one of them should go and find him out; in regard there was none but he that could preserve us from the Miseries that threaten'd us, and which came thick upon us every day more then other. But 'twas the want of Virtues and their own despair that prevail'd beyond all my Arguments. So that one among the rest proffer'd me to go seek out the *Theatins*. And it so happen'd that there was a Bark of *Anargue* that lay by our Vessel. Which *Anargue* is a Village upon the Sea-Shoar, not above Twenty Miles from *Sippias*, where those Fryers have their Residence. This Bark being come to take in a Lading of Salt, my Servant went aboard, after I had given him four Duckets in Gold, Money, Mercery Ware, and all the Lettets I had for the Superiour of the *Theatins*. Which I did, to the end that the Recommendation of so many Persons, some of Quality, the rest his Friends; might hast'n him to assist us in our Extremity: besides that I had written to him my self at large, desiring him to aid us if it were in his Power. I wrote to him also, That the Messenger whom I had sent, had Money; which I desir'd him to make use of, for that I begg'd no more of him then his Trouble; for which I should not also fail to be farther Grateful.

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The Fourth of October in the Morning my Servant return'd, bringing along with him the Superiour of the *Theatins*, whose Name, as I have already said, was Don Maria Joseph Zampi, of Mantua: to whom I presently ran and embrac'd him. But observe how he accosted me: Sir, said he, *God forgive those People that advis'd ye to come this way, the Mischief they have done ye. You are come into the most Wicked and Barbarous Country i' the World; and the best Course you can take is to return back to Constantinople with the first Opportunity.* At which words the Joy which I felt for the Arrival of the good Fryer, was soon at an end. However, I carry'd him into my Cabin, and there, together with my Comrade, we debated what was best to be done. We return'd him Thanks in the first place for the pains he had taken in coming so far. To which he answer'd, That he had come according to his promise, but that the War and the Incurfion of the *Abca's*, had made the Roads so dangerous, that he durst not venture himself. After that, I told him, That his first Complement to me at our first Greeting, put me at my Wits end: and therefore I besought him to tell me, Whether he were not come to take us along with him, and carry us to his own Residence? Who answer'd, That he was come to serve me to the utmost of his Power, and that he would carry us Home to his own House if we desir'd: however he would gladly let us know the Nature of the Country through which we were to pass. That it was a Place where there was no Bread to be had; and hardly any other Food to be got at that present time: That the Air was very unwholsom, and the People so wicked that it was scarce to be imagin'd. I told him, That we had a Letter of Recommendation to the Prince of *Mingrelia*. To which he answer'd, That this Prince was as great a Cut-throat, and as profess'd a Robber as any of his Subjects. He told us moreover, That about three Years before, returning from *Italy*, he brought along with him several Presents for the Prince, for the Princess his Wife, for the *Visier*, and the Principal Lords of the Court, which he distributed among 'em till he had almost left himself nothing; with which the Prince was so far from being satisfi'd, that he sent and took away that little that he had reserv'd; and although he were at that time Physician to the Prince and all the *Grande'es*, the *Visier* clapt him up soon after in a *Dungeon*, with a Chain about his Neck, and Fetters upon his Feet, to get more Money from him, and that he could not be releas'd out of the Clutches of that Tygre, till

he had paid him Forty Crowns. Not that I tell ye this, Gentlemen, said he, to send ye back again, but only to inform ye of the danger ye have thrown your selves into, by setting foot in *Mingrelia*. Yet after all this, if you will needs go forward, I will do my best to preserve your Persons and your Goods, and to pass ye securely into *Persia*.

Upon this, I consider'd what the Father had represented to us: and I came to this result with my self, That the Mischiefs that threaten'd me in *Mingrelia* were Mischiefs to come, and which I was in hopes, though I knew not which way, to escape. Those which I endur'd were present, and my Head and my Heart were both full of 'em. I represented therefore to Father *Zampi*, That whatever Misfortunes should happen to us in *Mingrelia*, would be less then those would befall us in returning to *Cassa*, which would infallibly be our ruine. I desir'd him to consider, that we had neither Provision nor Virtues, that the Vessel where we were was old, and daily took aboard great Numbers of Slaves of all Ages and Sexes, so that we could hardly stir one by another in the Ship. That a great Number of *Abca's* and *Mingrelian's* went and came from Morning till Night, that fill'd it with *Vermin* that would endanger a general Infection, and end in a Pestilence. That the Vessel would be two Months before she return'd for *Cassa*, at what time the Weather would begin to be unseasonable and tempestuous; as being that part of the Year when the *Black-Sea*, so dreadful stormy, was most furiously exasperated by the Violence of continual Tempests; so that suppose they should get safe to *Cassa*, and thence to *Constantinople*, 'twould be four Months at least before they could perform their Voyage, and then we should be forc'd to begin again, and put to find out a new Project which way to pass through *Turkey*. Besides running the Risco of extravagant Impositions, or exorbitant Customs; and yet after all these Adventures we should be still expos'd to ruine, which was the same thing or worse then to run the hazard in *Mingrelia*, where the Danger could not be greater, but where the Peril could never last so long, since it was but four Days Journey before we should be in a Country where we should be secure.

Father *Zampi* could not gainsay any of my Reasons: Besides that our passage could not but be advantageous to himself in particular, or to his Mission. So that he talk'd of nothing else but of taking us along with him, and of our leaving

the Ship for good and all. Now the Bark wherein I had sent my Servant was a long Vessel like a small Lighter, and was hir'd to go and come with Goods: and into this Vessel it therefore was that we put our Baggage aboard, and about a hunderd Crowns worth of Goods which we bought out of the Vessel. Which Purchase was made at my Intreaty by Father *Zampy*, because he knew what would best go off in *Mingrelia*, for that Money, as I have said already, was no otherwise Current or Valuable there then as it was a sort of Merchandize. Our Baggage being Embark'd before Noon, we set Sail at the same time. And then it was that I was over-joy'd to find my self quit of the Ship; for I could not endure the Stench of it. Besides that the Nastiness and Infamous Behaviour of the People aboard made me loath the very sight of 'em. The Vessel was a meer Sink and Dungeon of Slaves, who as soon as Night came, were Chain'd two and two, as well the Boys as the Men. In the Morning they took off their Chains agen, so that I could hardly rest for the ratling of the Irons, and then the very Object it self griev'd me to the very Heart. Every Morning we were sure to see a Fire ashoar, which was a signal that there were people come to sell either Slaves or other Merchandize. Upon which they sent away their Long-Boat, into which they who had a desire to come to the Vessel put themselves and their Wares, and being brought aboard, drove the Bargains as they could agree. And indeed the War in *Mingrelia* was very favourable to our Merchants; for the *Abca's* brought 'em all their Plunder and Booty to sell. Among the rest there came one day to our Vessel an *Abca* of Quality, having a Train of seven or eight Men at his Heels, who seem'd to be the arrantest Rakehels in the World. He brought three Slaves, and his Men were loaden with Booty; and among other Things they had got a Frame of an Idol all of Silver; I caus'd 'em to be ask'd, Where the Idol it self was? To which they answer'd, That they had left it in the Church, not daring to carry it away, for fear it should have kill'd 'em.

Our Vessel had Forty Slaves when I left it, which the Turkish and Christian Merchants had bought for Arms, Household-stuff, and other Commodities. They gave 'em what they pleas'd themselves, and reck'nd twice as much as the Goods cost 'em. They gave no more then Fifteen Crowns for Men from Twenty Five to Forty Years of Age; and Eight or Ten, for those that were older. Handsom Maids from Thirteen to Eighteen

Eighteen were sold for Twenty Crowns, others for less. Women for Twelve, and Childern for Three or Four. A *Greek* Merchant that lay in a Cabin next to mine, bought a Woman and a Child at her Breast. She had incomparable Features in her Face, and a truly Lilly-white Complexion; and indeed I never saw more lovely Nipples, and a rounder Neck, nor a smoother Skin; which created at the same time both Envy and Compassion. So that I could not chuse but cast a mournful Look upon her, saying this to my self, Unfortunate Beauty! neither would I envy or compassionate thee, were I in another Condition, and that I did not find my self just upon the Brink of Danger, threaten'd with the greatest Miseries imaginable, if there can be a greater Misery then that of Slavery. But that which surpriz'd me was this, That these miserable Creatures were no way cast down, nor did they seem sensible of the misery of their Condition. At length when they had bought 'em, their Masters took from them the Rags that cover'd 'em, clad 'em with Linnen and new Habits, and set 'em to work; the Men and the Boys to moyl in the Ship, and the Women to sow. Nor did they seem to be much dissatisfi'd with their Habit, or the Food which was giv'n, only they did not like Working, so that the Cudgel was forc'd to walk now and then to quick'n their Laziness.

We had a good Wind, and we made use of Oars as well as Sails in our Bark. And for my own part, all my discourse was with Father *Zampi*, what course I should take to prevent my falling into the Enemies Hand, and my being plunder'd and assassinated by the *Mingrelians*. Which discourse at length brought us to talk of those Persons, whose Letters I had sent him. He told me the *French* Ambassador's Letter was a Duplicate of one which he had sent the last Year for Attestations of the Religion of *Colchis*: but when he gave it into my Hands, and that I had read it, I was surpriz'd to find, that having been giv'n me for a Letter of Recommendation, there should not be the least mention of my Name. Which made me afraid lest Father *Zampi* should think, that the Ambassador had not that Value and Kindness for me, which I pretended to make him believe. And therefore I thought my self oblig'd to shew him the Letter which the Ambassador had done me the Honour to write to the Prince of *Mingrelia*, of which this was a Copy.

Thrice Illustrious Prince,

THE Emperor of France my Master, having Commanded me to make use of his Protection to support your Interests in the Ottoman Court upon all Occasions that should offer: I am glad of this Opportunity not only to Confirm it by this Letter, but for that these two Gentlemen also, the *Sieur Chardin*, and the *Sieur Raifin* will give you farther Assurances of the same Thing in my behalf. You will oblige me to believe 'em, and in Consideration of that Value which I have for their Persons, to support and defend 'em with all your Authority so long as they shall sojourn in your Court; and when they depart from your Court in order to their going forward into Persia, I hope you will freely grant 'em that Favour, and add to the rest that one more of believing me to be,

Thrice Illustrious Prince,

Your most Humble and Obedient Servant,

De NOINTEL,

Ambassador for his Most Christian Majesty, the Emperor of France at the Ottoman Port.

About Midnight we arriv'd at the Mouth of the River *Astolphus*, call'd by the *Mingrelians*, *Langur*; and which is one of the biggest Rivers in *Mingrelia*. There we stopp'd and sent to *Anarghie* two of our Seamen, to know what News of the Enemy, and to see whether the People were not fled, and in what condition they stood. This *Anarghia* is a Village two Miles from the Sea, the most considerable in all *Mingrelia*, consisting of a Hunderd Houses, but so far distant one from the other, that it is two Miles from the first to the last.

There are always *Turks* in this Village that come to buy Slaves, and have Barks ready to carry 'em away. And it is said, that this Village is built in the same place where formerly stood a fair and large City, call'd by the Name of *Heraclea*.

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The fifth before day, the two Seamen return'd, and brought us word that the *Abca's* had made no Inroads within Fifteen Miles of *Anarghia*; but that things were quiet without any Disturbance or Alteration. Thereupon Father *Zampi* desir'd 'em to Row hard, to the end we might come early to the Village, and Land our Goods before we should come to be seen by any Person. All things fell out to our Wish, and we took a Lodging at a Country-Mans House, which was one of the best Accommodations in the Town. For we had a great many Chests, the biggest of which was full of Books. Thereupon Father *Zampi* advis'd me to open it, and take out the Goods in the sight of the People of the House, to the end they might have no suspicion that we carry'd any Treasure in our Chests; but might be ready to give it out that we were only Persons in Holy Orders, for which reason we loaded our selves with a great Number of Books for our particular use. I follow'd his Advice, and found it to be very good. For the People of the House were amaz'd to see nothing in such a large Chest but only Books; and I am apt to believe they conceited there was nothing else in all the rest.

The ninth a Lay-*Theatin* came to see us: He was the Physician and Surgeon that serv'd all *Mingrelia*. And the Access which his Art had procur'd him to the Prince and all the Grandees, had put him up to that degree of Pride, that he valu'd neither Fathers nor Superiour, and in all his Actions and Discourse manifested a most insupportable Superbity. However, I receiv'd and entertain'd him as his Vain-glory seem'd to require. Who thereupon gave me a Thousand Assurances of Protection and Assistance, and promis'd to bring us Tidings of the Retreat of the *Abca's*, so soon as he found his Information to be such as he could confide in. Nor did he fail in his Undertaking; so that he return'd to us the 13th, and brought us the Good News we expected. He told us that he had been with the Prince the Day before, at what time the Intelligence came to him. He recounted also to us, that the *Abca's* had carry'd away with 'em Twelve Hunderd Persons, and a great Number of Cattel, with oter Booty; that they had plunder'd the House of a Tenant to the *Theatins*, and taken away three of their Slaves: That the Prince had sent three Gentlemen to the Prince of the *Abca's* to make his Complaints, and to threaten 'em for their Perfidiousness; for that having enterd *Mingrelia*, under an Engagement and upon Oath to defend it against the *Turks*, they had made use of their Forces to Sack and Pillage

the Country, and was return'd; and had retreated without doing him the least Kindness. And thus after he had given us a full Accompt of the News that was stirring, he told Father *Zampi* farther, That we might all go together to their Residence at *Sippias*, and that the Prince and the *Catholicos* had order'd him to assure me and my Comrade, That we were Welcom, and that he would provide us Men and Horses to Convoy us into *Georgia*. Upon which we resolv'd to depart the next day.

While we staid at *Anarghia* we suffer'd for no want of any thing; we had Fowl, Wild Pigeons, Porkers, and Goats in abundance. All which my People had in exchange for Linnen, Needles, Incense, Combs and Knives: and they had their Provisions very Cheap too: Wine was also very plentiful, for it was then the very time of their Vintage. There was also at *Anarghia* a Lady of Quality, who had made choice of that Place to retire to for security but a little before. She was a Widow, and her Husband had been Chief Minister or Vizier to the Prince. Father *Zampi* carry'd me to her House, where I presented her with some inconsiderable Trifles, and she in Acknowledgment of what she had receiv'd, and in hopes of more, sent me every Day a Loaf of half a Pound, with some other of her choicest Viands. One Day she sent me a piece of Wild Boars Flesh, another Day a Ball of Wax, another Day a small Quantity of Honey, another time a Pheasant, and by the Messenger still she requested some Trifle or other, as Knives, Scissars, Ribband, Paper, or the like, and so she paid her self double for her Presents. One Day she came to give me a Visit, and shew'd her self very Complaisant, and signifi'd her Fancy for several other things. But though I did not like this Trade, I kept fair with her however, because I would not want Bread, which was not elsewhere to be had.

Father *Zampi* advis'd me to pretend my self a *Capuchin*; and gave out himself that I was going to the *Capuchins* in *Georgia*: That I had disguis'd my self because I would not be known in *Turkey*, and to the end I might travel with more freedom. And the better to counterfeit my Disguise, he perswaded me to go very meanly, and to pretend Poverty upon all Occasions. And for my own part, I acted my part very well, but the ill Management of my Servants prevented my Plot from taking Effect. They brake my Measures by the Good House which they kept. For they bought the best Vittles they could find, let it cost what it would. In a

vword, they repaid themselves for the scarcity vvhich they had endur'd. Which Expences of theirs caus'd People to think I vvvas not so poor as I pretended to be.

The 14th, two Hours before Day, vve departed from *Anarghia*, and Row'd up the River *Astolphus* two Leagues, after vvhich vve landed our Baggage, and loaded our Goods into six little Carts: and fill'd two more vvith the Provisions vvhich Father *Zampi* had bought. These Eight little Wagons made a great Noile; for it vvvas an unusual sight in *Mingrelia* to see so many together. So that in less then two days the News flew about the Country of the Arrival of certain *Europeans*, vvith Eight Wagons loaden vvith Baggage. Which News vvvas spread vvith so many Circumstances, as vvvere the occasion of several Misfortunes that befel us, as I shall relate in the pursuit of my Story. Thus vve travell'd four Leagues and a half by Land, and by Sun-set arriv'd at *Sapias*.

Sapias is the Name of two little Churches, of vvhich the one is a Parish-Church of *Mingrelia*, the other belongs to the *Theatins*. It vvvas bestow'd upon 'em, together vvith the Church-yard vvherein the two Churches are enclos'd. Which Enclosure is very large: and vvhere they have also built several Apartments and Lodgings after the Fashion of the Country: every one of the Fryers having his Apartment to himself, according as they are one separated from another. The lesser Lodgings are for their Slaves, and two Families of Country-People vvho are their Tenants.

The *Theatins* came first into *Mingrelia* in the Year 1627. vvhere they vvvere admitted as Physitians. The Prince vvho then Raign'd vvvas very Potent, and it vvvas represented to him as a Thing greatly to the Advantage and Benefit of his Country, that Persons vvho understood an Art so profitable for the Advantage of his Health, should be suffer'd to settle in his Country. Thereupon he made 'em Welcom, gave 'em the Residence vvhich they enjoy, vvith Lands, and a certain Number of Country-People to Manure the Ground, and furnish their Society vvith Corn and Wine. One and Twenty Years before, the Jesuites of *Constantinople* sent Two of their Fraternity into this Country, but they dy'd there so soon, that the rest vvvere afraid to venture any more. The *Theatins* however for some Years last past, had Houses in *Tartary*, *Georgia*, *Circassia* and *Imiretta*. Which are all forsak'n and destroy'd, seeing the People no vvay enclin'd to embrace the Roman Religion; and besides they, were over-employ'd in their Practice

Practice of Physick. Moreover, they assur'd me that they had long since abandon'd *Colchis* likewise upon the same Considerations; only that they staid there for the Honour of the Roman Church, vvhich glory'd to have her Missionaries in all parts of the Earth; but more particularly for the Honour of their own Order, out of vvhich there being no other Mission into any part of the World, it vvould turn to their discredit should they not be able to uphold it.

There were only four *Theatins* at *Sapias* when I arriv'd there, three Priests and one Laic. The Priests practis'd only Physick, the Lay-Brother both Physick and Surgery. For he had been up and down in the World, a Chirurgeon by Profession. The *Theatins* affirm, That all the Spiritual Benefit which the Country reaps from their being among 'em, is only Baptizing of Infants, there being none which are there Baptiz'd, or but after a very odd Fashion. Unless it be in that, they confess, they make no other progress among the *Mingrelians*, vvho are so far, say they, from embracing the Roman Ceremonies, that they do not believe the *Europeans* to be Christians, because they do not see 'em observe so many Fasts, nor with so strict and severe an Abstinence, besides that they do not Worship Images. The *Theatin's* very immediate Slaves, will not Communicate with their Masters in their Religious Exercises; and they have assur'd me, they could never Educate any one to serve at the Mass. I have seen these Fryers sometimes Baptize Childern; for they Baptize all that they meet with, in Houses vvhere they have not either been of a long time, or vvhere they do not remember that ever they Administer'd that Sacrament before. I have tarry'd several Days in several Places of *Mingrelia* with the Superiour of the *Theatins*, and have frequently seen his vvay of Baptizing. For vvhen they brought him any one that vvvas ill, he call'd for a Bason of Water, pretending to vvash his Hands, and vvhen he had wash'd 'em, before he dry'd 'em again, vvith the end of his Finger he touch'd the Forehead of the Child, making the Parents believe, it vvvas only to understand the Distemper.

He Baptiz'd Childern that vvvere in Health by flirting a little Water in their Faces, vvwhile he vvvas vvashing his Hands, as if he had done it in sport. I ask'd him, What it vvvas he did? I have Baptiz'd these Childern, said he; happy is it for them that vve came into the House. I ask'd him a second time, What Name he had giv'n 'em? I give 'em no Name, answer'd he; for oft-times I know not whether I Baptize a
Male

Male or a Female; there is no Necessity for the Name, it being sufficient to cast a drop of Water upon the Infant, and mentally to recite the Form of Baptism. In a word, the *Theatins* are very miserable in *Mingrelia*, they pillage 'em, they abuse 'em; nor have they any value or respect for 'em, unless it be when any Sickness or Wound constrains 'em to require their Assistance.

The 18th the Princess of *Mingrelia* came to visit the *Theatins*; and presently the Superiour of the *Theatins* made haste to attend her. These Princesses of *Mingrelia* and those of the Neighbouring Countries they call *Dedopate*, which in the *Georgian* Language signifies Queen. She was a Horseback, attended by about Eight Women and Ten Men, and some Lacqueys that ran by her Horse. But this Train of hers was very ill clad, and very badly mounted. She told the *Prefect* or Superiour, That she understood that the Provision which was usually sent 'em from *Constantinople* was come, and that there were *Europeans* in the House, who had brought a long with 'em a considerable Quantity of Goods: that she was very glad of it, and desired to see 'em that she might bid 'em Welcom. Presently I was call'd for to pay my Respects to her: at what time Father *Zampi* told me that I must make her a Present, the way according to the Custom of that Country, to acknowledge the favourable Visits of the Prince and Princess. Upon that I besought her to tarry till I could bring her one to her Palace; to which she readily consented. Now she had been told, that I spake *Turkish* and *Persian*; upon which she sent for a Slave that understood *Turkish*, whom she order'd to ask me a Thousand Questions concerning my Quality, and the design of my Travels. I made him answer, That I was a *Capuchin*, and spoke and acted always as a Religious Person: but it was plain her Majesty did not believe me; for all her Discourse was about Love: and she caus'd the Question to be put, Whether I were sensible of that Passion, and whether I had ever been in Love? How it could be that a Man could never be in Love, or live without a Woman? And with this Discourse she went on so pleasingly, that all her Train were strangely delighted to hear her. Though for my part I could have wish'd the Princess and her Train farther off from me: For I was afraid she would have caus'd the House to be plunder'd, having three times demanded to see what I had brought, together with the *Theatins* Provision. Which Provision is yearly sent 'em from *Constantinople*, as I have already

ready said, and consists of Goods and Commodities of several sorts ; of which they are oblig'd to send a good share to the Prince, the Princess, to the Vizier, and the Principal Gentlemen of the Country. Father *Zampi* therefore promis'd to bring her the accustom'd Present the next day, and that I myself should bring her one likewise ; and so satisfi'd, God be thanked, she went away.

The 19th in the Morning she sent to invite me to Dinner, whither I went with Father *Zampi* and another *Theatin*. She was then at a House about two Miles from ours. For she did not live with the Prince, who could not endure her, but hated her to death, in regard he had been forc'd to marry her. I found her in a Dress somewhat richer then the day before ; she was likewise painted ; and had us'd all her Skill to set herself out to the best Advantage. Her Habit was of Cloth of Gold, the Attire of her Head Glister'd with Precious Stones : but for her Vail it was altogether Curious and Gay, and of a particular Fashion. She sat upon a Carpet, having on each side Nine or Ten Women that belong'd to her Chamber ; for her Maids of Honour were, as they said, retir'd for safety to a Fortrefs by reason of the Wars. The Hall was full of *Rake-shames* half Naked, which compos'd her Court. Before I was admitted, I was ask'd for the Present I had brought. Which was carry'd by a Lacquey, who gave it to some of her Servants ; consisting of Pastes of *Genoa*, Ribbands, Paper, Needles, Twizers, Knives and Scissars, all Neat and Curious. The whole cost about Forty Shillings ; but worth above a Five Pounds in *Mingrelia*. The Princess was extreamly pleas'd ; and when she had seen 'em, sent for me into her Presence. Where the Slave that spake *Turkish* order'd me to sit down upon a Bench that was close by. Presently the first thing she said to me was, That she would marry me to one of her Friends, and that she would not have me to leave the Country, for that she would give me Houses, Lands, Slaves and Tenants. After that she fell into the same Discourse as the Day before ; but it lasted not long, because the People gave her Notice that Dinner was ready.

The House where she liv'd was in the midst of five or six others, every one a hundred Paces distant from it, without any Fence either of Hedge or Wall. Before it stood a large *Estrade* or Ascent of about eighteen Inches high, cover'd with a kind of a *Duomo*. This they spread with Carpets ; where also sat the Princess, and her Women about four Paces from

from her upon other Carpets: The *Rakeshames* that compos'd her Court sat in a Circle upon the Grals, to the Number of Fifty. As for the *Theatins* and my self there were two Benches placed near the Ascent, the one to sit upon, the other to serve us in stead of a Table. So soon as the Princess was sat down, her Butler spread before her a long painted Linnen Cloth, at the end of which he dress'd up his Court-Cupboard, which consisted of two great Flagons and two small ones, four Plates and eight Cups, some bigger some lesser, a Bason and Eure, and a Skimmer, all of Silver, and at the same time other Servants set before all those that were seated in the same place, Wooden Planks to serve in stead of Tables, and one also was plac'd before the Women. And thus when every thing was order'd in this manner, they brought into the Middle of the place two Kettles, one very large, carry'd by four Men, which was full of Common *Gom*; and the other much less, which was carry'd by two Men, full of white *Gom*. And I have already observ'd, that this *Gom* is a *Paste* of which the *Mingrelians* make the same use in their Dyet, as we do of our Bread. Two other Men brought in upon a kind of *Bier* a whole Porker boyl'd, and four other Men, every one a large Pitcher of Wine. Of all which they carry'd first to the Princess, then to the Women, next to us, and last of all to the Train. After this they serv'd in to the Princess a Wooden Platter with Bread and strong Herbs to create an Appetite, together with a large Silver Plate containing two Fowls, the one Boyl'd, the other Roasted; both ill dress'd, and with such Sawce that my Stomach would not bear. The Princess sent me a part of her Bread and Herbs, and bid the Messenger tell me withal that I should stay and Sup with her, and that she would cause an Ox to be kill'd; but that was only a Complement. A short while after, she sent me two Pieces of her Fowl, and bid the Messenger ask me, Wherefore none of the *European* Workmen, being such Excellent Goldsmiths, and Weavers both of Silk and Woollen came into *Mingrelia*, but only Monks, of which they had no need, and whose Company they so little desir'd? Which was a Question that did not a little startle me; for the Princess spake aloud in *Mingrelian*, and her Slave return'd the Interpretation of his Answer as loud. So that I leave the Reader to judge whether or no the poor *Theatins* were not strangely abash'd to hear the Princess propound such a Question. To say truth, I took the scoff to be pretty well aim'd at my self, and therefore I answer'd as well
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for my self as for them, since she had address'd her self alike to all, That the *European* Artists work for Money, and that they had Employment enough at Home to keep 'em from any thoughts of Gadding abroad, but that they who were in Orders sought only the Glory of God, and the Salvation of Souls, and that only those two predominant Motives could over-rule the *Europeans* to quit their Country to travel so far.

The Feast lasted two Hours; and when it was half over, the Princess sent me a Cup of Wine, and bid the Messenger tell me it was Wine which she preserv'd for her own Drinking, and the Cup out of which she drank her self: and this Honour she did me three times. But she wonder'd very much when she saw me mix Water with my Wine, saying withal that she had never seen the like done: For she and her Women drank it Neat, and that to a good pitch. When Dinner was ended, she sent to know whether or no I had brought along with me any Spices or Porcelane Dishes; and six or seven of these Messengers I had from her all to the same purpose, by which I guess that the beggerly Princess did not Caress me with so much Civility but only for her own Interest. But all my Answers were positive Denials; which put her at length into such an ill humour, that she told me she would send to search my Chests; to which I only reply'd, That she might do it when she pleas'd: which I did, as well fearing lest a refusal and unwillingness might incense her Covetous Humour, as to conceal the dread into which her threatening Language had put me. She answer'd me, That she had only spoke it in Drollery; and I made as if I had really believ'd what she said: but so soon as we were risen from the Table, I desir'd one of the *Theatins* to make haste home, and give my Comrade Notice of the Princesses words, to the end he might be prepar'd, whatever should happen. After Dinner she fell again into her Discourse of Marriage, and told me that within a few days she would shew me the Lady she had a mind to bestow upon me. To which I answer'd as before, That Persons in Orders were never allow'd to Marry. And having so said, she was about to have dismiss'd me. But as ill Luck would have it, as I was making my Obeisance, the Princess espy'd under my poor and mean Habit, that I wore Linnen much whiter and finer then any was made in *Mingrelia*. Thereupon she came close up to me, took me by the Hand, thrust up my Sleeve to my Elbow, and holding me by the Arm, talk'd to one of her Women with a low

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Voice

Voice. I was then, I must needs confess, at a cruel Nonplus; for the Ladies Caressing Actions no way pleas'd me; and though she smil'd very pleasantly in my Face, yet my Fears were ne'er the less. And that which troubl'd me most was, that I could not understand what she said, and yet by her Gesture I could perceive she spoke of me with a more than ordinary Earnestness and Affection. Nor did I know how to behave my self before so many People toward a Woman, in whom I consider'd at the same time the Quality of a Sovereign Princess, and the Impudence of a Curtezan. However, till then I felt no more then only a little Disturbance in my Mind. But that which put me into a very great Consternation was this, that the Princess, addressing her self to Father *Zampi*, gave him this Rebuke: *You have both deceiv'd me, said she, but 'tis my Pleasure that you both come hither to me again upon Sunday-Morning, and that the New-comer say Mass before me.* The Father would have made her an Answer, but the Princess turning her back, bid us depart.

Upon this I return'd to my Lodging very pensive and sad: for her Discourse had fill'd me with a Thousand Fears, apprehensive lest her Avarice and some other Motives might spur her on to do me a Mischief. And Father *Zampi* admonish'd me to take it for good warning, and to expect it as a thing that would infallibly happen; which made me resolve to prepare for it, insomuch that the Night following we buried all our Goods that were of greatest Value. To which purpose I caus'd a Pit to be made in the Chamber of the *Theatin* Fryers five Foot deep, where I hid a Chest of Clock-work, and another of Coral: which were so well cover'd, that there was not the least Appearance that the Earth had been stirr'd. Afterwards I went into the Church with the same design. Where Father *Zampi* advis'd me to open the *Grave* of a *Theatin*, who had been buried six Years before, and to commit the Care of a little Casket to his Ashes. But GOD, who knew what would soon after happen to that *Grave*, prevented me from following that Advice; so that I rather chose to dig a Hole in a corner of the Church behind the Door, where I caus'd as deep a Pit to be made as in the Chamber, and there buried a little Box that contained Twelve Thousand Duckets in Gold. Afterwards I hid in the Roof of the Chamber where I lodg'd a Scimiter and a Dagger set with Precious Stones, and some other Jewels; which Roof was cover'd with Straw. And as for such other Things as were of great Value, and light, my

Comrade and I carry'd those about us; and as for such Things as were of less Worth, we recommended them to the care of the *Theatins*.

The 23d I understood the Kindness which the Princess had done me, when she threaten'd to Visit my Baggage. It was upon a *Sunday*, part of which I had spent in Prayer, and in bewailing my self, out of a deep sense of the Misfortunes that overwhelm'd me, and the Dangers that environ'd me, not finding any Door open for me to make my escape. I expected so certainly to be made a Slave, that I durst not pray to *GOD* for my Liberty. Only I thought it all I could do to beg that I might fall into the Hands of a kind Master; for that if I might have my choice, I should rather chuse the Chains of a *Turk*, then the Fetters of a *Colchian* Lady.

When we had Dird, word was brought to the Superiour, That two Gentlemen desir'd to speak with him at the Door; which two Gentlemen were their Neighbours, both a Horseback, in Coats of Mail, and very well arm'd: Nor did the Superiour wonder to see 'em in that Equipage with such a Train, in regard it was in time of War. When he came to 'em, the two Gentlemen told the Superiour, That they came to discourse with him, and the *Europeans* that were newly arriv'd. And so saying, they alighted. Thereupon the Superiour call'd both me and my Comrade forth, who as readily went to wait upon 'em, never stopping to consider whether they had any ill design or no. But they quickly let me understand their Errand; for so soon as we accosted 'em, they caus'd us to be laid hold on by their Followers: and at the same time they commanded the Superiour and the other *Theatins* who were come to salute 'em, that they should retire; telling 'em withal, that if they stirr'd, they would cut their Throats. Upon which the Superiour in a Panick fear ran away; but the rest would not forsake us, and the Lay-Brother stood briskly to us. He sacrific'd himself in our behalf; Nor could the Naked Sword which they set to his Throat affright him from our sides. Presently our Servants were seiz'd; and one of them who was resolv'd to have made some resistance, and to that end drew his Cutlace that hung at his Girdle, was knockt down with a Lance, and then Bound and Ty'd to a Tree.

Afterwards these Assassins declar'd they would see what we had; to whom I answer'd, That they were our Masters, and we only poor *Capuchins*, all whose Riches consisted in Books; Papers, and such pitiful Lumber, that they needed not have us'd so much Violence to constrain us to shew it. For I had no other Game to play, being seiz'd and bound, and these Cut-throats become Masters both of the House, and all the People that were in it. And indeed through GOD's Mercy it took effect: for immediately they unbound me, and bid me open our Chamber-Door; which was in the first Story; and where there was nothing but what we did not much value whether it were seen or no. For as I have said already we carry'd our most Costly Jewels about us; and my Comrade had sow'd his share in the Collar of a large Furr'd *Just-au-Corps* which he wore. And for my own share I had made 'em up in two little Bundles, and hid 'em in the Chest where my Books were. For I durst not carry 'em about me for fear of being Murder'd or Robb'd, or sold for a Slave. I was therefore fain to desire the Lay-Brother and my Comrade to take the Gentlemen aside, and hold 'em in a Discourse of Composition, and to offer 'em a little Money, thereby to gain time to take those two Costly Bundles out of my Chest, to the end I might hide 'em the best I could. Which they did, and I went into the Chamber, and Lockt the Door upon me. The Souldiers apprehensive of my Design, gave the Gentlemen Notice, who presently came to the Door, which was strongly Lockt within-side. At what time my Comrade cry'd out from below, and bid me have a care, for that the Enemy peep'd and watch'd me through the Chinks. Which made me presently take away my two little Bundles from the Roof where I had thrust 'em, for fear they had seen where I laid 'em, and put 'em in my Pocket: but then perceiving they were about to break open the Door, I flung my self out at the Window into the Garden, taking such a Leap, that had not Necessity constrain'd me, I should not have taken at another time for never so much: for it had been enough to have broke a Mans Neck; but a Man that is seiz'd with a Panick Dread fears nothing but the Object of his first Fears. However, being once down, I ran to the end of the Garden, and threw the two little Bundles among the thickest of the Bushes: though the Distraction of my Mind would not suffer me to take a true Notice of the Place where I threw 'em. After this, I return'd to my Chamber, which I found full of Robbers,

bers, some of whom were abusing my Comrade, others knocking with their Maces upon my Chests with a design to break 'em; but then I took Courage, knowing there was nothing in 'em that was very considerable, and bid 'em have a care what they did, for that I was the King of *Persia's* Envoy; and that the Prince of *Georgia* would severely chastise the Violence they had offer'd me; and so saying I shew'd 'em the King of *Persia's* Passport, which one of the Gentlemen took and would have torn, saying he fear'd no Body, nor valu'd no Man living upon the Face of the Earth; but the other prevented him, as having a greater Reverence for the Gold Letters and Gilt Seal. After that he bid me open my Chests, and he would do me no Injury; but if I made any longer delay, he would take my Neck from my Shoulders. To which I was about to have reply'd, in stead of yielding Obedience, which had like to have cost me my Life, for one of the Souldiers had drawn his Sword, and was lifting up his Arm to have split my Brains. But the Lay-Brother stopt his Arm. Upon this I open'd my Chests; but then, Heav'n's bless me, what work they made! Whatever they had a mind to, 'twas all free Plunder.

While they were thus busie at their Pillage, I was leaning at a Window, and turning my Eyes another way, as unwilling to encrease my Sorrows, I look'd into the Garden, where I perceiv'd two Souldiers among the Bushes, where I thought I had thrown my little Bundles. Presently I ran like mad to the Place, follow'd by a *Theatin* Fryer; but whatever the Matter was, the two Souldiers withdrew when they saw us enter: Nevertheless I was willing to satisfie my self whether they were there or no, and sought for 'em, but having mistaken the place, through the trouble I was in, I could not then find 'em, so that I thought they had been found and carry'd away. And you may judge by the Value of these two little Bundles, that amounted to Six Thousand Pounds, what a desperate condition I was in: enough to have broke a Mans Heart: but God sustain'd me through his Mercy, and so supported me that I had still a presence of mind and thought that seldom fail'd me in extremity. But the loud Cries of my Comrade and the Lay-Brother, call'd me out of the Garden, into the Chamber: where when I came, I was seiz'd by two Souldiers, who drew me to a Corner of the Chamber, and took what I had in my Pockets, which was no great Matter. Which done, they took me by the Hands, and wou'd ha' bound me.

me. Upon that I made a Noise, and us'd all the Strength I had, and made signs that they should carry me to their Masters; and then I told the Chief of these Cut-throats, that there was no Necessity to bind or kill me, for that I was ready to suffer whatever they were dispos'd to do to me. Who answer'd, That they would carry us to the Prince since we were Ambassadors. To which I reply'd, That we were ready to go without binding, and that we hop'd he would do us Justice: for that we had Letters for him, for which no doubt but he would have a very great respect. By this time it grew late, and Night drew on; besides, it was above fifteen Miles to the Princes Castle: so that they releas'd us, and carry'd no Body along with 'em but only the Servant, who offer'd to make Resistance at first, whom I redeem'd fifteen Days after for Ten Crowns.

When I was rid of these Freebooters, I went to the Garden, for the Fryer that follow'd me before, when I went to look for the two Bundles I had hid in the Bushes, had been telling the Misfortune which he believ'd had befall'n me, and no Body question'd but that the Souldiers had observ'd and follow'd me, and found the Treasure I had so endeavour'd to conceal. Now I had an *Armenian* Servant at that time, whose Name was *Allawerdy*; (and I therefore name him, because several of my Friends have seen him at *Paris* after my return from my first Travels, and for that his Fidelity to me at that time was so remarkable that I cannot forbear to mention it.) This poor honest Man follow'd me into the Garden; but I could not but wonder to see him throw his Arms about my Neck, with Tears in his Eyes: Sir, said he, *we are ruin'd: Fear and our common Misfortune made us forget what we were.* I was a little scar'd at first, for I took him for some *Rakebel Mingrelian* that would have cut my Throat: but knowing him, I was mightily taken with the Mans Affection for me, and bid him forbear weeping. But, Sir, said he, *have you lookt well?* I have lookt so well, said I, that I am too well assur'd of my ill Luck. However, the Fellow would not be so satisfi'd, but desir'd me to shew him the place as near as I could guess, and what course I had taken both to hide 'em before, and since to search for 'em again. Which I did to satisfie a Servant, who shew'd himself so much concern'd for me, but for my own part, I lookt upon it to be so much Labour lost, and therefore never thought it worth my time to help him. Moreover, it was by this time almost Night, and I was so possess'd

with Grief, and my Sorrows did so perplex me, that I was not sensible either what I did, whither I went, or what I felt. But I was amaz'd to find the Fellow come and hang about my Neck a second time, who at the same time overjoy'd thrust the two little Bundles into my Bosom. Nor is it to be imagin'd what a Change this Comfortable Return of my Servant wrought in my Mind. Though my Consolation did not so much proceed from the Recovery of Six Thousand Pounds, which I thought I had lost, as to see the Care that Providence took of me, the Goodness of GOD, his Presence, and his Assistance. This Consideration restor'd me again to my self in a moment; my present Condition neither troubl'd me, nor did the prospect of future Mischiefs disturb me, but manifestly acknowledging that only GOD could have thus preserv'd me, I conceiv'd such an Assurance of his Preservation, that has still supported me in all my Distresses.

Thus having sav'd the two High-Priz'd Packets, I made little account of what they might have taken out of my Chests; so that returning to my Chamber, I gave an account of my good success to my Comrade, whom I found restoring to order the confusion which those Robbers had made; by which it appear'd that they had carry'd away only some few Cloaths, some Arms, Copper Vessels, and other Trifles. There we agreed together, not to let any Body know that we had found the two little Bundles, to the end they might think we had nothing more of Value to lose. Which prov'd to be very good Counsel. For the *Theatins*' Servants, thought we had been utterly Rob'd. Tho thanks be to God, the whole that we lost did not amount to above One Hundred Pound.

The 24th in the Morning the Superiour of the *Theatins*, and the Lay Brother, carry'd me to the *Catholicos*, and the Prince to demand Justice, and would have had me carry'd to each a Present. I alleadg'd in vain, that it would look strangely for us to complain of being Robb'd and Plunder'd of all, and yet to bring Presents. But Custom prevail'd, and I presented to the *Catholicos*, a Knife, Spoon and Fork of Silver in one Case, with a Hat which he had sent to request of me. Which done, I shew'd him the Pass and Command of the *Persian* King, as also to the Prince: but I did not deliver to the Prince the Letter from the French Ambassador, in regard the *Theatins* did not think it proper. But neither the one nor the other gave me any satisfaction. The Prince told me, that in time of War (as now it happen'd to be) he was not Master of the Nobility.

bility. That at another time he would have done me Justice speedily, and to the full : However he would endeavour the Restitution of what had been taken from me. The *Catholicos* told me the same Story, and in stead of assisting me, began to preach me a Lecture of Consolation. However, they made choice of two Gentlemen to go in their Names and demand what had been tak'n from us.

But the most considerable Thing that I got by this Days Work, was the Discovery which I made, that the *Dadian* or Prince had a share in the foregoing Days Robbery, and that he had a third part of the Goods for himself. Which Discovery serv'd to make me understand the Nature of the Country where I was, and that the Dangers were the more inevitable that threaten'd us. After our departure, the two Gentlemen appointed to serve us, went along with us, and lay at our House, where it was necessary to present 'em with something at their Arrival. And they for their parts made a great shew as if they had rid about all the next Day, and the Day following to serve us ; but all their Riding produc'd nothing : for the 26th in the Evening they return'd to tell us they could do us no good ; nor could they look any farther, for that the *Turks* were enter'd *Mingrelia*, burnt and sackt all before, and therefore they were oblig'd to return speedily to their Masters.

I was so accusom'd to suffer, that these same dreadful Tydings hardly mov'd me. But the *Theatins* were at their Wits end ; foreseeing that this Incurfion of the *Turks* would utterly ruine 'em : therefore both they and we prepar'd for flight. At the same Instant we heard two great Guns go off, which was a Signal from the Fortrefs of *Rucks* of the Enemies approach. Upon which Signal all the People betake themselves to flight, carrying away with 'em into the Woods and Strong-Places whatever they are able.

The 27th by break of Day we began our Flight with the rest : but I resolv'd not to meddle with any thing that I had bury'd, or that I had hid in the Roof of the House, which I held to be more secure then if I should carry 'em along with me. The *Theatins* had only one Wagon drawn by two *Oxen*, and two Horses to carry the whole Baggage belonging to the House and two Childern : and as for the Horses, the Lay-Brother rode upon one, and my Comrade on the other ; who was then sick, which very much retarded our Journey. Two *Theatin* Fryers and my self follow'd the Wagon afoot ; and the

the Slaves and the rest of the Servants belonging to the House follow'd us. So that there remain'd but one Fryer to look after it; and a Thousand Things more which we could not carry away, for want of Conveniency. I my self left all my Books, my Papers, and Mathematical Instruments behind me, believing that neither the *Turks* nor *Mingrelians* would trouble themselves with 'em. The Father, who staid behind, fled into the Woods in the Day-time, when he heard any Rumour of the Enemies coming, and return'd to the House at Night. Now I have already observ'd, that the Wars of the *Mingrelians* and their Neighbours seldom last long, being no more then Inroads for Spoil and Plunder, the heat of which being over, the Enemy retreats back again: and therefore the Inhabitants always leave one or two Persons in their Houses, to prevent the Neighbours from pillaging the Corn, Wine, and other Provisions which they cannot carry away. Which Persons are sometimes surpriz'd by the Enemy, but very rarely; for that they are always upon the Watch; and for that the Woods are so near and so thick, that they can easily run for't, and hide themselves when any danger appears.

'Twas one of the most lamentable Things in the World to behold these poor People in their flight: Women lugging their Childern and their Bundles: Men stooping under the Burden of their Baggage: Here one driving his Cattel; another halling a Cart after him full of Householdstuff. The Highways were strew'd with People quite weary'd off their Legs, and so faint, that they were ready to die. Of Aged and Decrepit People and Childern not able to go, a great Number were to be seen crying out, and making lamentable Moans for Assistance. It was such a spectacle of Lamentation, Misery and Desolation, that would have melted the Hearts of any but of those Barbarians. Yet I must confess I was not much concern'd at it, not out of hard-heartedness, but because my Compassion was all spent, my own Miseries had so drain'd me, that I had none left for any Body else. Now the Place whither we made our Retreat was a Fortrefs in the Woods, like those which I have already describ'd: of which the Lord was call'd *Sabatar* a *Georgian*, who turn'd Mahumetan, and afterwards became a Christian. He was also lookt upon to be less a Thief and less a Rascal then the rest: and we arriv'd at this Fortrefs after a tedious Journey of five Leagues in deep Mud and Dirt, out of which I could not think the Cart could ever have been drawn; which was the reason we
were

were forc'd to load and unload twenty times by the way : nor would it be any News to tell ye, That I was twice very near being pillag'd and losing my Life ; in regard I ran that hazard every Day. When we came to the Fortrefs, he that own'd it let us in, and receiv'd us kindly enough. For the *Theatins* had told him, That I was a Person that never receiv'd a Courtesie but I made a return for it. He lodg'd us in the place where the Oven stood, in a little scurvy Hutt, where we were no more shelter'd from the Weather then those that lay i' the open Air ; for it rain'd in on every side. However, it was a great Favour that we had it, and were not crowded as were an infinite Number of poor Wretches one upon another. For the Fortrefs was full of People when we arriv'd : there being in it no less then Eight Hunderd Persons, Women and Childern for the most part.

But here, before I continue the farther Recital of my Misfortunes, give me leave to say something of the Occasion of this Incurfion of the *Turks*, and what I have learnt concerning the late *Mingrelian* Wars, and of the People of *Imiretta* and *Guriel*, in which their Formidable Neighbours the *Turk* and *Persian* were engag'd. Therein you will find some Passages perhaps not unworthy the Remembrance of History ; and certainly 'tis a thing equally to be observ'd and wonder'd at, That such small and inconsiderable Kingdoms should continually produce such Tragick Revolutions. Nor shall I be accus'd to have injur'd the People of these Countries, while I tell ye how wicked they are, when you have read this part of my Story ; since the bare Relation which I shall make in representing 'em such, will justifie me perhaps in the Judgment of my Readers.

The most Famous Prince that ever *Mingrelia* had, since it revolted from the King of *Imiretta*, was *Levan Dadian*, Uncle to him that Reigns at this present. He was Valiant, Generous, a Person of great Wit, indifferently just and more happy in his Undertakings. He made War upon his Neighbours and vanquish'd 'em all : and no question but he would have made an excellent Prince, had he been born in a better Country. But the Custom in his Country of Marrying several Wives, and those near Relations, was that which transported him to such Excesses as render'd him unworthy of all *Encomiums*.

He remain'd an Orphan almost as soon as he had out-liv'd his Infant Years : at what time his Father dying, left him to the Tuition of his Brother, who was Uncle by the Fathers side

to the Young Pupil, and call'd by the Name of *George*; the Sovereign Prince of *Libardian*, a Country that extends it self a great way into Mount *Caucasus*. This *George* faithfully discharg'd his Trust in the Tuition of his Nephew. He bred him well, and prudently Govern'd *Mingrelia* during his Minority.

Lewan being Twenty Four Years of Age, Espous'd the Daughter of the Prince of the *Abca's*, by whom he had two Sons; she being a Lovely Princess, and a Woman of a great Wit. 'Tis true, she was tax'd of being none of the most Faithful Wives, which perhaps might be in revenge of the Foul-play which her Husband openly play'd her every Day. Now among the rest of the Women with whom he fell in Love, one was the VVife of *George* his Uncle, who had been his Tutor, and to whom he had been so highly oblig'd. This Lady went by the Name of *Darejan*, of a Considerable Family, which was call'd *Chilakè*. And as she was extremely beautiful, but wicked and ambitious beyond Imagination, she was not only content to violate her Conjugal Fidelity, and for two Years together to live in an Incestuous League with the Prince her Nephew, but over-perswaded him at the end of that season to take her away by Force, repudiate his own VVife, and Marry her. *Lewan* was over-rul'd by her: He took the Adulterers by Force from her Husbands House; He Marry'd her, and eight days after sent home his first Wife ignominiously, without any Train, back to her Father, King of the *Abca's*, after he had caus'd her Nose, her Ears and her Hands to be cut off. And the pretence which he took to excuse so horrid a piece of Cruelty was, That she had committed Adultery with the *Vizier*, whose Name was *Papona*. And the better to make People believe the truth of it, he caus'd this *Vizier* to be stopp'd into the Mouth of a Cannon at the same time that he maim'd his own VVife. However, all Men agreed, that there was nothing of Incontinence that had been committed between her and the *Vizier*; only that he sacrific'd his VVife and his *Prime Minister* to the Hatred and Jealousie of the *Chilakite*.

The Love of this wicked VVoman caus'd him to Sacrifice these Important Victims: but her Ambition forc'd him to offer up two more pretious Oblations. For *Lewan* himself poyson'd his two Sons which he had had by the Princess his VVife. The *Chilakite* perswading him to this incredible Inhumanity, to

the end the Childern which she should have by him might Reign more securely.

Prince *George* had a great kindness for his Wife, as much an Adulteress, and as wicked as she was. So that her being tak'n from him by force threw him into a most furious despair. He perform'd the Ceremony of Mourning for her Forty Days, according to the Custom of the Country, as if she had been Dead; after which he betook himself to Arms, and fell into the Territories of the Prince his Nephew. But *Levan* was Valiant, and had good Souldiers about him, so that *George* was constrain'd to retire into his Mountains, where he died soon after for Grief and Vexation.

The Prince of the *Abca's* also went about to revenge the Affront and Injury done him, in the Person of the Princess his Daughter, but with as ill success. He rais'd Forces, began a War against the Prince of *Mingrelia*, and tho the consequences of the War did not at all fall out to his Advantage, yet would he never make Peace or Truce with him, nor would he put an end to the War, till he understood the Death of his Barbarous Son-in-Law.

There was also a Third Enemy, more formidable but as unsuccessful that would not suffer *Levan* to be at rest. This was his own Brother call'd *Joseph*, who engag'd himself so far in the just Resentments of his Uncle *George* and the Prince of the *Abca's*, that he resolv'd to revenge their Quarrel, by causing the Criminal to be Murder'd. To that purpose he corrupted one of his Guards an *Abca* by Birth to Assassinate him; the Prince's Cup-Bearer being also Privy to the Conspiracy. The Plot was so lay'd that *Joseph* should go and Dine at the Palace: that the *Abca* Guard should stand behind him with a Lance in his Hand, and that when the Prince lifted to his Mouth one of those great Beakers of Wine which the *Mingrelians* Drink at the end of the Meal, the Cup-Bearer should make a sign to the *Abca*, who was then to strike him through the Body with his Lance. This Plot was within a little of being put in Execution, but fail'd when the stroak was ready to have been given, Divine Justice resolving that *Levan's* Crimes should be his own Murderers and Executioners, which spar'd him a long time before they accomplish'd it. For the Prince perceiv'd the sign which the Cup-Bearer gave the Guard, and as it were inspir'd, threw himself down from the place where he stood, so that the Lance never touch'd him at all. However the *Abca* escap'd, but the Cup-Bearer was seiz'd, put to the Rack, and dismem-

dismember'd after he had confess'd what he knew of the Plot. Prince *Joseph* had his Eyes pull'd out, and dy'd soon after, leaving a Son, who is now Prince of *Mingrelia*.

Levan had by his Incestuous Conjunction two Sons, and one Daughter, who suffer'd every one for the Iniquity of their Father, being all Three Paralytick. No means were unsought for their Cure, but all in vain: their Distemper Non-plust'd all the Physicians in the Country, the *Theatins* and an Eminent Greek Physician who was sent for from *Constantinople*. The Youngest Son and the Daughter dy'd by that time they arriv'd at the Age of Twenty Years or there-about: but *Alexander* the Eldest Son liv'd longer, was Marry'd and had a Child; his Wife being the Daughter of the Prince of *Guriel*. Which one Son he had a Year after he was Marry'd, and then dy'd, while his Father was yet living.

Levan dy'd in the Year 1657. after whose Death the *Shilakite* was in such high Credit, as to set up in his place a Son, which she had by her first Husband, but which most People were assur'd was begot by *Levan*. But this Young Prince whose Name was *Vomeki*, did not Reign long. For the Vice-Roy of that part of *Georgia* which is under the Dominion of *Persia*, dispos'd him of his Principality, and reinvested in it *Levan's* Lawful Heir, after he had invaded *Mingrelia*, and the Territories of *Imiretta*. Which Invasion being an Accident that happens to be genuinely apposite to this Recital, I shall only give a short account of the occasion.

The Deceas'd King of *Imiretta*, who was call'd *Alexander*, and who dy'd in the Year 1658. had Two Wives, the First was the Daughter of the Prince of *Guriel* call'd *Tamar*, whom he divorc'd for her Adulteries, after he had had a Son and a Daughter by her. The Son, who was call'd *Bacrat Mirza* Reigns at this present King of *Imiretta*. The Daughter is Princess of *Mingrelia*, the same that I have giv'n ye such an account of, that would have both Robb'd and Marry'd me to her Friend. The Second Wife which *Alexander* Marry'd was call'd *Darejan*, a Young Princess and Daughter of the Great and Famous *Taymur Razkan*, last Sovereign King of *Georgia*. He had no Childern by her, and left her a Widow after he had been Marry'd to her four Years. They talk Wonders of her Beauty and her alluring Graces. So soon as his Son-in-Law *Bacrat* came to the Throne, she wou'd have had him to Marry her. *Bacrat* was not then above Fifteen Years of Age; so that

that the Charms of her Beauty could not make those deep Impressions upon his Heart, as being so young that the Evil Customs of his Country had not yet corrupted him. VVhich was the Reason that he abhorr'd the Proposal, and return'd disdainful Answers to her Courtship. *Darejan* therefore finding she could not support her self upon the Throne, immediately advanc'd to his Bed a young Person of Twelve Years of Age, her Kinswoman, call'd *Sistan Darejan*, the Daughter of *Daitona*, the Brother of *Taymur Razkan*, whom *Bacrat* Marry'd at Fifteen Years of Age, as has been already said. So that *Darejan* assur'd her self of the Sovereign Power, and of keeping the King and Queen continually under her Guardianship. But *Bacrat*, as young as he was, perceiv'd his Mother-in-Laws Design, and one Day gave her apparent Testimonies of his Disgust. Upon which *Darejan*, to satisfie *Bacrat*, assur'd him that she would forbear to take any Authority upon her. Who being a good-natur'd well-meaning Prince, easily believ'd *Darejan*, and restor'd her to his former Confidence, not dreaming of the Treason that she was meditating against him. To that purpose she feign'd her self sick, and sent for the King to come to her; who went accordingly with a great deal of Frankness and VVillingness; at what time certain People that she had posted in her Chamber, seiz'd and bound him. Presently she order'd him to be convey'd to the Fortrefs of *Cotatis*, the Principal City of the Country, the Governour of which place was her own Creature. Soon after she came thither her self; sent for all the Grandees whom she had gain'd to her Party, and of whom she was assur'd, and with them consulted for five Days together what to do with the King. Some advis'd her to put him to Death; others to pull out his Eyes: which latter advice she follow'd, and so the Prince was depriv'd of his sight. VVhich happen'd Eight Months after the Marriage of that poor Prince, which they said moreover he had not fully then consummated.

Among the rest of the Lords that were of *Darejan*'s Party, there was one with whom she was passionately in love, whose Name was *Vactangle*: Him she Marry'd, and caus'd him to be Crown'd King in the Fortrefs. Which highly incens'd the rest of the Lords, who thought themselves all affronted by his Advancement. Thereupon they fell off from siding with *Darejan*, joyn'd themselves with the contrary Party, took Arms, and call'd to their Assistance the Princes of *Guriel* and *Mingrelia*, offering the Kingdom to which of the two should

first come to their Aid. *Vomeki Dadian* was the first that appear'd in the Field with all the Forces of his Country ; and soon reduc'd under his Subjection all that part which held for *Darejan*, except the Fort of *Cotatis*. However, he laid Siege to that also, but for want of Artillery, he could do little good against the Besieged, only that he kept 'em from stirring forth out of their Walls ; and it would have cost him a long time before he could have brought 'em to a surrender, had it not been for the Politick Contrivance of a Lord of the Country, whose Name was *Ottia Chekairè*, who brought that to pass by his Wit, which they could not do with all their Force. He went to the Fortrefs full of a feign'd Despair, occasion'd by the Prince of *Mingrelia* ; he made *Darejan* believe that he was reduc'd to that extremity, that he knew not where to find a more secure Sanctuary : that he came to throw himself at her Feet, to beg her Pardon, and desire her Protection against that Prince. *Darejan* fell into the Snare. She believ'd whatever *Ottia* said, and that his extraordinary Zeal for her Interests was true. She admitted him into her Council, soon after encreas'd by the Bishop of *Tifflis* and the *Catholikos* of *Georgia*, whom the Viceroy of that Country had sent her, fearing lest they in whom she most confided should betray her. But this same Runagate deceiv'd 'em both, as quick-sighted as they were. He told *Darejan* in their hearing, That considering the Condition of her Affairs, there was no other way to expel the Prince of *Mingrelia*, to regain what he had won, and to Reign securely, but to have recourse to the *Turk*. That her best way was to send her Husband to *Constantinople* for Assistance, and the Confirmation of his Coronation : That the Kingdom of *Imiretta* was Tributary to the Port, and that the *Grand Signior* had both Right and Power sufficient to restore the Country to Peace, and fix him in the Throne. *Darejan* was Charm'd by this Advice, and while he that gave it, offer'd to assist in the Management of it, and to Conduct *Vaſtangle* to *Constantinople*, she threw her self at his Feet, not having Words enough to expreſs that Acknowledgment which she had in her Heart. *Vaſtangle* took only two Men along with him, to the end he might Travel with the more Security and Privacy. Thus being soon ready, the cunning *Ottia Chikairè* his Guide, caus'd him to set forth out of the Fortrefs about Twilight, and carrying him through By-ways to bring him the more insensibly to the Besiegers, brought him in less then an Hour into their Camp. The Prince of *Mingrelia* caus'd his Eyes forth-

with to be pull'd out, and sent that Night to *Darejan* to let her know that he had her Husband Pris'ner, and that he had put out his Eyes. This News surpriz'd her so, that her Courage and Resolution quite fail'd her, and in a short time after she surrender'd the Fortrefs, which was plunder'd from Top to Bottom. Infomuch that it was certainly reported that the Prince of *Mingrelia* carry'd thence a very rich Booty, and among the rest Twelve Wagons of Silver, Plate and Moveables. For, as it was said, the Kings of *Imiretta* had heap'd together such a vast Quantity of Plate, that every thing within the Palace was of Massie Silver, even to the Steps and Footstools. Which is no difficult thing to believe in a plentiful Country, and where there is a good Trade, and adjoining to Countries which were formerly very Wealthy, and where it appears that Money was not then in use, there being very little that is stirring at present. The Prince of *Mingrelia* also carry'd away along with him the King and Queen of *Imiretta*, the wicked *Darejan*, and the unfortunate *Vactangle* her Husband; but to the Viceroy of *Georgia* he generously return'd the two Prelates which he had sent to the Princess to be her Privy Counsellors.

The Viceroy of *Georgia* is call'd *Shanavas Can*; being descended also from the last Sovereign Princess of that Country: but he turn'd *Mahumetan* to make himself capable of enjoying the Viceroyship under the *Persian*. He has only two Lawful Wives, who are both Christians, of which the one is call'd *Mary* the Sister of *Levan* Prince of *Mingrelia*, who gave the first occasion to this Relation: This Lady when she understood how the detestable *Shilakite* had excluded the lawful Heir in favour of a Son which she had before she was Marry'd to *Levan*, daily importun'd the Prince her Husband to undertake her Nephews Cause, and to settle him in the possession of his Principality, to which he was the true and lawful Heir. But the Viceroy would not act Hand over Head by force in this Affair. For *Mingrelia* being Tributary to the *Turk*, he durst not declare open Hostility against that Country, without the knowledge and consent of the King of *Persia*. But at length a favourable opportunity offer'd it self. For so soon as the Prince of *Mingrelia* was enter'd into the Kingdom of *Imiretta*, as has been already said, *Darejan* who was near Kins-woman to the *Georgian Viceroy*, and had been bred up in his House, and *Vactangle* her Husband, sent and offer'd the Kingdom to *Archylas* his Eldest Son, if he would come and drive out the *Mingrelian*. The Viceroy made this

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this offer known to the King of *Persia*, and assur'd him withal that he would add that Kingdom and *Mingrelia* to his Empire, if he would but give him leave to Conquer 'em. To which when his Majesty had sent him his consent, he muster'd all his Forces and march'd toward *Imiretta*. But he was no sooner enter'd the Kingdom, when news was brought him that a great *Georgian* Lord, taking the advantage of his absence, was up in Arms, and preparing to ransack all the Country. Upon which he march'd back again with all his Forces against the Rebel, defeated and put him to Death, and then return'd toward *Imiretta*.

The Grandees of the Kingdom that invited him in, had rais'd Four Thousand Men, which was a great Army for a Country so bounded as that, and this number too Augmented every Day, some flocking out of fear of His Power, others allur'd by the charming Fame of his Valour. So that he found little or no Resistance either in *Imiretta* or *Mingrelia*. Prince *Vomeki* retir'd amongst the *Souanes* into the Fortresses of Mount *Caucasus*, inaccessible to the Cavalry. So that the *Georgian* Prince had nothing to do but to Ransack; and he carry'd away a very Rich Booty out of both Countries. They report that it was there that he plunder'd the greatest part of the Gold and Silver Plate, of which his House is full. He settl'd in *Mingrelia* his Nephew, *Lewan's* Grand-Child, to whom the Principality belong'd of Right, and affianc'd him to one of his Nieces whom he promis'd to send him. Which done, he caus'd his Son *Archylus* to be Crown'd King of *Imiretta*; but he knew not how to be rid of *Vomeki*. For he was unwilling to leave him a Fugitive in the Mountains where he was retir'd, fearing lest when he was gone, he should come down from the Mountains, and disturb the unsettled affairs of Princes hardly warm in their Thrones. But a Grandee of *Imiretta* whose Name was *Kotzia*, put him out of that pain. For he wrote to the *Souanes*, that the *Viceroy* of *Georgia* desir'd to rid himself absolutely of *Vomeki*: that he would give 'em great Rewards and Immunities if they brought him his Head: but if they deny'd to gratifie him in so small a Matter, he threaten'd their Country with Fire and Sword. The *Souanes* therefore readily condescended, and having slain *Vomeki*, sent his Head to the *Georgian* Prince. Which done he retreated, and carry'd along with him the two Blind Princes *Bacrat*, and *VaEtangle*; to the end no Friend of theirs in his absence might be embolden'd to undertake any new disturbances in their Favour; and left the Princesses

Princesses their Wives at *Cotatis*. Which Inhuman separations he made for the sake of his Son the King of *Imiretta*; who became so desperately in Love with *Bacra's* Wife, that he resolv'd to take her from her Husband and Marry her.

After the departure of the *Viceroy of Georgia*, several Grandees of *Imiretta* conspir'd against their new Sovereign. For some had been ill us'd; others could not brook the Power and high advancement of *Kotzia*, whom *Archylus's* Father had appointed to be his Sons Prime Minister, nor his Domineering Haughtiness and severity towards 'em. Thereupon they wrote to the *Basha of Akalzike*, that they wonderd to see him sit still with so much indifferency; while the *Viceroy of Georgia* ravag'd a Kingdom and Principality Tributary to the *Turks*; nay, reduc'd 'em under his Subjection, and carry'd away their Lawful Princes Pris'ners, and set up in their Places his own Friends and Kindred. That therefore they besought him to let 'em know, whether it were the *Port* that abandon'd 'em to the Capricious Humours of the *Persians*; or whether it were the Dread of their Forces, that ty'd his Hands at a time when the Honour and Interest of the *Grand Signior* lay at Stake. To which the *Basha* return'd for answer, That he had sent Intelligence to the *Port* of the Invasion made by the *Georgian Viceroy*, and expected Orders every Hour; which when he should receive; he would let 'em know what was necessary to be done. Soon after he wrote word that his Orders were come; and that as soon as the Forces which the *Basha's* of *Erzerom* and *Carrs* (both *Provinces of Armenia*) had Instructions to send him, should be joyn'd with his, he would deliver 'em from the *Georgian Yoke*. That in the mean time they should get ready to joyn with him with all the Forces they could raise, and that they should cause *Kotzia* to be murder'd, for fear his Forces, his Prudence and his Reputation should put a stop to the Enterprize, and that by his Death the new King of *Imiretta* might be without any Counsellor to assist him.

The Chief Conspirators were the Grand Steward of the Household, and Bishop *Janatelle*; who also admitted into their Plot one of *Kotzia's* Gentlemen: promising him withal the Grand Master's Daughter in Marriage, and to prevail with the *Turkish Basha*, that he should have all his Master *Kotzia's* Land, if he would but undertake to kill him, and perform it effectually: Which Conditions the perfidious Villain accepted, and one Night Assassinated his Master, at what time a certain Purge that he had tak'n wrought upon his Body.

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This bold Stroak discover'd the Conspiracy, caus'd all the Grandees of *Imiretta* to stand to their Arms, hasten'd the *Basba* of *Akalzikè*'s March, and put the King into an extraordinary Trouble and Consternation. Presently he gave advice of what had happen'd to his Father the Viceroy of *Georgia*. Who sent him Instructions and Counsellors, and assur'd him, he would come in a little time with an Army to his Assistance. But the *Basba* of *Akalzikè* would not stay for his coming; for he fell into *Imiretta* with that swiftness, that the young Prince had much ado to escape his Avant-Couriers, and to save himself. He went to his Father, where in a few days Intelligence was brought him, that the *Basba* of *Akalzikè* had put a Garison into the Fortres of *Cotatis*, the Capital City of *Imiretta*, and that he was Master of the whole Country. Upon which the Viceroy of *Georgia* turn'd back, not daring to act any thing against the *Turks* without the King of *Persia*'s Orders.

As for the Orders which the *Basba* had receiv'd from the *Grand Signior*, the purport of 'em was, That since the People of *Imiretta* and *Mingrelia* made use of their Liberty only to destroy one another, he should take from 'em all the Strong Places he could. The *Basba* had kept his Instructions very secret; and having by a Stratagem got admittance into the Castle of *Cotatis*, he made himself Master of it, and furnish'd it with a good Garison. Afterwards he sent for all the Nobility and Gentry of the Country, and made 'em swear Fealty to the new King which he gave 'em, who was the Son of the Prince of *Guriel*, at that time a *Berre*, or Monk of the Order of *St. Basil*; but he quitted his Monastical Habit, and was Crown'd King.

While the *Basba* was thus disposing of the Petty Kingdom of *Imiretta*, the Prince of *Mingrelia* came to waite upon him, with the offer of his Head, and Tender of his Subjection to the *Grand Signior*'s Commands. That he was and would still continue a Tributary to the Court; and that the Prince of *Georgia* in establishing him, had done no more then restor'd him the Patrimony of his Ancestors, which appertain'd to him of Right. The *Basba* was pleas'd by his Submission, and by the great Presents which he brought along with him. So that he confirm'd him in his Principality, and then return'd to *Akalzikè*, carrying along with him the Wretched *Darejan*, and the Queen of *Imiretta*, whom the Unfortunate *Archilus* had not time to get into his possession.

This happen'd in the Year 1659. at what time the Turkish *Basha* had no sooner turned his Back, but the Grandees of *Imiretta*, out of their natural Treachery and Inconstancy, refus'd to obey their new King. Thereupon they sent Commissioners to the *Viceroy* of *Georgia*, with their Complaints against him; and conjur'd him, to send 'em back *Bacrat*, as Blind as he was. The *Georgian* Prince was afraid that this demand was no more then only an Artifice of their Treachery, and therefore to ascertain himself of the Truth, he made Answer, That if the Grandees of *Imiretta* were really, as they said they were, incens'd against their new Master, and resolv'd to dethrone him, that they should pull out his Eyes, and that then when he was assur'd they had done it, he would send away *Bacrat*: Which Conditions were accepted and punctually perform'd both on one side and t' other. The Grandees of *Imiretta* pull'd out their Kings Eyes, and sent him back to the Prince of *Guriel* his Brother; and the *Viceroy* of *Georgia* sent 'em *Bacrat*, after he had affianc'd him to one of his Nieces, Sister to her, whom he had given to the Prince of *Mingrelia*.

This latter was very Young, and *Bacrat* was Blind: so that their principal Officers Govern'd; and thence it came to pass that the Prime Ministers of *Mingrelia* and *Imiretta* had continual Quarrels one with another, wherein they engag'd their Masters, and oblig'd 'em to make War one upon another. In which Contest the *Mingrelian* was Vanquish'd and taken Prisoner with his Wife, whom the *Viceroy* of *Georgia* had sent him not above two Months before, and a report was afterwards spread abroad, that he had not consummated the Marriage. She is very fair and very well shap'd, and tho I have seen many handsome Women in her Country, I never beheld a more charming Creature. She is most surely guilty of all the Passions that a Lovers Breast can feel. For such are the Glances of her passionately Tender and Languishing Eyes, that she never looks but to command Love, and inspire hope. In a word, the Air of her Countenance and all her discourses are irresistible Allurements. So that Bishop *Janatelle*, who is one of the greatest Lords in all *Imiretta*, was taken with her at first sight. Who being very Rich, ply'd her with Presents, and gain'd her so entirely, that now she sticks close to him, and that so publickly, as if they were Man and Wife. And indeed the cunning which this Priest made use of to retain this lovely Pris'nér still in *Imiretta*, was more then usual, and a very pleasant Contrivance. For he made the King his Master, the
poor

poor Blind *Bacrat*, in Love with her, by means of the dayly Encomiums of her Beauty which he continually peal'd in his Ears, and when he had kindl'd his Flame, he lay'd before him a kind of necessity of Marrying her. Your Majesty, said he, has lost your Wife, as being carry'd away by the *Basha* of *Akalzike*, so that GOD knows what is become of her. The Viceroy of Georgia's Niece, to whom you are affianc'd, is an Infant, so that it will be a long time before you can be Marry'd to her. And therefore your Majesty will do well to espouse the Princess of *Mingrelia*, nor can you any where Marry another, that has more Beauty, or more Wit. And thus the King being over-rul'd, follow'd his Counsel, never considering that he acted more for the Interest of his Advizer then his own. And as for the Princess she was glad of the Bargain.

'Tis well known that the Prince of *Mingrelia* lov'd her entirely, and that he would never consent to surrender her to the King of *Imiretta*. And therefore an Expedient was found out to take her away under the pretence of Justice, which was this. The King of *Imiretta* had her Sister with him; being at that time a Widow; and it was propos'd to her to make her Princess of *Mingrelia*, in stead of her that was so already, provided she could but allure the Prince, and so order it, as that he should be surpriz'd in her Bed. She being the Sister of a King, Young, Cunning, and Handsom, with little or no trouble easily debauch'd a Young, Simple and Captive Prince. So that being both taken in Bed together, the Prince was forc'd to Marry her immediately, and at the same time the King of *Imiretta* espous'd the Princess of *Mingrelia*. These two Marriages thus accomplish'd, the *Mingrelian* had his Liberty, and was restor'd to his Country, after he had sworn upon all the Images, never to repudiate his new Spouse, nor to Marry any other, so long as she liv'd.

But so soon as he was return'd into his Country, desire of Revenge transporting him, he Challeng'd alike both the *Turk* and the *Persian*. He sent his Ambassadors to the Viceroy of *Georgia*, and the *Basha* of *Akalzikè*, Complaining of the Invasion which the King of *Imiretta* had made into his Country, and of his taking from him his Wife. The *Basha* was at that time highly provok'd against the People of *Imiretta*, for their Treachery, Rebellion and Cruelty to the King which he had appointed for their Sovereign. The Prince of *Guriel* also, Brother to that Unfortunate Prince, loudly demanded Justice. And the Cruel *Darejan* inflam'd his Revenge with all her might;

might ; and urg'd him to extend it to the utmost Rigour that such detestable Inhumanities deserv'd. Now she was lovely, as I have already said, and her Beauty strangely reforc'd her Arguments. Insomuch that the *Basba* promis'd to restore her to the Throne of *Imiretta*, together with her Husband, if she could get him out of *Georgia* where he was a Pris'ner, in the Custody of the Archbishop of *Gori* ; from whence the wily *Darejan* found a way to have him stol'n and brought to *Akalzikè*. So soon as he was arriv'd, the *Basba* took 'em both along with him in his March to *Imiretta* ; where he sackt and ruin'd after a most terrible manner all before him. Whereupon the King and Queen fled to a Fortrefs call'd *Ratchia*, seated in an inaccessible part of the Mountains. After that, the *Basba* restor'd *Darejan* and her Husband to the Throne, and caus'd all the Grandees, and all the People to swear Fealty to him ; and so taking Hostages, he return'd with a great Number of Slaves ; but little other Booty, in regard it had been no less then the third time in five Years that that poor Country had been pillag'd, plunder'd and ransack'd by the *Persians*, and their other Neighbours.

As for the wicked *Darejan*, she was destin'd to be ruin'd by her excess of Confidence. One of her great Lords having lull'd her into a besotted Credulity, had plung'd her, as I have already related, into one of the most miserable Conditions that could befall a Woman of her Quality ; and now another by the same means brought her to the most Tragick end in the World. This was the most perfidious Traytor and Murderer of the Prime Minister *Cotzia*, who was also call'd by the same Name. For the Murder he had committed had rais'd him to great Preferment. Now this Person never came near the *Basba* to pay him his Homage, because he had been of the Faction contrary to *Darejan* ; and was therefore afraid of being sacrific'd. However, he wrote to the Princess, as soon as the *Turks* were retreated, and sent her word, that *Bacrat*, and they by whom the Prince still suffer'd himself to be Govern'd, had put upon him so many ingrateful Sights and Affronts, that he would be their vow'd Enemy as long as he liv'd : That if she would engage to restore him to the *Basba*'s Favour, and to all his Lands that had been Confiscated, and to invest him in the Estate of the High Steward of *Bacrat*'s Household, he would deliver into her Hands both *Bacrat* and his Wife. All which she promis'd to perform ; and then the Traytor came and submitted himself to her. At what time the Princess was

so over-hasty, that nothing would serve her but she would presently bestow upon him all the Marks of Favour and Reconciliation, Friendship and Confidence, which are most usual in that Country between Men and Women. She adopted him therefore, and gave him the end of her Nipple to suck. Which is a Custom not only in *Mingrelia*, *Georgia* and *Imiretta*, but also in other the Neighbouring Countries, to adopt in that manner such Persons as they cannot unite to themselves by Alliance. The Traytor having this Pledge of *Darejan's* Faith, wrote to *Bacrat* to come with all his Parry, and he would deliver both her and her Husband into their Hands, either alive or dead. Now the same Day that *Bacrat* was to appear, the perfidious *Cotzia* kept his Bed, pretended himself sick, and sent to *Darejan* to vouchsafe him the Honour of a Visit, for that he had secret Intelligence to impart of that Importance, that he would not communicate to any but her self. Thus wheedl'd; away she went, attended only by some of her Women: but as she was sitting by the Traytor's Bed, certain Fellows hid in the Room, fell upon her, and seiz'd her Person, her Women in vain endeavouring to protect her. Yet there was one who took the *Princess* in her Arms, and run her up into a Corner of the Room, where she stuck by her, till the Murderers stabb'd 'em both. With that *Cotzia* rose, and went with his Gang, where *Darejan's* Husband lodg'd; a poor blind Man, uncapable of making any Resistance. Him therefore they seiz'd, and *Cotzia* order'd him to be bound and kept till *Bacrat* came. Who was no sooner arriv'd, but he demanded the Pris'ner, and hearing him approach, Traytor, said he, *thou wert the Occasion of putting out my Eyes, and I will tear out thy Heart*. And so saying, he order'd himself to be carry'd near the Pris'ner, and then groping for his Breast, he gave him several Stabs with his Dagger. His Followers compleated the Murther by ripping open his Breast, and gave the poor Captive's Heart into the Hands of the bloody sightless Prince, who for above an Hour held it in his Clutches, grasping and tearing it with an unheard-of Transport of Fury.

These Barbarous Tragedies happen'd in the Year 1667. from which time till the Year 1672, there fell out a Hunderd more in the same Countries, altogether as Infamous and Inhumane: and therefore I pass 'em over in silence, as being Stories rather frightful then pleasing to the Ear. I shall only add thus much, that the Traytor *Cotzia* was himself also Treacherously slain; and in a short time after the Assassins themselves

were also kill'd at the Battel of *Chicaris*, which is a great Village within sight of *Scander*, a Fortrefs of *Imiretta*, where the Forces of that Country, and the Prince of *Mingrelia* met. By which we may find there is a Visible Providence in the Modern Histories of these Impious People; upon whom Heav'n still inflicted such severe and speedy Justice: while the Murderers are always Assassinated, and with those Circumstances which plainly demonstrate that God had a Hand in it, and made the one his Instruments to punish the other.

In the Year 1672, the *Basba* of *Akalzike*, perceiving there was no end of Warring between those two Petty Sovereigns of *Mingrelia* and *Imiretta*, neither by Accommodations nor Remonstrances, nor by Commands or Threats, resolv'd to exterminate 'em, and give their Country to others that better deserv'd it. He had then in his Possession the true and Lawful Heir of *Mingrelia*. For when *Vomeki Dadian* was advanc'd to the Throne of that Kingdom, the Wife of *Alexander* the Son of *Levan*, fearing lest the Ambitious *Chilakite*, the Mother of *Vomeki* should Murder *Alexander's* Son, she fled and carry'd the Infant with her. This Princess was Sister to the Prince of *Guriel*, who apprehensive also lest the *Chilakites* fury should bring a War upon him, if he should shelter the little Infant, adviz'd her to carry him to the *Basba* of *Akalzike*. Which she did; so that the young Prince was brought up in the City of *Akalzike*, under the Eye of the *Basba* himself. Who never desir'd him to change his Religion; believing it sufficient to give him such an Education as should infuse into him a deep Tincture of the Customs and Manners of the *Turks*. Upon these considerations therefore the *Basba* of *Akalzike* resolv'd to settle this young Prince in *Mingrelia*; as well in regard the Principality belong'd to him as his Right, as for that he had some reason to hope that he would Govern it well, and root out those abominable Customs that had over run it: and this was the reason of the coming of the *Turks* into *Mingrelia*. The Prince of *Guriel* also joyn'd with the *Basba*, as being overjoy'd at the advancement of his Nephew, to the Sovereignty: for he was in hopes of a Thousand Advantages from the success of this Enterprize. Presently the *Basba* Thunder'd into *Imiretta*, and makes himself Master of the Country, and of the Person of the King. But the Queen his Spouse was not seiz'd. For her Bishop *Janatel*, gave Fifteen Thousand Crowns to the *Basba* that he might have Liberty to carry her where

where he pleas'd ; and that he might have the favour to preserve his own Lands and Tenements, from spoil and Ransack.

When the *Basba* came to *Cotatis*, he sent to the *Dadian*, which is the Title given to the Prince of *Mingrelia*, to come and pay him Homage. But the *Dadian*, understanding the Alteration of Government which he intended to make in *Mingrelia*, refus'd to obey him, and shut himself up in his Fortrefs of *Rucks*. His *Vizier Carzia* fled into *Lexicom*, which is a Principality in the Mountains inhabited by the *Souanes*, and from thence sent to the *Abca's* to succour *Dadian*. 'Tis true, they march'd into *Mingrelia*, but instead of assisting the Prince, they pillag'd all the Country in their March, and then retreated back again. As for the *Basba*, after he had stay'd a Month in vain, expecting the *Dadians* coming to pay him Homage, and receive his Orders, he sent his Army into *Mingrelia*. And the noise of the march of this Army it was, that oblig'd me to betake my self to flight.

The 27th before Day, the Superiour of the *Theatins* left us, and return'd home to his House to see if he could remove any thing of that Household Stuff and Provisions which remain'd behind. I would have been glad to have accompany'd him upon the same design ; but he was gone two Hours before Day. But when he came to his House, he found it full of the *Basba's*, and the Prince of *Guriel's* avant-Couriers, who entertain'd him but very rudely with their Cudgels and Iron Maces. These Free-Booters would have had him open'd the Church, pretending he had hid his Goods in it. But the Superiour had warily thrown the Key among the Bushes when he first perceiv'd the Souldiers, so that notwithstanding all the Violence they could offer him, he deny'd he had it, and would never discover where it was. At length the *Turks* having some Consideration for his Character, took from him a part of his Habits, and carry'd away only some slight things of the greatest Value they found in the House, not so much as meddling either with my Books or my Papers.

But the 29th at Night came a Gentleman of *Mingrelia* with a Party of Thirty Followers, and cut all to pieces. He uncover'd almost all my Chamber, believing I had hidd'n many Things in it. He carry'd away the Remainder of the Copper Ware, my Chests, and large Moveables ; and in a word, whatever the *Turks* and I had left, as being of no great Value, and heavy for Carriage beside. This Tygre, as I said, came

came by Night, and therefore for want of a Candle he set Fire on my Papers and Books, and tore off the Covers, because they were Gilt, and mark'd with Coats of Arms. For I had caused my Books to be very curiously Bound at my departure from *Paris*. But they left me not so much as a Sheet of Paper.

The 30th in the Morning I had notice of my being Plunder'd, to my unspeakable sorrow. And in the Evening came a Turkish *Chiaux* to the Fortrefs where I was, to let us know that he came from the *Basba*. *Sabatar* (for so was the Gentleman call'd to whom it belong'd, as I have already declar'd) went forth to receive the Message. Which import'd, that the *Basba's* Lieutenant who lay before the Fortrefs of *Rucks* admir'd, that he did not come and submit himself to him, and pay him his Homage, since that *Mingrelia* belong'd to the *Grand Signior*; that the *Basba* had order'd that they should be civilly us'd, who joyn'd themselves with the *Turks*; but that they should be dealt with as Enemies, who refus'd to submit: that if he intended to save his Estate, his Life, his Castle, and all that was in it, he should make haste to receive the *Basba's* Orders. To which *Sabatar* made Answer, that he acknowledg'd the *Basba* for his Lord, and that in his Heart he was a *Turk* and not a *Mingrelian*; that he had resolv'd to attend the *Basba*, so soon as he understood that it was proper for him to attend his Lordship; and now that he understood that his Lieutenant lay before *Rucks*, he would go the next Morning to receive his Orders.

The 31st the Gentleman went with Thirty Men well Arm'd to wait upon the *Basba's* Lieutenant, carrying along with him a Present of Four Slaves, a Silver Cup, together with a Quantity of Silk, Wax and Vittles for Refreshment. That Evening he arriv'd at the Camp, where he found several Lords of *Mingrelia*, who were come, as he was, to submit themselves, for fear of being Besieg'd, and of having their Castles and Lands plunder'd and demolish'd. The Lieutenant told him that the Orders which his Master had receiv'd from the *Grand Signior* his Master, were to destroy all the strong places in *Mingrelia*, however that he would preserve the Castles of such Lords as preserv'd themselves in their Loyalty and Obedience. That the *Grand Signior* had taken away the Principality from *Levan*, who was at *Rucks*, and had conferr'd it upon a Young Prince, who was bred up at *Akalzikè*, and that he must swear Allegiance to him, and give one of his Children in Hostage for his Fidelity; and make a Present to the *Basba*.

Now the Present which *Sabatar* agreed to make, was Ten Young Slaves of both Sexes, and Three Hunderd Crowns either in Silver or in Silk.

The First of *October*, *Sabatar* return'd, and brought along with him a Protection from the *Turk*, for his Castle and for all his Lands. All that night he bestir'd himself to get ready the Present which he was to carry. To which purpose he signifi'd to all that were fled for Refuge to his Castle or Fortrels, that the *Turks* had given him a Protection, for Twenty Five Slaves, and Eight Hunderd Crowns, which he must Levy upon those that were retir'd under his security. So that from every Family that had Four Childern he took one: which was the most lamentable spectacle in the World, to see little Childern torn from the Arms of their Mothers, ty'd two and two together, and carry'd away to the *Turks*: For my own part I was tax'd at Twenty Crowns.

However, *Sabatar* did not carry any more to the *Basba's* Lieutenant, then what they two had agreed between themselves: the rest he appropriated to himself. Nor could his Wives, his Childern and all the Castle forbear loud Cries of sorrow when they saw his Young Son carry'd away among the rest. For those Childern which are given in Hostage to the *Turk*, are no less his Slaves; He never parts with 'em; as being usually sent to *Constantinople*, to encrease the Multitude of those handsome young Childern that are bred up in the *Seraglio*. The *Basba's* Lieutenant receiv'd the Present and the Hostage, and still detain'd *Sabatar* with him nevertheless. He also summon'd the *Dadian* Three times to surrender, but the Prince refus'd. For his Fortrels was well guarded by the *Souanes*, which his Vizier had sent him, and who were more the Masters of it then himself: besides that the Vizier sent him word every Day that he should hold out, and that he would be ready in a short time to pour down upon the Enemy. At last the *Turks* after they had stay'd about Four Days before *Rucks*, and got above Two Thousand Slaves and much Booty, rais'd their Siege: for they had no great Guns, which was the reason they did not attack the Castle. They also carry'd along with 'em all the *Mingrelian* Lords that came to surrender themselves, and had sworn Allegiance to the new Prince. The *Catholicos* was among the number of those that had tak'n the Oath. Whom the *Basba* order'd to be made Vizier to the new Prince, and that they should send in his Name to the Prince of the *Abca's*, to demand the Princess his Daughter in Marriage.

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It was thought that the coming of the *Turk* into *Mingrelia*, would have resettl'd all things in order, and restor'd Peace and Tranquillity, by causing all Parties to lay down their Arms. But it did not so fall out: they only came and plunder'd the Country; but put it into more confusion then it was before. For they divided it into two Parties; of which the one was engag'd by Oath and Hostages to the new Prince, the other stuck fast to their depos'd Sovereign: Which Division made every one betake themselves to their Arms. Seeing therefore the Affairs of the Country in this miserable condition so far from any Accommodation, I took a resolution to get into *Georgia* by any manner of way, or whatever the hazard might be. For I ran those Risco's every Day in *Mingrelia*, that I expected nothing at length but to be utterly ruin'd. *Levan* threatn'd Ruine and Destruction to the Castles, Goods and Lands of the Lords who had surrender'd to the *Turks*: *Sabatar* was still in Custody: and his Sons that commanded in the Castle, were the grearest Cut-throats and accomplish'd Rogues in the World. I languish'd every Day with sorrow and want. It was a Man's whole business to buy a handful of Grain, and a Pound of Vittles; and I suffer'd in my Oven all the Injuries of Weather, as if I had been in the open Field: the despair of my Servants went to my Heart; in a word, I was at the brink of Death. Which was that which induc'd me to venture all hazards to get my self rid of *Mingrelia*, while I had strength and Ability to do it. To that purpose I sought every where for Guides; promis'd, entreated, lay'd down my Money, but nothing would do; there was no body that would be my Conductor. The Armies they said, lay so thick upon the Roads of *Imiretta*, the Country between *Mingrelia* and *Georgia*, through which I was of necessity to pass, that it was a meer folly to venture, where a man was assur'd he could not escape being made a Slave. And these were all the Answers they made me. I propos'd the fetching a Compass either over Mount *Caucasus* or along the Sea Coast, but no body would undertake the Journey.

'Tis an incredible thing to think how fearful the *Mingrelians* are of Death, or of being undone; there is no Reward can prevail with 'em to run the Risco of a known Danger, how inconsiderable soever it be. At length I was constrain'd to take the way by Sea, and through *Turkey*, that is to say, to fetch a Compass of Seventy Leagues. To that purpose I went to *Anarghia*, a Village and small Sea-Port, of which I have already

already spok'n. There I found a Felouque of the *Turks*, which I hir'd for *Gonia*: so that when I had giv'n Earnest, I return'd to the *Theatins* House, and to *Sabatar's* Castle, to prepare for my Voyage.

The Tenth of *November* early in the Morning I departed from the Castle, having agreed with my Comrade what ways I would take to recover him out of *Mingrelia*, if it pleas'd GOD to grant me a happy Voyage. I carry'd along with me Eight Thousand Pounds in Jewels, and Eight Hunderd Pistols in Gold, with the few small Packs that were left me. The Jewels were hid in a Saddle contriv'd for that purpose, and in a Pillow: and I took a Servant along with me, the same whom I had redeem'd out of Slavery. This was a conceal'd Rogue; a Traytor whose Villany was not well discover'd by me. I was advis'd not to take him along with me for fear of some Imposition, or some wicked Trick that his very Countenance told 'em he would play me; nor was I well resolv'd with my self to be troubl'd with him; but my Fortune would have it so, and I could not prevent it. But the Reasons that prevail'd with me more then any other to take him, was, that he brook'd his bad Condition like one that was mad or in despair; and I was afraid lest in one of his mad or drunk'n Fits (to which he was subject) he should discover us in *Mingrelia*. Fryer *Zampi*, the Superiour of the *Theatins*, bore me Company as he had done all along. And the Lay-Brother undertook to Conduct me to *Anarghia*. The Superiour and I went afoot, because we could not meet with more then one Horse to be hir'd for Money, upon which I loaded my Goods, and let my Servant ride to look after 'em. The Lay-Brother was also a Horseback, and it rain'd as hard as it could pour after two days; insomuch that the Fryer had like to have been drown'd about a League from the Castle in a deep Ditch that overflow'd its Banks, into which his Horse fell, and out of which with much ado we recover'd him half dead. I shall not relate the Hardships I endur'd both that and the following days: as being constrain'd to march afoot in a rainy season through the Woods, full of Water and Mud, where I went for the most part up to the Knees: only in a word, that 'twas impossible for any Person to endure more then we did. For my own part I was quite spent: All that I had left was a remainder of Courage and Resolution to do and suffer whatever besel me, to save those Goods that were entrusted to my Care. In the Evening we arriv'd at *Anarghia* wet to the

very Skin ; *Anarghia* being fix Leagues from the Castle of *Sabatar*.

The 12th I was to have Embark'd, but was prevented by the News that was spread about of several Barks of the *Mingrelians* and *Abca's* that were Cruising upon the Coasts of *Mingrelia*. Which was very true ; for they had taken several Barks of the Country, and one among the rest wherein I was concern'd. Yet the unspeakable trouble which this delay gave me, did not proceed so much from its keeping me in continual Fears and Dangers, as that it seem'd to threaten me that I should never get rid of 'em.

The 19th Father *Zampi* had Intelligence that the Day before, they had forc'd open the Church-Doors, taken away all that was in the Church, had open'd the Sepulcher, and carry'd all that one of the *Theatins*, who was left to look after the House, had hid in the Tomb, and that there was nothing left standing but the Wall. This News put me into a terrible fright, considering I had left above Seven Thousand *Pistols* burid in the Church. Upon which I dispatch'd away a Messenger to my Comrade, thinking to have found him at the Castle ; but he was already gone to the *Theatins* Residence, to know what course we should take to repair so great a Misfortune, of which he had Notice as soon as my self. But he wrote me word, That Thanks be to GOD they had not so much as touch'd our Money, having found it in the same place where we had burid it. VVhich good News wonderfully reviv'd my Spirits, looking upon so great a Favour of the Almighty as a sign of his Attonement ; so that I went to encourage the *Turks*, whose Feluke I had hir'd to set Sail with all speed.

The 27th I departed from *Anarghia*, my Feluke being a Vessel of good Burthen, wherein there were near Twenty Persons, the one half Slaves, the rest *Turks*, which I the rather permitted the Master to take in, that we might be the better able to defend our selves against the Rovers that infested the Coasts. After an Hours Sailing, we got into the Main Sea : For the *Langur* which we left is very rapid, and runs with a furious Stream ; and besides, he must be a skilful Pilot that carries a laden Vessel down that River, by reason of the many Flats, where they stick upon the Sands. I staid all Day-long near the Shoar at the request of the Master of the Shallop, who expected two Slaves to be brought him that Evening.

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While I tarry'd at *Anarghia*, I was invited to two Christnings; whither I went to observe the manner of the *Mingrelian* Baptism; and found that Father *Zampi* had been very exact in his Relation. For the Ceremony was no otherwise then thus, perform'd in a Neighbours House adjoining to the Lodging where I lay. He sent for the Priest about Ten a Clock in the Morning; who was no sooner come, but he went into the Buttry where they kept the Wine, and sate himself down upon a Bench without any other then his ordinary Habit, and then fell a reading in a Book that was half torn, about the bigness of a New Testament in *Octavo*. Not that the Child was brought to him when he began to read, for the Father and Godfather did not bring him till a quarter of an Hour after; and then appear'd a little Boy of about five Years of Age, at what time the Godfather brought also a little Searing Candle, and three Grains of Incense. The Candle the Godfather likewise lighted, and fix'd it to the Door of the Cellar, where though it was burnt out before the Child was Baptiz'd, they did not light up another; and as for the three Grains of Incense, they were strew'd upon a few Embers, and smoak'd away. All this while the Priest read on, very fast, and with a low Voice, and in such a careless manner as if he never minded what he did. The Father and Godfather went to and agen all the time, and so did the Child, that did nothing but eat. At length after an Hours reading, there was a Bucket of warm Water got ready; into which after the Priest had pour'd about a Spoonful of Oyl of Walnuts, he bid the Godfather undress the Child: which was done, and the Child put naked into the Bucket; where, as he stood upon his Feet, the Godfather wash'd his Body all over, and when he had well wash'd him, the Priest took out of a Leather Pouch that hung at his Girdle as much *Myrone*, or Oyl of Unction, as came to the weight of a Pea, and gave it to the Godfather, who Anointed with it almost all the parts of the Childs Body; as the top of the Head, the Ears, Forehead, Nose, Cheeks, Chin, Shoulders, Elbows, Back, Belly, Knees and Feet: All which time the Priest read on still; nor did he give over till the Godfather had again dress'd the Child. Which being done, the Father brought in Wine, Bread, and a piece of boyl'd Pork, and first gave the Child to eat, then presented the Priest, the Godfather, the Guests, and all the House: and then they all sate down to the Table; nor was there hardly one that was not drunk before he went.

I have also seen Mass perform'd in the same place : which is done with the same Carelessness and Irreverence, and altogether as has been related in a Treatise of the *Mingrelian* Religion. And once it was my hap to see one very pleasantly interrupted. For as I was flying with one of the *Theatins*, we pass'd along before a Church where they were saying Mass. At what time the Priest that said it, understanding that we enquir'd the way of the People that stood at the Door, *Stay a little*, cry'd he from the Altar, *I'll come and tell ye*. Immediately after he came to the Door, muttering his Mass between his Teeth, and after he had ask'd us whence we came and whither we went, he shew'd us the way, and so return'd to the Altar again.

The 29th betimes i' the Morning we put to Sea, the weather being clear and fair : and then we could discover the high Lands of *Trebisond*, on the one side, and of the *Abca's* on the other, and that very easily because the *Black Sea* beginning to wind toward the *Abca's* Coasts, *Anarghia* stands far out in the circular circumference of those Coasts answering to *Trebisond*.

The *Black-Sea* is 200 Leagues in length wanting Twelve or Fifteen ; lying just East and West. The broadest part; North and South, from the *Bosphorus* with *Boristhenes*, is three degrees ; which part is the Western end of the Sea ; the Opposite part not being above half so broad. The Water of this Sea seem'd to me less Clear, less Green, and less Salt, then the Water of the Ocean. Which proceeds as I am apt to believe from the great Rivers that empty themselves into it ; and for that it is shut up in its self as it were in the bottom of a Sack, so that it ought to be more properly called a Lake then a Sea, like the *Caspian Sea* ; With which it agrees in this, that is common to both, that in neither of the two Seas there are any Islands. And therefore 'tis in vain to seek for the reason of its Denomination from the colour of the Water. The *Greeks* gave it its Name from the Dangerous Navigation dayly experienc'd by those that ventur'd into it ; by reason of the Tempests there more frequent and boistrous then in other Seas : *Axenos* signifying inhospitable, and that will not suffer any Person to come near it. The *Turks* therefore for the same reason call it *Cara Dengiz*, or the *Furious Sea*. *Cara* which in the Turkish Language properly signifies *Black*, denoting also furious, dangerous, terrible, and serving usually in that Idiom, for an Epithite given to thick Forrests, rapid Rivers, and steep and rugged Mountains. Now the reason why the Storms are more
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Violent and Dangerous in that, then in other Seas, is first because the Waters are contracted within a narrow Channel and have no Outlet: the *Bosphorus* not being to be accompted an Outlet by reason it is so very streight. And therefore the Waters being Violently agitated by a Storm, and not knowing where to have Room, and being strongly repell'd by the shoar, they Mount and rowle aloft, and beat against the Ship on every side with an Invincible swiftness and force. Secondly, because there are few or no Roads in that Sea which are shelter'd from the Wind, but where there is more danger then in the open Sea.

All the *Black-Sea* is under the Dominion of the *Grand Signior*; there is no Sailing there without his leave; so that there is no great fear of Pyrates, which in my Opinion are a greater danger then the Sea it self.

All that Day we sayl'd with a Contrary Wind, which was the reason we did not make above Six Leagues, however in the Evening we bore into a River call'd *Kelmhel*, deeper and almost as broad as the *Langur*, but not so rapid.

The 30th Two Hours before Day we set sail by the light of the Moon, and by Noon we made the River *Phasis*, and bore up into it about a Mile to certain Houses, where the Master of the *Feluke* was desirous to unlade some of his Goods.

The River *Phasis* takes its rise out of Mount *Caucasus*, call'd by the Turks *Fachs*; though as I observ'd, the People of the Country call it *Rione*. I saw it first at *Cotatis*, where it runs in a narrow Channel very swiftly, yet sometimes so low, that it is easily fordable. But where it discharges it self into the Sea, which is about Fourscore and Ten Miles from *Cotatis*, there the Channel is about a Mile and Half Broad and Sixty Fadome deep: being swell'd before that, by several lesser streams that pour themselves into it. The Water is very good to Drink, though somewhat Muddy, thick, and of a Leaden colour; of which *Arrian* asserts the cause to be the Earth that is intermix'd with it. He farther adds, and other Authors also affirm the same, that all the Ships took in Water at *Phasis*, out of an Opinion that the River was sacred, or believing it to be the best Water in the World. There are several small Islands at the Mouth of the River, which appear very delightful, as being shaded with thick Woods. Upon the biggest of which to the West, are to be seen the Ruins of a Fortres which *Sultan Murat* caus'd to be built in the Year 1578. For he

he had made an Attempt to Conquer all the Northern and Eastern Coasts of the *Black-Sea*. But this Enterprize did not succeed according to his Design. For to that purpose he sent his Gallies up the River *Phasis*; but the King of *Imiretta* having laid considerable *Embuscado's*, where the River was narrowest, *Murai's* Gallies were defeated, one sunk, and the rest forc'd to fly. The Fortrefs of *Phasis* was tak'n by the Army of the King of *Imiretta*, reinforc'd by the Prince's of *Mingrelia* and *Guriel*. The Castle was presently demolish'd, wherein there were 25 Pieces of Cannon, which the King caus'd to be carry'd to his Castle of *Cotatis*, where they are now again in the Hands of the *Turks* by the late surrender of the Castle belonging to that place.

I fetch'd a Compass about the Island of *Phasis*, to try whether I could discover any Remainders of the Temple of *Rhea*, which *Arrian* says was to be seen in his time: but I could not find the least Footstep of any such thing. Yet Historians affirm, that it was standing entire in the time of the *Grecian* Empire: and that it was Consecrated to the Worship of Christ in the Reign of the Emperour *Zeno*. I sought likewise for the great City call'd *Sebasta*, which Geographers have plac'd at the Mouth of *Phasis*; but not a Brick to be seen, no more then of the Ruines of *Colebis*. All that I observ'd conformable to what the Ancients have wrote concerning that part of the *Black-Sea*, is only this, That it abounds in Pheasants. Of which there are some Authors, and among the rest *Martial*, who say, That the *Argonauts* first brought those Birds into *Greece*, where they had never been seen before, and that they gave 'em the Name of Pheasants, or *Phasiani*, as being taken upon the Banks of *Phasis*. This River separates *Mingrelia* from the Principality of *Guriel*, and the petty Kingdom of *Imiretta*. *Anarghia* is distant from it 36 Miles. All the Coast is a low Sandy Soyl, cover'd with Woods so thick, that a Man can hardly see six Paces among the Trees.

In the Evening I caus'd the Master to put to Sea, with a fair Gale; and at Midnight we Sail'd before a Haven call'd *Copoletta*, belonging to the Prince of *Guriel*.

The 30th after Noon, we arriv'd at *Goniè*, distant from *Phasis* about 40 Miles; the Sea-Coast being all exceeding High-land, and Rocks, some cover'd with Wood, and others naked. It belongs to the Prince of *Guriel*, whose Territories extend to a River about half a Mile from *Goniè*.

Goniè is a large Castle, four-square, built of hard and tough Stones of an extraordinary bulk : seated upon the Sea-side upon a Sandy Foundation. It has neither Trenches nor Fortifications ; but only four Walls and two Gates, one that opens Eastward upon the Sea, and another to the North : Nor did I see any more then only two great Guns for its defence. Within there are about Thirty pitiful, low, small, inconvenient Houses, built only of Boards : And without, close by it, stands a Village consisting of as many more Habitations. Almost all the Inhabitants Marriners : which is the reason that the Country is call'd *Lazi* ; *Laz* in the Turkish Language properly signifying a *Seaman* : and Figuratively, a Clownish, Boarish, Savage Fellow : These *Lazi* are all *Mahumetans*.

There is a Custom-House at *Goniè*, which has the Reputation of being very Rude and Imperious ; yet was not quite so cruel as they made me believe it was : and yet as it is severe enough to the People of the Country, so is it really a place that cuts the very Throats of the *Europeans*. They have no regard to the Quality of the Persons, nor the Passports of the *Grand Signior*, nor for any Recommendations from the *Port*. 'Tis in vain therefore to expect any Relief from thence ; They who Command in those extream parts of the Empire believing themselves at a distance remote enough from the reach of the *Grand Signior*.

So soon as the Felouke came to be Moor'd to the Key, my Servant leap'd ashoar with a most extravagant Transport of Joy : he cast up his Eyes to Heav'n, kiss'd the Earth ; he bestow'd a Thousand Curses upon *Mingrelia* ; but to the Country of the *Turks* he wish'd all the Happiness imaginable. Presently after, leaving me, he went into the Castle, at a time that I had more need of him then ever. And indeed I had a great Jealousie that he was gone to discover as much as he thought he knew concerning me. For when the Officer of the Custom-House and the Deputy-Governor came to take Notice what was unladed out of the Felouke, and to demand the Customs, they presently gave me to understand, that they knew I was an *European*, told me the Misfortunes which had befall'n me in *Mingrelia*, and the Design which I had to go to *Akalzikè*. Which surpriz'd me extreamly, perceiving so well that I was betray'd. Nevertheless I was not at all troubl'd at it ; for GOD through his Mercy still inspir'd me with Resolution. Besides, I was sure of one thing, that my Servant did not know particularly who I was. I had entertain'd him into my service

service 'tis true, at *Constantinople*, and he had seen me frequently Visit the *European* Ambassadors and Ministers, and that I was honourably receiv'd, and that all the rest of my time I spent in Writing and Reading; so that all he could guess from thence, was only that I might be some Person that Travell'd out of Curiosity. I had given him Instructions also to tell the *Turks* if they enquir'd, that I was a Merchant, and that being come into *Mingrelia* to buy Hawks, to carry into *Europe*, the People of the Country had Robb'd me of all I had, and that I was going to demand Justice from the *Basha* of *Akal-ziké*. And I kept constant to this Story, not knowing any better way to conceal myself; besides that I would not by any alteration of my Instructions, seem to take any notice to my Servant, that I was Jealous of his Infidelity. The Officer of the Custom-House ask'd me several Questions; to which I gave him satisfactory Answers: however he sent to search my Packs, but met with nothing: my Saddle indeed weigh'd somewhat heavy, which caus'd it to be suspected; in regard that the *Turkish* Saddles are very light. Whereupon the Officers Poys'd it and felt every where; but not feeling any thing but Flocks and Hair, they suffer'd it to pass.

As for my Eight-Hundred *Pistols*, I carry'd the one half about me, the other was in a Portmante lockt with a Padlock with some other Trifles that were of no Value; but which I knew well enough, the *Turks* would be fingring, had they once but fix'd their Eyes upon 'em. True it is, that when I parted from *Mingrelia*, I had resolv'd to have given that Cloak Bag to one of the Seamen, so soon as we should land at *Copoletta*, a Neighbouring Port of which I have already spoken. For they never meddle with the Seamen's Packs, and very rarely search the *Felonkes* themselves. But the Wind being fair, we never put in to that Port; which was the reason I did not do as I intended: for it would have been a piece of Imprudence to have done it publickly in the *Felonk* where there were so many Passengers.

The Officers of the Custom-House therefore being inform'd of what I had, went into the *Felonk* and there finding the Cloak Bag, demanded whose it was, to which I presently answer'd, that 'twas mine, but that there was nothing in it that pay'd Custom. However, the Customer commanded me to open it: to which I reply'd, That I would willingly do it at his House, but not a shoar before so many People. Thereupon the Officers carry'd me home, and the Deputy Governor

nor went along with him: where the *Deputy* took one *per Cent.* and the Officers of the Customs Five in the Hundred. So that they took from me Twenty Two Pistols in Gold, and what they thought fit besides of the Trifles that were in the Cloak Bag, and among the rest a small pair of Pistols, which were all the Arms I had: for which he pay'd me, 'tis true; but not above half the Value. Afterwards he invited me to lye at his House, to which I answer'd, That sure he did but laugh at me to offer me his House, after he had unjustly made me pay Customs for the Gold and Silver which I had, that never pay'd any Duty's. To which he reply'd, That I was mis-inform'd, and that he had done me no injustice, for that at *Gonè* there was nothing exempted from paying the Custom; and therefore as for offering me his House it was out of kindness and favour that he did it. I return'd him Thanks, and told him, That since he was so forward as to offer me a kindness, there was one for which I should for ever be oblig'd to thank him; that he would so far assist me with a Convenience, that I might get safe to *Akalzikè*; for it being known over all *Gonè* that I had a Bag of Gold, I had reason to fear being Murder'd in the Mountains, over which my Road lay, for the remainder of what I carry'd about me. That I was a Stranger, and without Weapons to defend my self, he himself having tak'n from me all the Arms I had left me; and therefore that he would be pleas'd to lend me some Assistance. To which he answer'd, That I needed not to be in such a Panick Fear, for that, Thanks be to GOD, I was now in the Country of the Faithful (the Epithet which the *Turks* assume to themselves) where I had no reason to be afraid either of being Robb'd or Murder'd. That he would Warrant me my Life and my Goods; that I might carry my Bag of Gold upon my Head, and Travel without any danger. But as to what remain'd, because the way to *Akalzikè* was very bad, the two first Days Journey being to be Travell'd a Foot, through the narrow and Craggy Passages of the Mountains, where no Horse was able to pass, he would appoint me the next Morning, such as should carry my Baggage, and conduct me for the first Days Journey; where likewise the first Guides should be reliev'd by others, till I came to *Akalzikè*.

Having so said, He offer'd me a Third time to come and spend the Night at his House, and was very importunate with me; and I found afterwards that he did it sincerely and for my Good. I wish to GOD I had perceiv'd his kindness, but

I foresaw not the Danger that my Ill Fortune was preparing for me. I was fearful that the Customers Design in inviting me to his House, was only that he might have an Opportunity to search my Packs the more exactly; besides, that I was desperately afraid, lest it should come into his Head to search my self, having a large Bag of Gold and Pearls in several parts of my Cloaths.

It was almost Night when I took my leave of the Custom-House-Officer at his own House; and my Servant had carry'd all my Baggage to the place where the People were gone to lodge that came along with me in the Vessel; which was a pitiful Straw-loft, full of Holes in the Walls on every side, and no less nasty and stinking withal. There I receiv'd their Complements of Condolement, if I may so call 'em; and to say truth, unless it were my Servant, who had his share of the Twenty Two *Pistols*, all the rest were sorry for my loss; and every one blam'd me for not giving my Bag to some-body that might have secur'd it for me. So that I was forc'd to act the part of one that was troubl'd and griev'd for what had happen'd, though in my Heart I was not a little glad I had escap'd so, and all I desir'd was only to see the return of Day-light, that I might get rid of that Cut-throat place.

But while I was eating a Morfel of Bisket, in came a Janisary to tell my Servant, that the Deputy-Governor would speak with him: for the Commander of the Castle being absent, the Deputy supply'd his place. Away went my Servant, and about an Hour after, the same Janisary came for me likewise. I found the Deputy-Governor sitting at the Table with my Servant, both very Drunk: and first of all he forc'd me to Eat and Drink whether I would or no: then he told me, That all the Christians that belong'd to the Church who pass'd through *Goniè*, were oblig'd to give his Master Two Hunderd *Ducats*, which makes about a Hunderd Pound; that I was one of those Ecclesiasticks, and therefore must pay so much Money. To which I answer'd, That I was a Merchant, and that he was mis-inform'd, and that seeing the Officer of the Custom-House had let me go, he had nothing to do to take Cognizance who I was. However, if there were any thing due to the Governor, that I would pay it the next Morning: and that the Night was no time to discourse the Business: and having so said, I was about to rise and be gone. But I was stopp'd by two Janisaries; at what time the Deputy-Governor caus'd me to sit down again, and forc'd me to Drink very
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hard ; teizing me for two Hours together with a Thousand Impertinencies : and among other things telling me, That all the Goods of the Christians belong'd of Right to the Turks, that the *Maltese's* had tak'n two of his Brothers, and that for a Person of my Circumstances Twenty *Pistols* was sufficient. I confess I found my self but in a scurvy Condition, having to do with People that were Fuddl'd, and my Servant in stead of assisting me, sitting at the Table with my Judge, a Thousand times more my Master, then I was his, as of right I ought to have been : yet though I perceiv'd his Treachery, I durst not speak a word, for fear of worse that might befall me. I took him therefore aside, and advis'd him not to lose the Opportunity of making me more sensible then ever of that Fidelity wherewith he had serv'd me : that only he could reconcile the Business, and that therefore I gave him Power to offer Twenty Ducats for an Accommodation. My design by that counterfeit Confidence, which could do me no harm, was to bridle the Villany of the Traytor, and to prevent him from using Extremity. After that, I address'd my self to the Deputy-Governor with Intreaties, menacing Hints, and Remonstrances that no body for the future would come near *Goniè*, when they should understand that Passengers were us'd with so much Violence and Injustice. To which the Deputy-Governor answer'd laughing, That *Goniè* was none of his Livelyhood, that he had but a Year to tarry there, that he car'd not whether any body came thither or no after he was gone ; then, let the Castle sink if it would ; and that he was all for the present Opportunities, without any regard of the future ; and at length it came to that heighth, that the Deputy-Governor finding he could not oblige me to satisfy his Demands, sent for my Baggage ; which the Traytor of a Servant, my Man, was very officious to fetch. Presently the Governor commanded me to take out the Gold ; but I refus'd to obey him, and told him withal, That I would not give him a Farthing, let him do his worst ; for that I ow'd him nothing : that I could not withstand his Violence, so that he might take what he pleas'd, but that I knew the way to have Satisfaction. Thereupon the Robber sent for Chains and an Iron Collar, which did not a little daunt me, considering I had to do with Souldiers, whom the sight of Gold and the Wine which they had drank to excess, render'd unlimited in their Actions. At the same time also, one of the Souldiers came to me, and whisper'd me in the Ear, *The more ye peel Garlick, the stronger it smells.* As
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much as to say, The longer you delay to accommodate a wrangling Business, the more you intregue it. My Servant likewise pronounc'd Sentence against me for a Hunderd Ducats. To be short, I gave 'em the Summ, and four more to the Janisaries, who had perform'd the Office of Bayliffs. The Goods that I had about me, and at my Lodging, the place where I was, and a Hunderd other good Considerations made me then give way: whereas in another Condition, I should never have submitted to their Threats, nor fear'd their Chains, but have wrested my self out of their Clutches Scotfree, or else with very little los. For to shew that it was more thier they could answer, the Deputy Governor, as I was about to tell out the Money, constrain'd me to swear upon the Gospel, that I gave it him freely, and that I would not speak a word of it to any person. Whereupon arose a fresh dispute, and as hot as the former: for I was unwilling to swear, as being resolv'd to have made a loud complaint, and desirous withal to secure my self for the future by the obstinacy of my present Resistance. But this same Highway-Man of a Governor absolutely refus'd to take the Hunderd *Ducats*, but upon that Condition. And therefore there was no other way, but I must swear what he would have me in his presence, and desire him to accept the Money.

The next Day, betimes i' the Morning the under Officers of the Custom-House came to my miserable Lodging, and watch'd me all along till I was ready to depart. They had order, it seems, to make a new Inquisition into my Saddle, and to search my Clothes. To that purpose they call'd my Man, and told him their Errand in the most Civil and Courteous Terms they could: and so they fell to searching the Saddle a second time, I my self trembling for Fear, all the while it was in their Hands. However they felt nothing that augmented their mistrust, only the weight amus'd 'em. Which when I perceiv'd to be the only thing that gravell'd 'em, I told 'em, I had made it so heavy, that it might serve me for a Pack Saddle upon occasion; which was the reason it was so unweildy: and that evasion it was that sav'd me, and satisf'd their Curiosity. After that, I found they had a mind to be searching my Cloathes; for they took me aside one after another, and told me if I had any thing about me, which the Customer had not seen, that I should make 'em a present, and they for their parts would never discover me. Friends, answer'd I, never seek for a far-fetch'd excuse to search me, but if you have a mind,
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do it without any more ado. And with that I open'd my breast, and shew'd 'em my Pockets : by which Bravado I escap'd : for the Officers thought I would never have been so bold, had I been afraid of their groaping. Thereupon they forbore to search me ; but carry'd me to the Customer, to whom with feigned Tears in my Eyes, and Counterfeiting a profound trouble of mind, I acknowledg'd how that because I did not lodge at his House, I had been despoil'd of part of my Gold. I gave ye good advice, answer'd he, for I was afraid what would happen ; and then he importun'd me to tell him how much they had tak'n, and who had done it, assuring me that I should have Justice certainly done me : to which I reply'd, that they had threaten'd to kill me if I told. Which was very true, besides that I had such an Impatient desire to be out of *Goniè*, that I had no mind to be commencing of Suits. Only I desir'd the Customer to be as good as his word. Which he was, and appointed me two Men to carry my Baggage, and a *Turk* to accompany me to *Akalzikè*. He also order'd the two Men to bring a note back under my hand to assure him that I was safely arriv'd at my first Journeys end ; and gave the *Turk* a Passport, in the form of an order, to make use of upon the Road. Which I thus Translated from the Original.

Guards of the Highway, Provosts, Judges, Bayliffs, conduct from Journeys end to Journeys end, to the Happy Gate of Assan-Pasha, John his Banker. Allow him for his Money Horses and Men as many as he shall desire. His Person and his Goods are a Trust, which is given in Charge to the Inhabitants of all the places through which he shall pass ; for which they are to be answerable upon their Lives.

The Customer, when he gave the Note to the *Turk* that was to be my Guide, told me, that he had made me to pass for the *Basha's* Banker, and that I should get a white Turbant for my self and my Servant, that I might be the more respected. Which I did, and set forward about eight of the Clock in the Morning, transported with Joy to see my self at Liberty out of such a wicked and Dangerous Place in a Country of Freedom, where I had little or nothing to fear. I began then to breath a little, and to recollect and recompose my Spirits, having been for five Months in continual Tribulations, Anxieties and Agitations of Mind. Taxations, Shipwrack, Slavery, Wedlock, loss of Goods, of Liberty and Life, where the
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frightful *Idea's* that daily hover'd before my Eyes, besides a thousand other real Calamities that kept me all that time continually depress'd under the weight of my Misfortunes. But that Day I recover'd my self, and with a pleasure unexpressible, I felt my Heart to exultate it self, and reassume its peaceable Motions. I ascended Mount *Caucasus* with such a nimbleness of Heels, that my Porters stood in Admiration: so nimble is the Man that has no burthen upon his Heart. And I may truly say without any Hyperbole's or Metaphors, that I was like one, from whose Shoulders they had remov'd a Mountain, so that me thought I could have flown i' the Air. We Travell'd four Leagues among Rocks; after which I ferry'd over, in a Boat, the River already mention'd that parts the Country of *Guriel* from the *Turks*.

The 3d I Travell'd five Leagues a Foot, three Men carrying my Luggage: and frequently we pass'd by the Brinks of such dreadful Precipices, that scar'd me to look down. We did nothing but Ascend; so that in Five Leagues we made no more than two Miles of Level way.

The 4th I tarry'd in a Village inhabited by *Turks* and *Christians*; where I arriv'd the Day before, in regard the Rain, Snow and Wind would not permit us to set forward any further.

I Travell'd the Fifth and Sixth, Eleven Leagues. 'Tis true, I had Horses, but I dare be bold to say, I did not ride above Three Leagues of all that way; for I was forc'd to alight every foot: the way being so rugged and steep, that the Horses could hardly keep their Feet.

The Seventh and Eighth, I travell'd 16 Leagues; up Hill and down Hill for the Four first Leagues; the next Eight were all a Smooth Road, but full of Turnings and Windings: and then we got to the Top of Mount *Caucasus*: after which we Travell'd Four Leagues continually upon the Descent. Half way down the Hill were to be seen the Spires and Tops of the Ruins of several Castles and Churches; of which as the People said, there had been a considerable number, till destroy'd by the *Turks*. The bottom of the Hill leads ye into a fair Valley Three Miles broad, Rich and Fertile, and full of Villages: being water'd by the River *Kur*, that runs through the middle of it.

'Tis known that *Asia* is divided by a Chain of Mountains that run along from one end to the other, of which the highest parts were call'd *Taurus*, *Imaus* and *Caucasus*. The first is that part which advances it self to the farthest part of *Asia*; and this Chain or Ridg is generally call'd *Taurus*. I say generally, because that every part derives a particular Name from the Nation, to

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which it adjoyns. The last part, which is the nearest to *Europe*, lies between the *Black-Sea*, and the *Caspian Sea*, between *Muscovy* and *Turkey*. But these three Names are confusedly made use of by many Authors, among the rest, *Pliny* and *Q. Curtius*, who place *Caucasus* in *India*. However *Strabo*, who reports this in his Geography, affirms that *Q. Curtius* did it to magnifie the wonders of *Alexander's History*, in regard that *Caucasus* being the highest part of all Mount *Taurus*, and that which the Fables of the Poets have render'd most Famous, the Renown of his Hero became the greater, whom he makes to force his way over it with his Victorious Sword. And indeed I should have thought it had been a fault in Geography, which *Q. Curtius* committed ignorantly, as when he brings *Ganges* from the South, and takes *Jaxartes* for the River *Tanais*. I say I should take it for an Error, if I did not find him in his Sixth Book, putting the Mountain *Caucasus* between *Hircania* and the River *Phasis*.

But to return to the Description of Mount *Caucasus*, it is the highest Mountain, and most difficult to pass over that ever I beheld. For it is full of Rocks and dismal Precipices, through which there have been great endeavours us'd to make a hollow way. At the time when I pass'd it, it was all cover'd with Snow, in many places above Ten Foot deep: so that my Guides oft-times were forc'd to make way with their shovels: for they had upon their Feet a sort of Sandals proper to walk upon the Snow, which I never saw but in that Country, the bottom of it being made in the shape, and about the length of a Racket without a handle, but not so broad, the Network is also not so tight, and the Wood is altogether circular. Which prevents their sinking into the Snow, for that it bears up the weight of the body, and keeps the Foot from sinking above a Fingers Depth. They will also run with these sort of Sandals very fast, hardly leaving any print of their Feet, or any sign which way they have gone, for that the Sandal has neither Toes nor Heels. The Top of Mount *Caucasus* is perpetually cover'd with Snow, and for eight Leagues in the Road we travell'd in crossing it, altogether uninhabited. So that I was forc'd to spend the whole Night in the Snow. Only I caus'd the Fellows to cut me down some Firr-Trees upon which I lay, after I had order'd 'em to make a good Fire. When I came to the Top of the Mountain, the People that were my Guides, made long Prayers to their Images, for their favor to keep the Wind from Rising. For had the Wind been high, we had without doubt been all Buried in the Snow; for being loose and small as dust, the Wind easily carries it away, and fills

fills the Air with it ; but GOD be thanked there was no Wind. However, the Horses would sink so deep in many places, that I thought they would never get out : for my part I travell'd for the most part afoot, and secure enough : nor do I believe I rode above eight Leagues in crossing over this hideous Mountain, which is six and thirty Leagues. I thought for the two last days, that I had been in the Clouds, not being able to see twenty Paces before me : besides that the Firr-Trees that grow very thick all over the Mountain prevent any prospect at a distance : only as I went down Hill, the Clouds roll'd under my Feet, as far as I could see, so that I could not but think my self i' the Air, though I felt at the same time that I trod upon the Ground.

Mount *Caucasus* till ye come to the very top is extreamly fertil in Honey, Wheat, and Corn, (of which I have spok'n in the Description of *Mingrelia*) in Wine, in Fruits, in Pigs, and large Cattel. The Vines grow there about the Trees, and run up so high, that many times they are not able to climb up to gather the Grapes. Besides, it was Vintage-time when I cross'd the Mountain ; and I found the Grape, the new and the old Wine, to be extreamly good, and so cheap withal in some parts, that you might buy 300 weight for a Crown : for the Country People not having Vent for it, left the Grapes to hang & rot upon the Branches, as not worth the gathering.

The Country People dwell in Wooden Huts : of which every Family has four or five ; in the biggest of which they make a Fire, and sit round about it. The Women grind the Corn, as they have occasion for Bread ; which they bake in round Stones a Foot or thereabouts in Diameter, and some two or three Fingers in depth. These Stones they make very hot, put in the Dough, and then cover it with hot Ashes, and live Coals over that : and in some places they bake it in the Embers only. To which purpose they sweep the Hearth very clean, lay the Dough upon it, and then cover it with Ashes and live Coals as before. Nevertheless the Crust is very white, and the Bread very good. They keep their Wine as they do in *Mingrelia*. I lodg'd every Night at some Countryman's House or other, of whom I hir'd either Horses or Porters. The *Turk* also, who was recommended to me, serv'd me very dextrously, and as well as the place would afford. They gave us Hens, Eggs, Pulse, Wine, Bread, and overcloy'd us with Fruit. For every Neighbouring House brought us a great Pitcher of Wine, a Pannier of Fruit, and a Basket of Bread for their share of what we wanted. For which we never ask'd them what was to pay, nor would my Guide permit me to give 'em any Gratuity.

I fell on like a Wolf, not being able to satisfy my Hunger in less than two or three hours. For it is not to be imagin'd what an empty
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Stomach I had all the while that I was in *Mingrelia* for three months together, during all which time I could get no Bread, besides that I was all the while under the scourge of Hunger, and in continual dread of some Mischief or other. But now, thanks be to GOD, I liv'd in security and plenty, and from a detestable Country where I could not get Vittles for Money, I was got into another Region where they gave me Meat and Drink for nothing: Nor is it possible for any Man, that has not undergone those Extremities, to conceive the pleasure of so happy a Change.

The Inhabitants of these Mountains are for the most part Christians after the *Georgian* Ceremonies. They are very fresh Complexion'd, and I have seen very handsom Women among 'em. Besides, they are infinitely better disposition'd then the *Mingrelians*, and the other People of Mount *Caucasus*, that are not under the Dominion of the *Turks*.

The ninth I travell'd five Leagues through a Plain, of which I have already spok'n; the Soyl of which is very proper for Tillage: and upon the Hills that surround it great Numbers of Cattel graze. In the Evening I arriv'd at *Akalzikè*.

Akalzikè is a Fortrefs built upon Mount *Caucasus*, seated in a hollow place, among twenty Hillocks or thereabouts, from whence the Castle might be easily batter'd on every side, though fortifi'd with double Walls, and flank'd with Towers, both built with Battlements after the Ancient Manner. Adjoyning to this Fortrefs, which is defended with only a few great Guns, stand upon the Neighbouring Hillocks aforemention'd a large Town, consisting of about 400 Houses all new, and which seem to have been but lately built: so that there is nothing of Antiquity to be seen, but two *Armenian* Churches. The Town is Peopl'd with *Turks*, *Armenians*, *Georgians*, *Greeks* and *Jews*; the *Christians* having their Churches, and the *Jews* a Synagogue. There is also in it an Inn newly built of Wood, as are all the rest of the Houses in that place. The River *Kur* runs along by it, which derives it Head from the Mountain *Caucasus*, and was call'd anciently *Cyrus*, and by some *Corus*. *Strabo* places the Head of it in *Armenia*, *Ptolomy* in *Colchis*; *Pliny* will have it spring from the Mountains of *Tartary*, which are beyond *Colchis*, which he calls *Coraxicie*, because of the River *Corax* that springs from thence, and discharges it self into the *Black-Sea*. Which Opinions seeming so various may nevertheless be true, and come all to one and the same thing. For that *Armenia* has formerly included *Colchis*; and because *Colchis* formerly was a great Kingdom, as I have already observ'd. The *Basha* of *Akalzikè* lodges in the Fortrefs, and the Principal Officers and Souldiers quarter in the adjacent Villages.

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This Fortrefs was built by the *Georgians*, from whom the *Turks* took it toward the end of the last Age.

The 13th about Two a Clock in the Morning I parted from *Akalzikè*, travailing directly Eastward. At the end of three Leagues the Plain of *Akalzikè* streightens, to the breadth of half a League, having the Mountains on both sides. In that part stands a Castle built by the *Turks* upon a Rock, on the right side of the River *Kur*. This Rock below is encompass'd with a double Wall; and round about it lies a little Village like *Akalzikè*, which takes up all the Ground between the Fortrefs and the opposite Mountain; and is call'd *Usker*; having a Garison and a Custom-House under the Command of a *Sanziac*. I was in great fear of being there stopp'd and examin'd, but Thanks be to GOD, they let me pass, without saying a word to me. For my Guide was born at *Gory* a City of *Georgia*. So that upon his Answer, to the Captain of the Guard, who ask'd him, What Countryman he was? That he was a *Georgian* of *Gory*, the Captain let him pass with all his Train without any farther Examination. The reason is, for that the *Kaan* of *Georgia* and the *Basba* of *Akalzikè* hold a very good Correspondence together, which makes the *Turks* so kind to the *Georgians*. Two Leagues beyond *Usker* we cross'd a Mountain, which parts on this side *Persia* from *Turkey*. We travell'd along the Brow of this Mountain after we had cross'd it. There are several Villages seated on the top of it: the River *Kur* running below through the Vale, where in several parts are to be seen the Ruines of Castles, Fortresses and Churches; the Footsteps of the Grandeur of the *Georgians*, and of the *Turkish* and *Persian* Conquests. After we had travell'd ten Leagues, till it was Night, we stopp'd at a little Village.

The 14th we travell'd not above four Leagues, the way being very rugged in those Mountains, where you meet with several narrow Paths and close Passages, where you cannot force your way; together with the Ruines of many Fortresses. We stopp'd in the Plain of *Surham*, at a great Town near the Fortrefs, which is call'd by the same Name. It is a very lovely Plain, full of Copses, Villages, Hillocks, Houses of Pleasure, and little Castles belonging to the *Georgian* Lords. The Country is all over well Till'd; and in a word, it is a very delightful Spot of Ground.

The 15th I travell'd ten Leagues, nine through the Plain, and the other at the passage of a Mountain somewhat high,

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which parts it from *Gory*. I saw nothing on every side but fair Villages, lovely Fields well Manur'd, and every where the Ground very fertile. We left upon the right Hand before we ascended the Mountain, a great City lying almost all in Ruines, as not containing above Five Hunderd Houses inhabited, whereas formerly, by report it contain'd above Twelve Thousand. However, there belongs to it a Bishop and a great Church, built before the *Georgians* were reduc'd under Subjection. Night overtook me upon the Descent of the Mountain, before I arriv'd at *Gory*. I went directly to the Residence of the *Italian Capuchins*, Missionaries of the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*; to whom I had Letters of Recommendation. Not above three Years ago they had a Dwelling at *Cotatis*, and then they thought also to have spread themselves into *Mingrelia*, and to have settl'd there. But the Continual Wars in that Country, and the Robberies perpetually there committed, the King either not being able, or not caring to prevent 'em, constrain'd 'em to retire back into *Georgia*. So that the Opportunity of meeting with 'em was very acceptable to me; in regard they were able to give me what Advice and Assistance I stood in need of. For that reason I presently made my self known to 'em; and told 'em, That the King of *Persia* had sent me into *France* to do him particular Services; that I had his Orders, and a Command directed to all the Governors of the Empire to give me Respect, and to serve me upon all Occasions, and with all Conveniences I should stand in need of. Afterwards I acquainted 'em, That having chosen to return into *Persia* by the *Black-Sea*, and so through *Mingrelia*, I had been surpriz'd by the Wars in that Country, and had undergone a Thousand Hardships so that not finding any way securely to bring along with me those things which I had brought for the King, I had left 'em in the Custody of my Comrade, and was come into *Georgia* to desire Assistance; and therefore I most affectionately besought 'em to give me the best Advice they could, and to take that Compassion of my Hardships and Troubles, to which Charity and other Considerations oblig'd 'em.

Upon which the Good Fathers were concern'd for my Misfortunes, the hazards I had run, and for the Person I had left in *Mingrelia*. And they assur'd me to do for me what ever lay in their Power so soon as they should have permission from their General; for that they had no Power to act without first consulting him, and without his Approbation. That he was

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at *Trifflis*, the capital City of *Georgia*, two small days journey distant; and that my best way would be to go and waite upon him. And indeed they gave me so many reasons to constrain me to go; that I resolv'd it without any more to do, and to that purpose hir'd Horses forthwith. The Superiour also order'd a Lay-Brother, whose Name was *Angelo* of *Viterbo*, to get himself ready to bear me Company.

This Lay-Brother was a Person of Honesty and Integrity, and both an able Physitian and Surgeon. His Dexterity and the good luck he had in *Georgia* and *Imiretta*, to cure several Diseases and Wounds which were thought to be incurable, had rais'd him to a high Value and Esteem over all the Country. He understood the Language very well of all those parts, as having travell'd 'em from one end to the other; besides that he was a Person of Courage, Patience, Humility and sound Judgment. He was the most pleasant and facetious Company in the World, and after I had testifi'd to him, that his Society would be of great advantage to me, and a great comfort to me in my return to *Mingrelia*, he told me, that I had no more to do then to request the Superiors leave, and he would willingly go along with me.

The 16th we departed from *Gory* with this honest Father, and rode Seven Leagues for the most part upon the Banks of the River *Kurr*. The road was very delightful, through fertile Plains, where there was a great number of Villages. Among the rest there is one City call'd *Cali-Cala* about Four Leagues from *Gory*; that lies almost in Ruins, through the midst of which we are oblig'd to pass.

The 17th I travell'd somewhat more then Six Leagues in a level Road, but somewhat Stony in some parts. By that time we got half way, we came right against the Metropolitan Church of *Georgia*. seated upon the Banks of *Kur*. One half of which lies in Ruines; the other seems to be entire, and a very fair structure. They tell us, that there is within it one part of the Crown of Thorns, a piece of the Tunick, and a piece of the Prophet *Elia's* Garment. I did not see the Reliques my self, but the *Capuchins* assur'd me, they had seen 'em several times. Toward the Evening I arriv'd at *Trifflis*, for the Snow that fell very thick all the Day, hinderd me from getting thither sooner: at what time the Lay-Brother who accompany'd me, conducted me to the House where the *Capuchins* lay. I had no time to lose, so that as soon as I came, I acquainted the Superiour with the reason of my coming; which

which my Letters of Recommendation gave him likewise to understand. And indeed my main business was to let 'em know the danger in which my goods were, that I had left in *Mingrelia*, and of what importance it was for me to run all hazards to get 'em safe from thence. I told the Superiour that there were in my opinion two several ways to accomplish my design, both safe in some respects, but hazardous in others. The first was to make my Addresses to the Prince of *Georgia*, to shew him the Orders of the King his Master, and to desire his Assistance to fetch from *Mingrelia* what I had got for his Majesties Use. The Second was to go privately into the Country, without discovering my self, or telling any person what I went about. Nor would I discover to the Superiour my Approbation of the Second way for fear of preventing his Judgment. He desir'd some time to consider before he gave me his advice, and requested me withal to acquaint the rest of the Fryers with what I had imparted to him, for that they most part of them having been in *Mingrelia* and *Imiretta*, might give farther light as to the management of my Affairs, and promis'd me he would enjoyn 'em Secrecy under forfeiture of the Holy Obedience. Thereupon I satisfi'd the Superiour, and gave the same Relation to the rest of the Monks as I had done to him, conjuring 'em to give me their best advice, and all the Assistance they could in the Misfortune that was befall'n me.

The 18th in the afternoon the Superiour carry'd me into his Chamber, together with the rest of the Monks, where he lay'd before me all the Reflections that he had made upon my business, and all the thoughts that had come into his Head concerning it: and the Monks also did the same thing. They almost all agreed to try the private way, without making my self known, which was, in a word, to go secretly into *Mingrelia*. They told me that if I imparted my Business to the Prince of *Georgia*, he would certainly give me all necessary Assistance, that he would send People along with me that would bring away all my goods, in regard he was very much fear'd and respected both in that Country and *Imiretta*. But this would be to make a great Noise, which perhaps might prove my Ruin, if they should wait for me to Murder me in my return and rob me of all I had; for that the Country through which I was to pass, was all a Country of Murderers and Robbers the most resolute in the World. Besides that the *Georgians* were very perfidious and wicked: and therefore I had great reason to look well to my self; in regard it was not many years since

that a Patriarch of *Moscozy*, travelling through *Georgia*, had been strip'd of all ; in which Fact it was thought the Prince of *Georgia* had a Hand, to make himself Master of the Wealth which he carry'd along with him. Besides that, I was also to consider, that though the Prince of *Georgia* should absolutely obey the Kings Commands, and supposing he should be real and sincere, yet he would expect large Presents ; and that it would be impossible to satisfy him and his Retinue, who were wonderful hungry and sharp for Persons of their Condition.

I was overjoy'd to find that the *Capuchins* concurr'd so exactly with my Judgment, and thought the very same Thoughts which I did : so that it was at last concluded that I should depart privately with my Companion Fryer *Angelo*. That I should pretend to be a *Theatin*, who had been sent by those of *Colchis*, who were by War reduc'd to utmost Misery, to beg relief from the *Capuchins* ; who had order'd along with me one of their Society to find 'em out, and bring 'em away. Which being thus determin'd, I provided for my Journey ; and to that purpose I took out all the Jewels, which I had hid in my Saddle, and my Pillow, and having put 'em into a little Trunk that I carry'd about me, I deliver'd 'em to the Custody of the Superiour. And now we were at a great loss for Horses, for that no body would venture their Goods into *Mingrelia* ; but at length by the power of Money we obtain'd two Guides and their Horses ; giving security both for the Horses and the Furniture.

The 20th I set forward with Fryer *Angelo* and a *Georgian*, who was a Servant of the *Capuchins*, a Native of *Cotatis*, and who had a Thousand times travell'd *Colchis* and the parts thereabout, and whom the Superiour sent along with me, to serve me upon all Occasions where I should have need of a Trusty Person. And thus we were five Men, with four Horses. Upon two of which rode Fryer *Angelo* and my self ; the other two carry'd our Provisions : and all along we gave it out that we were sent to the *Theatins* of *Mingrelia*. As for my Lacquey, I had dismiss'd him, before I went to *Tefflis*. This Rascal had plaid me a Thousand Roguish Tricks, and had once endeavour'd to have ruin'd me ; and I have already related how he serv'd me at *Gonia*. The *Capuchins* advis'd me to have him sent to Prison till my return, and then to prosecute him : But the deep sense I had of GOD's Favour towards me, inclin'd me to pardon him altogether. I fear'd to provoke the Wrath of Heaven, should I at a time that Heaven was so merciful to

me, have presum'd to seek the Extremities of Justice and Rigour. And therefore I paid the wicked Rascal for all the time that he had serv'd me, and let him go, after I had fully discover'd all the Rogueries and Mischievous Qualities that I knew of him, and had given him good Advice to mend his Manners. But my Kindness wrought nothing upon him: the Fellow was mad that I had dismiss'd him, and gave me those Testimonies of his Discontent, that were enough to forewarn me of some fatal Consequence of his Revenge. So that I could have found i' my Heart to have laid him in Irons: and had I said the least word, the *Capuchins* would have done it in the Twinkling of an Eye, as being in great Credit at *Tefflis*. But I forbore, prevented by that Fate which Governs all Things. I was wholly inclin'd to pity; for I expected and desir'd it too much my self, not to shew it to another: and it was no more then what seem'd acceptable to GOD. And we shall see hereafter how he shew'd himself pleas'd with what I had done; by delivering me from a Dangerous Snare which the Traytor had laid for me.

I return'd to *Gory* the 21st.

The 22^d we parted thence, and lay fix Leagues from *Gory*, at a Village upon the Road to *Akalzikè*, which I had Rid in my first Travels in those parts.

The 23^d we departed by break of Day, and presently left the Road of *Akalzikè* upon the Left-hand. At Noon we arriv'd at a small Village call'd *Aly*; lying nine Leagues from *Gory*, and seated among the Mountains. Two Leagues beyond that, we pass'd a Streight, which is fenc'd with a great Gate of Carpenters Work, and separates *Georgia* from the Kingdom of *Imiretta*; from whence we rode one League farther, and stopp'd at a little Village.

The 24th we travell'd seven Leagues in the Mountains; which were full of Snow that fell in great Flakes: the Mountains themselves, which are a part of Mount *Caucasus*, being cover'd with very high Trees. There we thought we should have lost our selves: for the Snow being very deep, cover'd all the Paths and Tracks, that we could not see our way: but at length we came to a Village call'd *Colbaure*, where we lay. This Village consists of about Two Hunderd Houses, all in a direct line, and so far distant one from another, that it is above three Miles from the first to the last.

The 25th we travell'd not above nine Miles, the bad Weather, the Snow, Cold, and Obscurity of the Air in those high

Mountains hindring us from going any farther : however, at last we lodg'd at a Village containing about thirty Houses.

The 26th, the Air clear'd up, it had done Snowing, nor was it so bitter Cold : so that we travell'd Eighteen Miles among the Mountains cover'd with thick Woods. Yet the Road was indifferent, in regard the Ascents and Descents were not very steep. And we lay at a small Village by the side of a great River.

The 27th we Ferry'd over the River, and travell'd Three Leagues in a Country like that which we had pass'd the Days before. And descending the Mountain we came into a large and fair plain extending as far as we could see; and lodg'd at a Village call'd *Sesano*. This Valley is almost a League broad from one end to the other; and it is very fertile and very pleasant, as being water'd with several Streams; extending it self as far as *Mingrelia*; and being the most pleasant part of all *Imiretta*. The Mountains with which it is surrounded are cover'd with Wood and Villages; for the greatest part of the Mountains are till'd; and full of Vineyards. In this Valley we found the Air to be as warm as if it had been Spring, and very little Snow.

Sesano lay near to a Castle belonging to an Ancient Lady, who was Aunt to the King of *Imiretta*, who lay sick at the time that we arriv'd there. Who hearing that there was a *Capuchin* come to the Village, sent for him, to discourse with him. For in that Country, they look upon all the Missionaries to be Physicians. Nor was the Fryer unwilling to visit her, hoping to procure some assistance from her in our design. But two Hours after he had left me, I was surpriz'd to be overtaken by another *Capuchin* with a Horse and a Guide. The cause of whose following me so close was to give me Intelligence, that the Lacquey which I had dismiss'd was come from *Tesslis* to *Gory*, where he had discover'd all that he knew of my business, swearing to ruin me, and that he was gone, no body knew which way. Which surpriz'd me very much. For I mistrusted some such thing. I desir'd the *Capuchin* therefore to tarry with me, gave him a Thousand Thanks, and highly applauded the great Zeal and Affection of the Society toward me, which they had testifi'd by such an evident and Generous Demonstration : and indeed they could not have given me more apparent tok'ns of their kindness.

The 28th we travell'd Five Leagues in the Plain already mention'd; which is very full of Villages and Woods, and
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the soyl so extreemly fat, that our Horses had much a do to poach along. After we had travell'd Six Miles, we left the Fortress of *Scander* upon the right Hand. The People of the Country call it *Scanda*, and affirm that *Alexander* the Great built it. For the Eastern People call that Victorious Prince by the Name of *Scander*. They tell ye farther that he built Seventeen Places more which he call'd by the same Name. And perhaps this might be one of the Seventeen, and the same which is mention'd by *Q. Curtius* in his Seventh Book. Which I am inclin'd to believe by its Situation, for it is seated at the foot of a Mountain. It is now of no force; consisting only of two square Towers, without any Wall, with some Lodgings round about; nor does its Antiquity seem to exceed about 300 Years.

About a League from *Scander* we pass'd through *Chicaris*, a Village consisting of about Fifty Houses. It goes for a City in *Imiretta*, though it have neither Walls, nor any thing more remarkable then any other Villages: we put in, and lay at a place, a League from thence.

The 29th and 30th we stay'd there. For our Guides would go no farther. The news of the Wars of which all the Travellers upon the Road gave us Intelligence, melted their Hearts in their Bellies. They cry'd out we should carry 'em to certain Death or Slavery, and indeed they gave us a great deal of trouble. Which I endur'd with as much Patience, and exhorted my two *Capuchins* to the same. I lay'd before 'em, that I had let 'em understand at my departure from *Tefflis*, that it was impossible to accomplish what I had undertaken without a great deal of Courage and Patience, to vanquish all the obstacles which we should infallibly meet with. That we were to manage our People gently and mildly, and to win 'em by fair means and large promises. That when we had once got 'em into *Mingrelia* and that they could not go back, the care of their own safety would make 'em do what we pleas'd. Thereupon we call'd the two Guides, and the *Georgian* which the Superiour had recommended to me, and told 'em that there was no danger, that we had good Intelligence and Instructions, that we had Lives and Goods to preserve as well as they; and that we had given 'em security as well for their Lives as their Persons. To which one in behalf of the rest made answer, that we should give 'em a Writing, wherein we should engage to redeem 'em, if they were tak'n Slaves in that Journy, or else to give Sixscore Crowns to their Wives, if they should die.

die. To which I willingly agreed, and made 'em large promises besides. Which put 'em into a good humour to go on.

The 31st we set forward; though it were bad Weather, and very bad Way. Nevertheless we cross'd three very broad and rapid Rivers, and at length arriv'd at *Cotatis*. Where we lay at the House of Bishop *Janarell*; who was not at home, however we were well entertain'd. For his Officers were acquainted with Fryer *Angelo*, and knew that their Master had a great kindness for him.

Cotatis is a Town built at the Foot of a Hill, by the side of the River *Phasis*, consisting of about 200 Houses. Those of the Grandees, and the King's Palace stand at a distance round about. The Town has neither Fortifications nor Walls, saving where it is enclos'd by the River and the Mountain. On the other side of the River over against the Town, upon the top of a Hill higher then that under which the Town is built, stands the Fortress of *Cotatis*, of which I have spok'n in my Relations of the last Revolutions in *Imiretta*. I did not go into it, but I saw it plainly from the opposite Hill. It has several Towers, a Dungeon, and a double Wall that appears very high and strong.

When I came to *Cotatis*, I enquir'd what News. And the truest that I met with, and which every one assur'd us, was, That the new Prince of *Mingrelia*, and the Prince of *Guriel* were retir'd, finding that the *Turks* would keep the Field no longer; that the greatest part of the Gentry, who had giv'n their Oaths, had forsak'n 'em, and that the *Vizier* of *Dadian* was preparing to fall down from the Mountains with an Army. That as soon as the *Vizier* had intelligence of the Retreat of the two Princes and the *Turks*, he had sent 800 Men to *Dadian*, had writ to him to quit the Fortress, and to raise what Men he could, that he had proclaim'd a free Pardon to all those that would come and joyn with him; lastly, that he was come to *Cotatis*, where the King of *Imiretta* had joyn'd him, with the Nobility of his Country; and that they were march'd together in a Body, with a resolution to fall into the Territories of the Prince of *Guriel*. Which was that, they all most earnestly desir'd, for that he had been the Occasion of the Incur-sion of the *Turks*, and of all the spoil that had been committed during the War. For this reason the Armies had cross'd the *Phasis* Three Days before, so that the opportunity fa-

your'd me, in regard there was no fear of meeting with any Soldiers.

The 1st of Jan. 1673. I stay'd at *Cotatis* to perform the Duties of Devotion. But as we were at dinner, my two *Capuchins* and I, with my two Guides and my *Armenian*, at the same table, according to the custom of the Country, where Masters and Servants eat all together, I saw that Rascal of a Lacquey, of whom I have already made mention, enter the Room, together with an *Armenian* of *Akalzikè* and a Priest of *Cotatis*, who came along to shew 'em the House. However I was not very much surpriz'd to see him. For it was a thing which I daily had in my thoughts, considering the reason I had to be jealous of the Rogue; nevertheless I made no shew of my fears: yet I could not but believe he was turn'd *Turk*, seeing a white Turbant upon his Head. The Rogue enter'd the Room with a wild and furious Aspect, and sate him down among my Servants, without so much as saying, *By your leave*. Which affront provok'd me to that degree, that I ask'd him, *Wherefore he came in such a fury?* He answer'd, *That he came from Akalzikè, and that he had perform'd the Journey in two Days.* 'Tis the worst way in the World, said I; besides that the Mountains are all cover'd with Snow, like those that we past, when we came from *Gonia*. You'll find it true, reply'd the Fellow, for you must go along with me to *Akalzikè*: I have Orders to carry you thither. That may be, reply'd I, if thou hast a greater Power to force me, then I have to hinder thee. For I have nothing to do at *Akalzikè*, neither will I go thither. Boy, said I, thou art ill advis'd; forbear to give thy self the trouble to do me a Mischief; for GOD will never suffer thy Designs to prosper to my harm. I paid thee at *Tefflis* all thou couldst demand: if thou art not satisf'd, say what 'tis thou requir'st more.

I thus discours'd him, to try whether I could reduce him to Reason. To which he answer'd, That *Tefflis* was a Place where there is no Justice to be had, but that at *Akalzikè* he should have Right done him. I reply'd, That without going so far, for so slight a Matter, he might find People enough at *Cotatis* able to decide the difference. All which I spoke in the mildest Terms imaginable: which nothing mov'd this Vagabond, who turning to his Companion, bid him go and fetch the *Turks*. The Fellow ran out presently, but this was only a Trick to scare me; for I found afterwards, there were no *Turks* that tarry'd till they were sent for. However, I was
extreamly

extreamly terrifi'd, and gave my self over for lost. All this while the Priest of *Cotatis* was ignorant of what pass'd, for I spake Turkish, which he did not understand; and therefore he ask'd Fryer *Angelo* what was the Occasion of the Contest; who as soon as he knew, which was soon after, inform'd the Priest. I order'd Fryer *Angelo* to tell him what I had offer'd the Scoundrel to release me of his Pretensions, that Persons of Quality might judge of it, and of the Malice of the Rogue that would force me to *Akalzike*.

The Priest and several *Georgians* running in upon the noise that we made, took my part as to the Offer I had made, and desir'd the miserable fellow to take it; but the more they press'd him, the more Insolent he grew, and the more audacious in his Threats. Which inflam'd me to that degree, that I was almost besides my self. Traytor, said I, *Then 'tis only thy own Wickedness puts thee upon this: I tell thee again, that by the help of God, no Man shall carry me to Akalzike*, and so saying, I flew upon him with my Sword in my Hand; but my Arms were held, while the Perfidious Rogue, to whom I intended the mischief, betook himself to flight, trembling and in great Disorder. After which I did not think my self safe, but was willing to have made my escape. But *Fanarell's* Steward stay'd me, giving me full assurance, that I should receive no Injury in his Masters House, and that no *Turks* would come to meddle with me. Thereupon I advis'd with my two *Capuchins* what course to take, the Result of which was, that Fryer *Angelo* the next Morning should continue his Journey for *Mingrelia*, and that Father *Justin* of *Legorn*, for that was the Name of the *Capuchin* who was sent after me, as I have said, and I, should tarry together. But the Principal Reason was, because we could neither buy nor hire Horses: and we knew we should meet with none in *Mingrelia*; which oblig'd us to tarry and send away the Horses empty, for my Companion to make use of.

The 2d. Fryer *Angelo* set forward with the Horses and the Men which we had hir'd at *Tefflis*. And I return'd to *Chicaris*, Eight Leagues distant from *Cotatis*, together with Father *Justin*. We made choice of this place to stay and expect the success of Fryer *Angelo's* Journey, because it was just opposite to *Fanarell's* Country-House, where he was with the Queen; from whom we might have assistance if occasion requir'd.

The 5th the Bishop and the Princess sent for us to come to his House. Thither we therefore went, and din'd with 'em that Day, as we did several other times, that we made our Visits. The Queen was a very beautiful Person, as I have said, but her Demeanor spoil'd all, free even to Impudence. Her Actions and Discourse were all obscene, without any restraint upon her self. Leudness appear'd in every thing she said; which is no Vice, nor any Scandal in her Country, where Dissoluteness is an Evil so common. Her Bishop *Janarell* devour'd her with his Eyes. Never was unchaste Love, more open and less reserv'd. There was no need of more then looking upon the two Lovers, to give an easie guess at their Familiarity together. The Queen of *Imiretta* is serv'd like the Princess of *Mingrelia*; only her Table is not so well furnish'd with Plate, but her Train is not so mean by much.

The 8th a Gentleman whom the King of *Imiretta* had sent to *Tefflis*, arriv'd at *Janarell's* House; and gave the Queen an account of his Negotiation. He was sent to borrow 800 Crowns, upon the Royal Crown which they offer'd to pawn: the Crown being set with Pretious Stones, and might be worth Four Thousand *Pistols*. Yet no body would lend any Money upon it. But the Prince of *Georgia* understanding the need which the King and Queen of *Imiretta* had of the Money, sent 'em a Present; to the King, three Horses, a quantity of Arms, and a Thousand Crowns in Silver; to the Queen several Pieces of Tissue, Sattins and Taffata's, and Five Hunderd Crowns. And the reason why the *Georgian* Prince was so kind, was to keep their Majesties stedfast in their Resolutions to adopt one of his Sons.

The 12th I went to wait upon the King: who was brought back from the Army by reason he was fallen Sick. He did us a great deal of Honour, shew'd us Extraordinary Kindness, made us sit down by him, and discours'd us with much Familiarity. He complain'd to Father *Justin*, for that he and his Companions had quitted *Cotatis*. Which the Father excus'd by alleadging the occasion of their Removal to have been the continual Wars, by which they had suffer'd very much. I am sorry for it, reply'd the King, but I cannot help it; for I am a poor Blind Man, and they make me do what they please themselves. I dare not discover my self to any one whatever, I mistrust all the World; and yet I surrender my self to all, not daring to offend any Body, for fear of being Assassinated by every Body. This poor Prince is young, and well shap'd;

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and well shap'd; and he always wears a Handkercher over the upper part of his Face, to wipe up the Rhume that distils from the holes of his Eyes, and to hide such a hideous sight from those that come to visit him. He is of a mild Disposition, and a great Lover of Jest and Drollery. He told Father *Justin*, He should do well to Marry in his Country. To which Father *Justin* made answer, That he could not Marry, as being under the same Vow with the Bishops and Monks of *Imiretta*. How! said he, interrupting Father *Justin*, and bursting out into a great laughter, our Bishops and Monks have every one nine apiece, besides those of their Neighbours.

The 16th by break of Day I was to my great satisfaction wak'nd by my Comrade that came along with me to *Mingrelia*. Who told me, That Fryer *Angelo*, together with the Men and Horses which I had sent, were arriv'd the ninth at *Sippias*; where they were extraordinarily troubl'd; and almost at their Wits end, because they had heard no News of me since my departure, and for that they could not either for Love or Money get any Horses to carry 'em into *Georgia*. That understanding my happy arrival at *Tiflis*, and that I staid near *Cotatis* in expectation of him, he was overjoy'd, and that he forthwith prepar'd himself for his Journey, having taken out of the Earth, the Woods, and from between the Tiles of the House the one half of what they had hid there. That he had staid till the eleventh day, to the end he might rest his Horses; leaving one of the most faithful of our Servants to take care of the rest, which they durst not remove, for fear of endangering all at one venture. And after he had told me thus far, Ne'er trouble your self, said he at length, at what I have told ye; GOD be thanked all's safe and well. And then proceeding,

Saturday the 14th, said he, we came safe and well to *Cotatis* about eight in the Evening: at what time Fryer *Angelo* carry'd me to *Janatelli's*. By the way, I never heard, said he; till yesterday, how your Servant that you dismiss'd, came to threaten ye the first day of the Year as he did, for had I known it, I should ne'r have stopp'd at *Cotatis*. But then, neither Fryer *Angelo* nor any of our People thinking more of it, desir'd me upon Sunday Morning, that they might stay till Noon, and refresh themselves a little. To which I consented, and bid 'em get a good Dinner. But as I sate at Table, I saw the Rogue of a Lacquey come into the Room with Twenty Armed Janizaries. Where's my Master? Cry'd the Young

Ragamuffin, he would have Murder'd me, but I'll do his Business for him now. And so saying, he lookt about the Room for yee, and not finding yee there, he went into your Chamber, thinking you had hid up your self. I follow'd him, and throwing my self at his Feet, What have I done to yee, that you should go about to ruine me? If my Comrade have mis-us'd yee, or not pay'd yee to your content, that's no fault of mine; make your demands, and you shall have it without more ado, only send away these *Turks* that you have brought along with yee. It shall be done, reply'd the Young Traytor, I'll go and dismiss the *Turks*, and come again presently.

And so saying, he went back into the Hall, pointing to Fryer *Angelo*, There, said he to the Janisaries, take that Man, and carry him to the Commander of the Fortrefs; and so at the same time the poor Fryer was seiz'd and carry'd away. The Janisaries look'd up and down to see what Booty they could find; and presently they snatch'd up our Felts that serv'd us for Cloaks: they did not so much as meet with any of my Arms, and which was a more signal mark of GOD's Providence, they mist the Bags which I brought along with me, where were above Fifty Thousand Crowns in Gold and Jewels. As soon as the Janisaries had left the House, I sent a Man after Fryer *Angelo*, and conjur'd the Carriers to let us make our escape with all speed. So that we Saddl'd and Loaded our Horses forthwith, and betook our selves to flight with all the haste we could. Thus GOD assisted me, and by his Grace and Favour I am at length got hither, with all that I was entrusted with in *Mingrelia*. For what the Janisaries took was hardly worth two *Pistols*.

I might here endeavour to express the Joy and Satisfaction which I receiv'd upon the rehearsal of these happy Tydings, but they are only to be imagin'd, nor is it that which the Reader desires to know. Father *Justin* went presently to the Queen and *Janatelle*, to make his complaints of what the *Turks* had done in his House, and to desire him to labour for the Liberty of Fryer *Angelo*: and about Noon the Father return'd and assur'd us, that they had sent two Gentlemen to that purpose, to the Commander of the Fortrefs. For my part I would have been gone presently, such was my dread of the *Turks*, though without any ground: but there was a necessity for us to let our Horses rest. In the mean time, in the Afternoon my Comrade hir'd other Horses to return into *Mingrelia*, and fetch what was left behind; while I prepar'd to set forward for *Tefflis*, with that which he had already brought.

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The 17th my Comrade and I parted, taking each our several Roads: he for *Mingrelia*, with Five Men and Four Horses; I for *Tefflis*, with Father *Justin*, Three Men and Three Horses.

The 22th at Night, I arriv'd at *Gori*; where I stay'd two Days to change Gold, as well to assist Father *Justin* to make preparations for his return to *Cotatis*, whither he was to carry my Comrade Money, and to accompany him from thence to *Tefflis*, as to get Fryer *Angelo* set at Liberty, if he should be detain'd a Prisoner.

To which purpose, Father *Justin* departed the 25th in the Morning for *Cotatis*, and I at the same time set forward for *Tefflis*. Where I arriv'd thanks be to GOD the 26th in the Afternoon, with the *Capuchin* Fryer which the Superiour of *Gori* had lent me, as not being willing to leave me without Company.

The 6th of *February* in the Evening, my Comrade arriv'd at *Tefflis*, with the Servants which I had left in *Colchis*, a *Theatin* Fryer and Father *Angelo*. After I had embrac'd 'em all, Fryer *Angelo* took me aside, to give me an accompt of the Series of the whole Adventure. You know, said he, after what manner your perfidious Lacquey caus'd me to be apprehended by the Janisaries, who were sent by the Commander of the Fortrefs to seize me. For the Rascal had told the Commander how that you ow'd him Three Hunderd Crowns; that you were an Ambassador; that you had been in *Mingrelia* to fetch away a vast Treasure, which you had left there; and that by the seizure of your Person, he would meet with a purchase that would enrich him for ever. This Traytor press'd the Janisaries, who carry'd me to the Fortrefs to bind me, and use me severely; but they had a greater respect and veneration for my habit: and beside there was among 'em an *Italian Renegado* who caus'd 'em to be very civil. I march'd along as slowly as possibly I could, and kept the Rascals in discourse, to the end I might give your Comrade the more leisure to make his escape; for I made no question but he would take that course. When they brought me before the Commander, he ask'd the Varlet who had caus'd me to be apprehended, whether I was his Master, who answer'd, No; for that he could not find his Master; but that assuredly I knew where he was. I reply'd, I knew not where you were, only that when I left yee, you had a design to go for *Tefflis*. The Commander ask'd me afterwards, several Questions concerning your Quality;

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ty; and told me that I must pay the Three Hundred Crowns, which it was said you ow'd the fellow. To which I answer'd, That you were no more then a poor Person in Holy Orders, who had undertaken to give me Intelligence of the Miserable Condition of those in *Mingrelia*. Which when I understood, I went to give 'em a Visit; that I was no farther acquainted with your concerns; and that as for Money I had none. And that the People in *Cotatir*, from the Prince to the meanest of his Subjects, well knew, that I was a Person that made a profession of Poverty.

Upon this, the Commander order'd me to be search'd, and they found the Girdle which you had sent me to wear, where there was no more then only Six Pound, for by a wonderful Providence of God, your Comrade had not given me any Jewels to quilt into it, according to your appointment. Thereupon the Commander finding no more then that inconsiderable Sum, said he to the Lacquey, Where is all the Treasure, ye Rogue, with which thou hast fill'd my Head? bring'st thou me hither this poor Fellow to jeer me? Thou art a cheating Rascal, and I'll have thee Drubb'd to Death. Sir, answer'd the Varlet, trembling for fear, The Wealth is in the Custody of my Master's Comrade, that lies at *Fanatelle's*. Dog, as thou art, reply'd the Commander, Why didst not bring him hither? And so saying, He sent him back with the same Janisaries that had guarded me to the Fortrefs, and commanded 'em expressly to bring away your Comrade: and indeed I was afraid they would have met with him; but I was overjoy'd, when the Janisaries return'd and told the Commander, that the Person had made his escape. Which made him vent his Rage upon the Lacquey, who was in a strange Agony, between Fear and Madnels: at what time he began to open his Eyes, and to perceive that GOD had confounded his Malice, by his missing your Comrade with all that he carry'd under his care. Thereupon I gave an accompt to the Commander of all the Villanies, and wicked Tricks which the Rascal had committed in your Service, and how liberal and kind you had been to him nevertheless, in paying him his Wages.

That Evening the Commander invited me to sup with him at his own Table: for he understood I was a Physician, and presently fanci'd himself to be ill. So that I made him up some Medecins, as well for himself, as for some of the Souldiers that were in the Fortrefs. He order'd an Italian *Renegado* to be my Guards, at what time your Lacquey would have had him
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laid me in Irons for fear I should make my escape. For the Rascal study'd a Thousand Tricks to do me a Mischief. But the next Day the Queen and *Janatelle* sent two Gentlemen to the Commander to demand my Freedom, as being their Physician, and the King's also : and about Noon there came two Gentlemen more from a great Lord of the Country, whose Wife lay sick : and he had been inform'd, that I was a Prisoner in the Fortrefs for Debt. Thereupon he sent to the Commander of the Fortrefs, to release me, and he would pay my Debt : but alas, there was nothing more clear then that I ow'd nothing. However, I must give Twenty Five Crowns to the Commander ; which being paid, I was set at Liberty, notwithstanding the Noise and Clamour of the Lacquey, who press'd that I might not be releas'd, and told the Commander, That there would be a Thousand Crowns giv'n to purchase my Liberty, rather then let me lie. So soon as I was free, they carry'd me to the Lords House, to whom I was beholding for my Liberty ; from whence I sent to *Chicaris* to know what News : by the return of which Message, I understood that you were gone to *Tefflis*, and your Comrade was return'd to *Mingrelia*. Some few Days after Father *Justin* arriv'd at *Chicaris*, and understanding there where I was, he came to me ; and then having repaid the Twenty Five Crowns which the Lord had disburs'd for my Deliverance out of Prison, we return'd to *Chicaris*. Where in two Days your Comrade arriv'd with all that was left behind of yours in *Mingrelia* : who told us what Road he had tak'n to miss *Cotatis*. To which purpose he had Ferry'd over the *Phasis* six Leagues from that City ; at what time the Ferryman told him, That the Rogue who had laid so many Snares for us, had giv'n two Crowns to give him Intelligence of your Comrade's Passage : and that the Villain was under the Guard of four Janisaries, who had order not to let him escape : for that the Commander was resolv'd to make him perform what he had promis'd him. And thus you see, said he, that hitherto all things have luckily succeeded, and that GOD has confounded that Villain in his Wickedness, whose Justice questionless will not permit him to escape the Clutches of the Turkish Commander, without receiving some Punishment.

It was now late ; nevertheless my Comrade and I could not go to Supper, till we had discours'd of the happy Issue of our Labour, and of all our Misfortunes, of which, what I have recounted, is but a part of the Truth ; nor till we had breath'd

out to GOD our Ardent Thanksgivings for his Infinite Goodness, his Omnipotent, and his Miraculous Deliverance : For we expected no such thing, when we were in Tribulation. And indeed, who could have hop'd to have sav'd all, when we were in such imminent danger of losing all ? The next Day following we cast up the Accompts of our Losses in this Disastrous Journey, and found that it did not amount to more then above one *per Cent.* of all that we had sav'd, and fortunately brought to *Tefflis*, without any thing being either broken or spoil'd.

GEORGIA, I mean all the Country so call'd which is under the *Persian* Jurisdiction, borders at this day to the East upon *Circassia* and *Moscowy*; to the West upon *Armenia* the *Less*; to the South upon *Armenia* the *Greater*; to the North upon the *Black-Sea*, and that part of *Colchis* which is call'd *Imiretta*, which in my Opinion is all that Country which the Ancients nam'd *Iberia*. *Georgia* extended formerly from *Tauris* and *Erzerum* to the River *Tanais*, and was call'd *Albania*, being bounded, as I have describ'd it. It is a Country very full of Wood, and very Mountainous, that enclose a greater Number of pleasant Plains that run out in length, but are not proportionable in breadth: only the middle of *Georgia* is more even and level then the rest: And the River *Kur*, which most Geographers call *Cyrus*, runs through the midst of it. It takes its rise in the Mountain *Caucasus*, a Day and a half's Journey from *Akalzikè*, as has been said; and empties it self into the *Caspian* Sea.

I have seen some old *Persian* Geographies, that place *Georgia* in the Greater *Armenia*. The Moderns make a particular Province of it, which they call *Gorgistan*, and divide into four parts; *Imiretta*, of which we have spoken; the Country of *Guriel*, wherein is comprehended all that is under the Government of *Akalzikè*; the Kingdom of *Caket*, which extends it self very far into Mount *Caucasus*, and is properly the Ancient *Iberia*; and *Carthuel*, which is the Eastern *Georgia*, and which the Ancient Geographers call the *Asiatick Albania*. The Kingdoms of *Caket* and *Carthuel* are under the *Persian* Dominion: and this is that which the *Persians* call *Gurgistan*: but the *Georgians* give it no other Name then that of *Carthueli*. Which is no new Name, as being to be found in the Writings of several Ancient Authors, although somewhat corrupted; especially *St Epiphanius*, who speaking of these People, calls 'em *Cardians*. It's reported that the *Grecians* were the first who gave 'em

'em the Name of *Georgians* from the word *Georgoi*, which signifies Husbandmen. Though others will have this Name to derive it self from that of St. *George*, the Patron Saint of all the Christians of the Greek Church.

There are very few Cities in all *Georgia*, as has been observ'd: though there has been many more formerly in the Kingdom of *Caket*. But now they lie all in Ruines unless one which is also call'd *Kaket*. And I heard say, while I stay'd at *Tefflis*, that these Cities were very large and sumptuously Built, as may be well enough conjectur'd, as well by that which is not as yet altogether destroy'd, as by the ruines themselves. Now these Northern Inhabitants of Mount *Caucasus*, those *Alans*, *Suans*, *Huns* and other Nations so greatly fam'd for their strength and Courage, and by the Report of many People, another Nation of the *Amazons*, were they that continually harra's'd and ranfact this little Kingdom of *Kaket*. The *Amazons* lay bordering upon it above, to the North. Wherein as well the Ancient as Modern Geographers agree. *Ptolomy* fixes their Country in the *Asiatic Sarmatia*, which is now call'd *Tartary*, to the West of *Volga*, between the River and the *Hippic* Mountains: and there it is that the Northern part of the Kingdom of *Kaket* exactly lies. *Quintus Curtius* says also to the same effect, that the Kingdom of *Thalestris* was near to the River *Phasis*. And *Strabo* is of the same opinion, speaking of the Expeditions of *Pompey* and *Canidius*. I confess, I never saw any Person in *Georgia* who had been in the Country of the *Amazons*; but I have heard many of 'em tell Stories of those People. And they shew'd me in the Prince's Palace, a large Female habit of a coarse Woollen Stuff, and peculiar for its Fashion and Shape, which they said was the Garment of an *Amazon*, that was slain near *Caket* in the last Wars. Shortly we may hear farther news of these Famous Warriours; for the *Capuchins* of *Tefflis* told me, they would send two Missionaries into their Country: the Congregation having order'd that they should be dispatch'd thither. I had once a long discourse with the Prince of *Georgia*'s Son upon this Subject; at what time, among other things he told me, that Five Days Journey beyond *Caket* toward the North, there liv'd a Numerous People, of whom they had no knowledge at all; who were continually at War with the *Tartars*, which they call *Calmac*, and the same with those which we call *Calmouqus*: that the several People that inhabit Mount *Caucasus* are continually at Wars one with another; and that it signifies nothing

thing to make any Peace or Truce with 'em, as being a sort of Savages, that have neither Religion, Government nor Laws. Therefore they that lie next to *Caket* make frequent Inroads into the Country: which obliges the *Viceroy*, who is the Eldest Son of the Prince of *Georgia*, to be always ready in Arms to repel those Barbarians.

Upon the Information which I gave the Young Prince, of what the *Greek* and *Roman* Historians related concerning the *Amazons*, after I had discours'd for some time upon that occasion, his opinion was, that they were some particular People among the wandering *Scythians*, as the *Turcomans*, and *Arabs*, who submitted themselves to the Sovereignty of Women, like the *Achineses*: that those Queens made use of Persons of their own Sex to serve 'em, and to follow 'em where-ever they went. And as for their riding a Horseback like Men, it is easily apprehended and as easie to be credited, and that they also were Arm'd. For in the Eastern Countries, all Women bestride their Horses like Men: and some of 'em mount their Horses and ride 'em as well, besides that the Princesses also wear Daggers at their sides. But as for the Mutilation of their Breasts, and other particulars reported of the *Amazons*, we reject 'em, and rank 'em among the Fables, with which the learning *Greeks* had the Impudence to fill their Histories, according to the Sarcasm of the Latin Poet.

The Province of *Carthuel* contains no more then Four Cities, *Gory*, *Suram*, *Aly* and *Tefflis*. *Gory* is a small City, seated in a Plain between two Mountains upon the Bank of the River *Curr*, at the Foot of a Hillock, upon which there is a Fortrefs Built which is Garison'd by Native *Persians*. It was Built in the last *Gurgistan* Wars, about Forty Years since by *Rustan Can*, General of the *Persian* Army: and an *Austin Monk*, who was then at *Gory* drew the draught of it. However the Fortrefs is a place that is not able to make any great defence; its principal strength consisting in its Situation, having a Hunderd Men within it: Nor is the City that lies under it but very small, the Houses and Market Places being all Built of Earth. The Inhabitants however, are all very Rich and Wealthy. And it is very well stor'd with all things necessary for Human support at a cheap rate.

Suram is indeed no more then a Town not above half as big as the City of *Gory*; but the Fortrefs adjoyning is large and well Built, having within it a Hunderd Men in Garison. Near to *Suram* is the Country call'd *Semasbè*. Which in the
Georgian

Georgian Language signifies *Three Castles*. The People of this Country boast, That *Noah* dwelt in this Country after he came out of the *Ark*, and that his three Sons built 'em every one a Castle. I say nothing here of *Aly*, because I have spok'n of it in another place.

The Temper of the Air is very kindly in *Georgia*; being very dry, cold in the Winter, and hot in the Summer. Their fair Weather does not begin till *May*, but it lasts till the end of *November*. The Soyl must be well water'd, or else it proves very barren; but that care tak'n, it produces all sorts of Grain, Herbs and Fruits in abundance. *Georgia* is therefore as fertile a Country as any can be imagin'd, where a Man may live both deliciously and very cheap. Their Bread is as good as any in the World: their Fruit is delicious and of all sorts. Neither is there any part of *Europe* that produces fairer Pears and Apples, or better tasted, nor does any part of *Asia* bring forth more delicious Pomegranates. Cattel are very plentiful and very good, as well the larger sort as the lesser. Their Fowl of all sorts is incomparable, especially their Wild-Fowl: Their Boars-Flesh is as plentiful and as good as any in *Colchis*. The Common People live upon nothing else but young Porkers; of which there are abundance in all parts of the Country: and indeed there is no better Food in the World, then this Meat: beside that the People of the Country assure us, that it never offends the Stomach, let 'em eat never so much. Which I believe to be true; for though I eat of it almost every Meal, yet it never did me harm. The *Caspian* Sea, which is next to *Georgia*, and the *Kurr*, that runs quite through it, supplies it with all sorts of salt and fresh Fish; so that we may truly say That there is no Country where a Man may have an Opportunity to fare better then in this:

And with the same boldness we may assert, That there is no Country where they drink more or better Wine. The Vines grow about the Trees as in *Colchis*: and they daily transport great Quantities of Wine into *Media*, *Armenia*, and to *Ispahan* for the Kings Table. As much as a Horse can carry, which is 300 weight, costs no more then Twelve Shillings: I speak of their best Wine; for the common sort is cheaper by half: and all other Provisions are at a proportionable rate. The Country of *Georgia* also produces a great Quantity of Silk; tho not so much by half as most Travellers report: But the People of the Country know not how to weave it, and therefore they

carry it into *Turkey*, to *Erzerum*, and the parts adjoining, where they drive a great Trade.

The Complexion of the *Georgians* is the most beautiful in all the East; and I can safely say, That I never saw an ill-favour'd Countenance in all that Country, either of the one or other Sex: but I have seen those that have had Angels Faces; Nature having bestow'd upon the Women of that Country Graces and Features, which are not other where to be seen: So that 'tis impossible to behold 'em without falling in Love. More Charming Countenances, nor more Lovely Statures and Proportions cannot be Pencill'd forth by all the Art of Man, then those of the *Georgian* Women. They are Tall, clear Limb'd, Plump and Full, but not over Fat, and extreemly Slender in the Waste: Let 'em have never so few Cloaths on, you shall not see their Hips. That which spoils all is this, that they all Paint, as well the Lovely as less Beautiful. For they make use of Paint in stead of other Ornaments: Nevertheless when they Dress themselves, they Deck themselves in Sumptuous Habits and Jewels as our Women do.

The *Georgians* also are Naturally very Witty. Nor would there be more Learned Men, or more Ingenious Masters in the World, were they but improv'd by the Knowledge of Arts and Sciences: but their Education is so mean and paltry, that having nothing but bad Examples before their Eyes, those Parts of theirs are altogether drown'd in Vice and Ignorance. VWhich is the reason that they are generally Cheats and Knaves, perfidious, treacherous, ingrateful and proud. Impudent beyond Imagination to deny their own VVords, and their very Deeds; to set afoot and maintain Falshood; to demand more then is their Due; to counterfeit Deeds and forge Lyes. They are irreconcilable in their Enmities, and never forgive. True it is, they are not easily provok'd; nor do they readily admit those Hatreds which they preserve inviolably when once conceiv'd. And besides these Vices of the Mind, no Men are more addicted to their sensual Pleasures and Bestial Voluptuousness; that is to say, to Drunkenness and Luxury. In which filthy Divertisements, they plunge themselves with so much the more freedom, because they are so common, and not lookt upon as scandalous in *Georgia*. The Church-men will be as drunk as others, and keep Female Slaves in their Houses, to make use of in stead of Concubines: at which no body is offended, as being no more then what is generally practis'd, and as it were authoriz'd by Custom. In so much that the Superiour

of the *Capuchins* assur'd me, That he had heard the *Catholicos*, or *Patriarch* of *Georgia* say, That he who was not absolutely drunk at great Festivals, such as *Easter* and *Christmas*, could not be a good Christian, and deserv'd to be Excommunicated. Besides this, the *Georgians* are likewise very great Usurers: They never lend any Money without a Pawn, and the lowest Interest which they take is Two in the Hunderd for a Month.

Neither are the Women less Vicious and Wicked then the Men. They have an Extraordinary Addiction to the Male Sex; and certainly contribute more then they, to that Torrent of Uncleaness which overflows all the Country. On the other side, the *Georgians* are Civil and Courteous, and more then that, they are Grave and Moderate. Their Manners and Customs are a Mixture of the several Customs of the Nations that lie round about 'em. Which proceeds, as I believe from their Commerce and Dealings with Variety of People, and the Liberty allow'd in *Georgia*, to observe their own Religion and Customs, and to defend 'em in their discourse. You shall meet here in this Country with *Armenians*, *Greeks*, *Jews*, *Turks*, *Persians*, *Indians*, *Tartars*, *Muscovites* and *Europeans*; and the *Armenians* are so numerous, that they exceed the *Georgians*. They are also more Wealthy, and for the most part supply all the small Offices and mean Employments. But the *Georgians* are stouter, more Haughty, more Vain, and more Pompous. Which difference between their Inclinations, their Manners and their Belief, has caus'd a very great Enmity between 'em. They mutually hate one another, and never Marry into one anothers Families. Particularly the *Georgians* contemn the *Armenians* with a more then ordinary Scorn; and look upon 'em much about the same Rate as we do the *Jews* in *Europe*. The *Georgian* Habit resembles very much the *Polonian* Garb, their Bonnets being like to theirs. Their Vests are open before all down the Breast, and fasten'd with Buttons and Loops. Their Hose and Shooes are like those of the *Persians*. And for the Womens habit it is altogether *Persian*.

The Houses of the *Grandees*, and all their Public Edifices; are Built according to the *Persian* Models: nor is Building at all expensive, as having Wood, Stone, Lime and Plaister in great Abundance; they also imitate the *Persians* in sitting at their Tables, in their Beds, and manner of Dyet.

The Nobility exercise a more then Tyrannical Power over their Subjects; far worse then in *Colchis*. They will make their
Peasants

Peasants labour whole Months together, and as much as they please without allowing 'em either Food or Wages. They challenge a Right over the Estates Liberty and Lives of their Vassals: they take their Childern and sell 'em, or else make Slaves of 'em themselves. But they very seldom sell any of the Rabble above Twenty Years of Age, especially Women.

The Belief of the *Georgians* is like that of the *Mingrelians*; as having been converted to the Faith both at the same time, in the Fourth Age, and by the same means of an *Iberian* Woman, who was converted her self to Christianity at *Constantinople*. But since that, both the one and the other have lost all sence of Christianity; so that as I have said of the *Mingrelians*; they have nothing remaining of Christianity but the Name. So is it as true that the *Georgians* neither observe or know the least precept of the Law of Jesus Christ. Nevertheless the *Georgians* more strictly observe their Fasts, and make longer Prayers. VVhile I was at *Tefflis*, the Missionaries sent to *Rome* a Relation of the State of their Mission, which they shew'd me; wherein I found one very pleasant passage, which I shall set down among the rest as not being either unseasonable or impertinent. There was a VVoman at *Gory*, who having led a very ill Life, at length fell dangerously ill, insomuch that she thought she should die. VVhereupon she sent for a Priest, and made her Confession, discover'd to him all her Leud Pranks, and made him great Protestations, that if she recover'd, she would never admit of any other Man but her Husband. To whom, the Priest, *Madam*, said he, *I know yee too well, to believe yee: it will be impossible for yee to leave off the Company of your Gallants. My request therefore is, that you will entertain no more then Two or Three, which I will allow yee to do upon that Condition, which I shall impose upon yee.* But the VVoman disdainig the Proposal of her Confessor, put him out of her House and sending for a *Capuchin*, told him the whole Story, and afterwards made her Confession to him. The same Relation adds, that the Priests enjoyn their Penitents that confess the taking of another Bodies Goods, to bring the Goods to Them, and not to restore 'em to the Right Owners; so that Restitution is never made.

There are several Bishops in *Georgia*, an *Archbishop* and a *Patriarch*, whom they call *Catholicos*. Whose preferments when Vacant are supply'd by the Prince though a *Mabometan*, who generally prefers his kindred and Relations: so that the Present *Patriarch* is his Brother. As for the Churches in

Georgia

Georgia, they are something more cleanly kept then those in *Mingrelia*. And in the Cities you shall see some that are very decent, though they are altogether as nasty in the Country. The *Georgians*, as all the other Christians that surround 'em to the North and West, have a strange humour to build all their Churches upon high Mountains, in remote and almost inaccessible Places. Where they view 'em, and bow to 'em at the distance of three or four Leagues: but seldom or never go into 'em; and we may boldly assert, that the most part of 'em are hardly open'd once in Ten Years. They erect 'em, and then leave 'em to the Injuries of the Weather, and for the Birds and Fowls of the Air to build their Nests in. I could never find out the Reason of this Extravagance, the Answers of all Persons of whom I enquir'd, being altogether as extravagant: 'Tis the Custom. The *Georgians* however are fully perswaded, that whatever Sins they have committed, they shall obtain Pardon by building a little Church. Though for my part I am apt to believe they build 'em in such remote and inaccessible Places, to avoid the Charges of Adorning and Repairing of 'em.

And now I come to the Relations and Histories of the Conquest of *Georgia* by the *Persians*, which are so numerous, that I should have been silent in this particular, if those Authors had agreed among themselves, or if I had found they had been rightly inform'd. Briefly therefore, here is that which I have met with in the Stories of *Persia* themselves.

Ishmael the Great, (whom our Historians have Surnam'd the *Sophy*) after he had subdu'd the Countries that lie to the West of the *Caspian* Sea, of *Media* and part of *Armenia*, and that he had expell'd the *Turks* out of all these Places, made War also upon the *Georgians*, though they had sent him numerous Succors at the beginning of his Reign. The event of which War was successful to him, as having reduc'd 'em to pay him Tribute, and give him Hostages. Now *Georgia*, as well as the Kingdoms of *Kaket* and *Carthuel*, had several Petty Kings, call'd *Eristares*, Feudataries, and always at Wars one with another. Which was the Reason, or at least the Means that most contributed to the Ruine of the *Georgians*. They pay'd their Tribute during all the Reign of *Ishmael*, and his Successor *Tabmas*, who was a Prince of great Courage, and fortunate in War. During his Reign *Luarzab* rul'd in that part of *Georgia* which is call'd *Carthuel*, and is as I have said the Eastern *Georgia*, and borders upon *Persia* Eastward. This

King left two Sons behind him, between whom he divided his Kingdom; *Simon* the Eldest, and *David* the Younger. But being both ill satisfi'd with their Division, they made War one upon another, and in those Wars both desir'd *Tabmas* to assist 'em. The Younger Brother was beforehand with *Simon*. To whom *Tabmas* return'd for answer, That he would put him in possession of all his Fathers Dominions, if he would turn *Mahometan*. *David* accepted the Condition, embrac'd the *Mahometan* Religion, and went and surrender'd himself to the *Persian* Army, which was already enter'd his Dominions, to the Number of Thirty Thousand Horse; upon which he was presently sent to *Tabmas*, who lay then at *Casbin*. So soon as he had got the *Georgian* Prince in his Clutches, he wrote to *Simon* to the same effect as he had written to his Brother, that is to say, That he should quit his Religion, and come to him, if he intended to enjoy the Kingdom of his Ancestors.

Simon, finding the *Persian* Army pressing too severely upon him, surrender'd his Person, but would not abjure his Religion. But *Tabmas*, being now Master of both the Princes, and of the Country of *Georgia*, sent the Eldest Brother Prisoner to the Castle of *Genghè* near the *Caspian* Sea; and made the other Governour of *Georgia*, changing his Name from *David* to *Daoud-Can*, which denoted him to be of the *Mahometan* Profession. Which done, he took an Oath of Fidelity from all the chief *Georgian* Lords, and carry'd away their Children and *David's* also as Hostages into *Persia*.

After the Death of *Tabmas*, the *Georgians* shook off the *Persian* Yoke, as did also the most part of the Provinces of *Persia*, and they were at Liberty during the Reign of *Ishmael* the Second, which did not last above two Years; and during the first four Years of *Mahomet Kodabendè*, that is, The Servant of GOD: who sent an Army into *Georgia* to reduce 'em to Obedience. *Daoud Can* fled upon the Approach of the Army. At what time his Brother *Simon*, a Prisoner as I have already declar'd, near the *Caspian* Sea, laying hold of the Opportunity to re-enter into his Dominions, became a *Mahometan*, and was made *Can* of *Tefflis*, under the Name of *Simon-Can*.

During the Reign of *Mahomet Kodabendè*, dy'd *Alexander* King of *Kaket*, leaving Three Sons and Two Daughters. Of which *David* was the Eldest; a Prince whose Courage and Misfortunes have render'd him renown'd over all the World; under the Name of *Taimuras Can*, which the *Persians* gave him.

At

At the time of his Fathers Death he remain'd in *Hostage* at the Court of *Persia*, whither he was carry'd by King *Tahmas* as has been said. He was bred up with *Abas* the Great, being almost of the same Age, with great Magnificence and exact Care, where he had inbib'd the Customs and Manners of the *Persians*, certainly much better then those of the *Georgians*. So soon as his Father was Dead, his Mother, a Beautiful and Prudent Princess, by the *Georgians* call'd *Ketavana*, but *Mariana* in the Histories of *Persia*, wrote a Letter to *Kodabendè* to this effect, Sir, *My Husband is Dead, I beseech yee to send me my Son Taimuras to Reign in his stead; and withal I send you his Brother for Hostage in his Room.* Theretipon *Taimuras* was sent back, after he had tak'n the Oath of a Tributary and a Vassal.

At the beginning of the Reign of *Abas* the Great, *Simon*, King of *Carthuel* already mention'd ended this Life; leaving the Kingdom to *Luarzab* his Son, then a Child, under the Tuition of his Prime Minister, a Person of great parts, but of a mean Extraction, call'd by the *Georgians* *Mehron*, and by the *Persians*, *Morad*, who was also Governor of *Teffis*, and Govern'd the Kingdom almost with an absolute Authority. This *Mehron* had a handsome Daughter, with whom *Luarzab* was passionately in Love, and by whom he was as passionately lov'd. Nor could the Father, by any means that he could use, prevent the two Lovers from seeing one another. But one Day having surpriz'd the Prince and her lock'd up in a Room together, Sir, said he, *I beseech yee, do not Dishonour neither my Daughter, nor my House. If your Majesty pleases to Marry her, she is at your service: but if not, forbear Privacy with her.* Upon which *Luarzab* swore he would have no other Wife; which Oath when the Prince had sworn, he suffer'd her to Live with him as with her Husband. However the Marriage was not celebrated, through the opposition of the Queen and the Ladies of the Country, who protested they would never submit themselves as Subjects to a Person of her mean Birth. *Luarzab*, no less glad of this opposition, told *Mehron*, that he could not Marry his Daughter. Now the *Georgians* are very Prone to Revenge; as I have already observ'd. Thereupon the King was adviz'd to be before hand with *Mehron*, and to put him to Death to prevent his Revenge. To which the King consented; and to that purpose had contriv'd it so as to make *Mehron* Drunk, and to kill him at the first Banquet the King should make. Of which contrivance *Mehron* was advertiz'd,

at

at the very Moment it should have been put in Execution. For he was already half Tipsy, when one of the Kings Pages, who was one of his Creatures, as he presented him the Cup, and seem'd to Bow to him out of respect, whisper'd to him : Sir, *You will be Murder'd.* At which he made no semblance of being daunted ; but rising up, as soon as he had giv'n back the Glass, and pretending to go out to make VVater (which is no *Indecorum* in that Country, where the Feasts last for half a Day together) he ran directly to his Stable, takes a Bonnet and a Coat from one of his Grooms that he first met ; Bridles one of the best Horses in the Stable, Mounts him and away he Rides. And he so order'd his Flight, that not being discover'd it prov'd successful to his VVish. Presently he got to *Ispahan*, where he threw himself at the Feet of *Abas* the Great, who was newly return'd a Victor, from *Shirvan* and *Shamaki*, Countries Bordering upon *Georgia* and the *Caspian Sea*. He declar'd to the King how he had serv'd *Luarzab*, and the Deceas'd King his Father, and what a recompence he had prepar'd him for his Service ; by seeking to deprive him of his Life, after he had deflowr'd his Daughter under the pretence of Marriage. And concluding, he told the King, that he was the true Monarch of *Georgia*, and therefore he demanded of his Majesty Justice, and the Restitution of his Estate.

But *Mehrou* had contriv'd a securer way then this, to revenge himself upon *Luarzab*, which was to kindle in the Heart of *Abas* an Affection for *Luarzab's* Sister ; one of the most lovely Persons in all *Georgia* ; whose Beauty has been celebrated by all the *Persian* Poets. Insomuch that in *Persia* they sing to this Day the Songs that render'd her Beauty renown'd above all the Charming Beauties of her time, containing a pleasant Romance of the Amours between Her and *Abas*. Her Name of Baptism was *Darejan*. But the *Persian* Fictions give her the Name of *Pebry*. *Mehrou* therefore took all opportunities to talk of her to *Abas* with all the Artificial Language he could invent, to inflame his desires. Thereupon *Abas* sent to demand her of *Luarzab* first by one Ambassador, and then by another. The first was sent back with fair promises ; the second receiv'd for Answer, that the Princess had affianc'd her self to *Taimuras* King of *Kaket*, who was then a VVidower. But *Abas* the more inflam'd by these refusals, sent a third Ambassador to *Luarzab*, charging him to demand his Sister with all manner of fair promises and foul Threats : and he wrote at the same time to *Taimuras*, not to Marry *Luarzab's* Sister, but to come

and meet him. *Luarzab* on the other side incens'd at these repeated and Haughty Importunities, instead of returning an answer to the Ambassador, affronted and abus'd him; so the end no more Ambassadors might be sent to trouble him any more upon that Errand. *Abas* however was not then in a condition to execute his intended designs upon *Georgia*, as being at War with the *Turks*. He dissimul'd therefore his Indignation, and order'd a *Carmelite* Missionary, whom he sent into *Europe* to animate the Christian Princes to a War against the *Turk*, to take *Georgia* in his way, and to admonish *Taimuras* by no means to joyn with the *Turks*, nor to give 'em any manner of assistance against the *Persians*. To which *Taimuras* either out of too much Fear or too much Credulity readily condescended: but he soon repented his forbearance: for in the Year 1613 *Abas* set forward from *Ispahan* with a design to make War upon *Georgia*. However as he was a Prince, who among his other Extraordinary Endowments was extremely cunning and reserv'd, he manag'd that War like an Amorous Intreague. He gave out that *Luarzab's* Sister lov'd him and desir'd the Match: that she had sent him Letters by a confidant of her own; moreover that she had been promis'd him, and therefore that *Luarzab* was both Perfidious and Unjust. In the mean time he made his preparations for something else then to fight a Rival: for all Men plainly perceiv'd that he was resolv'd to reduce *Georgia* under his Subjection. He had a great number of *Georgians* in his Army. He gave Pensions to several great *Georgian* Lords; and *Mehron* corrupted the Loyalty of several others every day, who engag'd to take his part: He had two of *Taimuras's* Sons in Hostage, and a Brother and Sister of *Luarzabs*. In a word he wrought with some of the Princes of the Blood Royal of *Georgia* to turn *Mahometans*, for the possession of great Employments and Governments. For he thought he should easily compass his designs against the *Georgians*, by sowing Divisions among 'em; an easie thing to do, especially among People that are given to revenge. He wrote to *Taimuras* that *Luarzab* was ungrateful, a Rebel, a Mad-Man, not fit to Reign, and that he was resolv'd to deprive him of his Crown. To *Luarzab* he wrote the same thing concerning *Taimuras*; and at the same time order'd *Lolla Beg*, General of his Army, who lay toward *Media*, to enter *Georgia* with Thirty Thousand Horse, and to put all to Fire and Sword.

Upon this, *Luarzab* and *Taimuras* were counsell'd to unite. They met, and communicated to each other *Abas's* Letters : wherein finding the ruin of both resolv'd upon, they swore one to another either to Perish, or rescue each other from the danger ; and the more to confirm and strengthen their Union, *Luarzab* gave his Sister, the Incomparable *Darejan* to *Taimuras*. *Abas* was like to run Mad when they brought him the News ; he was ready to have Cut the Throats of *Taimuras's* Two Sons with his own Hands, and of the other *Georgian* Hostages : nothing would serve him but he swore the Death of all together. But at length he kept himself within bounds, and minded only to hasten his march rather to punish the Kings that had offended him.

Taimuras, sensible of the approach of the *Persian* Army, would have prepar'd for his defence. But he discover'd that a part of the *Grande'es* of his Kingdom were inclin'd to Surrender. Thereupon he sent his Mother to *Abas*. She was a Princess that had betak'n her self to a Religious Life, so soon as her Misfortune had made her a Widow. Not that they make any Vows, or quit their usual Habitations, but only put on the Religious Habit, who in those Countries make profession of a Religious Life, as I have already observ'd in my Relation of the *Mingrelian* Religion, which is the same with that of the *Georgians*. *Mariana* or *Ketavana* therefore (for she was call'd by both these Names) wore the Habit of a Religious Person, to the end she might have an excuse to Live more retir'd, and uninterrupted in her Devotions. She set forward with a Numerous Train and Magnificent Presents ; and made so much hast that she found *Abas* still at *Ispahan*. Where being arriv'd she threw her self at the Kings Feet, and besought Pardon for her Son, which she did with all the Submission that she thought might avail to appease the Kings wrath.

This Princess was at that time well advanc'd in Years, yet was she still a Lovely Lady, so that *Abas* became enamour'd of her, or at least feign'd to be so, the first day he saw her : thereupon he courted her to turn *Mahumetan*, that he might be in a Condition to Marry her. But the Princess more Wedded to her Chastity and Religion, and perhaps not enduring the strict Confinement of the *Persian* Queens, refus'd the Kings Offers with a Vertue and Constancy unmoveable, which was to be admir'd in a *Georgian*. *Abas* incens'd at her Denial, or at least laying hold of it for a pretence, (for it was thought

he

he never intended to Marry *Ketavana*, but out of design to revenge himself upon *Taimuras*) sent the Princess Prisoner to a certain House at a remote distance, and caus'd her two Children which *Taimuras* sent in Hostage, to be made *Eunuchs*, and to turn *Mahumetans*; and then set forward for *Georgia*. *Ketavana* remain'd in Prison several Years, and was afterwards remanded to *Shiras*, where she suffer'd a most cruel Martyrdom, in the Year 1624. a good while after *Abas* had Conquer'd *Georgia*. For then it was that he wrote to *Iman-Kooli-Kan*, Governour of that City, to force *Ketavana* to turn *Mahumetan*, whatever it cost him; and to make use of Torments, if Promises, Threats, and Blows would not prevail. *Iman-Kooli-Kan* shew'd his Orders to the Princess, in hopes that that would take effect: but it signifi'd nothing. Nor were all their Torments more prevalent upon a Soul so truly Heroick and Devout. She underwent the Pain of Drubbing, suffer'd the Torments of Shackles and Fire, and dy'd at length upon the Burning Coals; after she had endur'd for the sake of JESUS CHRIST, a Martyrdom of Eight Yeats, so much the more cruel because it was chang'd and renew'd every day. Her Body was thrown upon the Common Lay-Stall of the City. From whence the *Austin* Fryers took it away by Night, embalm'd it, put it in a Coffin, and sent it privately to *Taimuras* by one of their own Society.

But to return to the *Georgian* War, *Abas* being enter'd into the Country of *Georgia* with his Army, guided by *Mehrou*, and reforc'd with a great Number of *Georgians* every day; Hopes and Promises inveagling some, and fear or desire of Revenge attracting others, *Luarzab* resolv'd however to fight it out, hoping so to shut up the *Persians* in the Woods, that he might easily there defeat 'em. And indeed *Abas* at one time gave himself over for lost, and thought he had been betray'd. For being advanc'd with his Army Five and Twenty Leagues into the Country, *Luarzab* divided his Forces into two parts, and shut up the Passages by felling an infinite Number of Wood, so that the *Persian* Army could neither advance nor retreat. *Abas* was in a strange Consternation, so that *Mehrou* fearing the loss of his Head, as a Traytor, Upon my Life, Sir, said he, *I will bring ye out of these Streights in three Days*. And he was as good as his word. For he open'd a Cross-way through the Wood by means of his Infantry, and leaving the Camp which was block'd up by the *Georgians*, took only the Cavalry along with him. Nevertheless *Abas* would lead 'em himself,
and

and having pass'd the Wood, fell into the Kingdom of *Kaket*, committing great Cruelty and Spoil ; insomuch that he commanded all the Trees that breed the Silkworms to be destroy'd ; on purpose to ruine past recovery a Country that chiefly subsists by making of Silk. When these Mournful Tidings were brought to *Luarzab*, he gave himself over for lost, and fled into *Mingrelia*. On the other side, *Abas* who knew his Conquests were not secure, so long as the *Georgian* Kings were at Liberty, wrote to *Luarzab* in these Terms : *What Reason urges you to flee ? 'Tis Taimuras that I seek, that Ingrateful and Perfidious Rebel. Come and surrender your self to me, and I will confirm you in the Possession of the Georgian Kingdom ; but if you fail to yield your self, I will entirely ruine it, and lay it desert.*

Thereupon *Luarzab* in tender pity of his People, surrender'd himself to *Abas*. The King receiv'd him in most friendly manner, and with a Thousand Caresses, replac'd him upon the Throne with all the Pomp and Solemnity imaginable ; which was done the better to deceive the *Georgians*, and to make himself Master of the Country without striking a Stroke. He also made him several costly Presents, and among the rest, he gave him a Heron-Tuft of Precious Stones, which he commanded him always to wear, especially when he came into his Presence. *This is an Ensign of Royalty said he, and it is my pleasure you should always wear it upon your Head, that People may know yee to be King.* Now the same Day that *Abas* was to set forward for *Tefflis*, said he to *Luarzab*, *I shall make a halt six Leagues from this place, and send away the rest of the Army ; will not you bear me Company thither ?* This was a Snare with fair words to draw the poor *Georgian* King from his Capital City : and he was as easily deluded to go along with him, in regard he mistrusted not the least fowl play. In the meanwhile *Abas* commanded one of his Guards, a noted Pick-Pocket, and one of the most dextrous in the World at his Profession, to steal *Luarzab's* Heron-Tuft from him. Which was done ; and then *Luarzab* coming into the King's Presence, *Luarzab*, said the King, *what's become of your Heron-Tuft ? Did not I recommend it to yee to wear always as an Ensign of Royalty ?* Sir, said *Luarzab*, *I am robb'd of it, which has almost put me besides my Wits ; I have caus'd it to be hunted for every where that I could imagine, but can hear no Tidings of it.* How ! said the King in a great Fury, *the King of Georgia robb'd in my Camp ! Bid 'em bid the Provost-Marshal, the*
Captain

Captain of the Watch, and the President of the Council of Justice, come to me. And this was the second Artifice made use of to seize the Unfortunate *Luarzab* without striking a Stroke. Presently therefore he was laid hold on; but *Abas* durst not put him to death for fear of a Revolt in *Georgia*. He sent him therefore into *Masanderan*, or *Hyrcania*, hoping that the bad Air of the Country would kill him: but seeing that would not do, he remov'd him to *Shiras*; and at length took the following occasion to put him to death.

The Grand Duke of *Moscow* had been a long time solicited by the *Georgian* Princes to intercede in his behalf to *Abas*. Who was therefore at the Charge of a Costly Embassie merely for that purpose. Thereupon *Abas*, who was a Person of a quick Wit, and never idle, gave order to the Governour of *Shamaki*, a City upon the *Caspian* Sea, where the Ambassadors of *Moscow* first enter into *Persia*, to try what he could do to discover whether the Ambassador came only upon *Luarzab's* account or no: and whether the *Moscowite* did take his part to that degree that there was any likelihood of a Rupture. To which the Governour sent word, That the Ambassador came only to serve *Luarzab*; that he was a very great Lord, and that his Instructions were very positive for a punctual Answer. Upon which *Abas*, who was resolv'd not to release the *Georgian* Prince, nor yet could refuse him his Liberty at the request of the Duke of *Moscow*, wrote to the Governour of *Shiras* to rid *Luarzab* out of the World, so that his Death might seem only to have happen'd by accident. Which was accomplish'd to his desire, and the News was brought to *Abas*; two Days before the Arrival of the *Moscowite* Ambassador. *Abas* made the Courier tell his Tale in publick, at what time he seem'd to be strangely troubl'd and surpriz'd: *Good GOD*, said he, *this is Unfortunate News indeed; How came he by his Death?* Sir, answer'd the Courier, *he went a Fishing, and as he was casting his Net, fell into the Pond, and there stift'd himself.* I'll make an Example of his Guards, reply'd the King, for taking no more care of him.

Soon after the *Russian* Ambassador had his Audience; at what time, after the Banquet was over, and that they had drank pretty hard, the King sending for him near to his own Person *Well*, said he, *Mr. Ambassador, and what is't the King of the Russes my Brother desires of me?* Thereupon the Ambassador began to unfold his Commission, and declare the Purport of his Embassie; but when he had once let slip *Luar-*

zab's Name, I believe, reply'd the King, you have heard of the Misfortune that has befallen that Young Prince: I am extremely griev'd for him: I wish to GOD he had not been dead; for I should have done with all my Heart whatever your Master could desire in his behalf.

Thereupon the Brother of *Luarzab* was made Governour of *Georgia* in his Room, being turn'd *Mahumetan* before that: and call'd by a *Persian* Title joyn'd to his *Georgian*, *Bacrat-Mirzab*, or the Royal Prince. *Abas* also left an Army in *Georgia* to oppose *Taimuras*. Who at first continu'd the War with such Succours as he obtain'd from the *Turks* and *Christian* Princes joyning upon the *Caspian* Sea, into whose Territories he was retir'd for Sanctuary: But seeing those Petty Assistances did him no good, he went to the *Turk* and implor'd Aid of the *Turk*. Which he obtain'd: and a great Army of *Turks* was sent into *Georgia*, who defeated the *Persian* Forces, and re-established *Taimuras* in the Kingdom of *Caket*. But he enjoy'd it not long; for so soon as the *Turks* were retreated, *Abas* return'd into *Georgia*, and chang'd the whole Face of Affairs. He built Fortresses which he fill'd with Natural *Persians*; He carry'd away above Four and Twenty Thousand Families, of which he plac'd the greatest part in *Masander*, or *Hyrcania*, *Media*, *Armenia*, and the Province of *Persia*, removing into their Rooms both *Persians* and *Armenians*. He also intermix'd Mildness with his Severities, to try how far that would avail to keep the People in order. He likewise made an Agreement with the *Georgians*, which he confirm'd by Oath for himself and his Successors, 'That their Country should be free from Taxes, that there should be no Alteration of their Religion. 'That he would not pull down their Churches, neither would 'he erect any Moschees: That their Viceroy should be always a *Georgian*, of the Race of their Kings, but a *Mahometan*: Of whose Sons he that would change his Religion, should 'be Governour and great Provost of *Ispahan*, till he succeeded 'his Father.

Abas dy'd in the Year 1628. And so soon as *Taimuras* had Intelligence of his Death, he re-enter'd *Georgia*, and caus'd the *Georgians* to Rebel, who slew their Viceroy and all the *Persians* that oppos'd 'em; he made himself Master of all the strong Forts except *Tefflis*; but could not keep 'em. For *Sefy*, succeeding his Grand-Father *Abas*, sent in the Year 1631. a powerful Army against him, under the Command of *Rustan Can*, a *Georgian*, the Son of *Simon Can*, that same Viceroy whom

whom the *Georgians* had slain: He was Grand Provost of *Isfahan*, at *Abas's* decease, and call'd *Cosron Mirza*. King *Sefy*, therefore, who knew him to be a Person of great Valour, and deem'd him highly provok'd, made him General of his Army and *Viceroy* of *Georgia* in his Fathers Room. He defeated the *Georgians* in several Encounters, won back all *Cart-huel*, and part of the Kingdom of *Caket*, and pursu'd *Taimuras* who was forc'd to betake himself into two strong places in Mount *Caucasus*. In which inaccessible Fastnesses, this Prince no less Valiant then Unfortunate, held out for some Years; though rather like a Fugitive that fought for his Life, than a Prince that defended his Crown. But receiving no assistance neither from the *Turks* nor *Christians*; he went to solicit the *Moscovite*, but failing there likewise, he retir'd into *Imiretta*, of which his Sister was Queen, with a Resolution there to end his Life, not finding any hopes of recovering the Inheritance of his Ancestors. There *Shanavas-Can* took him Prisoner, when he Conquer'd that Petty Kingdom of *Imiretta*, and settle'd his Son therein. For *Taimuras* had always such a passion to Dye in his own Country, that he would not make his escape into *Turkey*, which he might easily have done: and besides he consider'd that being Old, the *Turks* would not have that respect for him, as he might expect from the *Persians*. *Shanavas-Can* carry'd him to *Tefflis*, and wrote Word to the King that the Famous *Taimuras-Can* was in his Hands. The King sent for him to his Court. Where being very aged, his Travels and Troubles of mind, threw him into a desperate sickness. The King lodg'd him in one of his Palaces with a great deal of magnificence, and order'd his Physicians to look to him with great care. Notwithstanding all which he dy'd in the Year 1659. His Body was carry'd into *Georgia*, and Bury'd with all the Pomp and State which is usual in that Country.

Rustan-Can having reconquer'd *Georgia*, built the Fortrefs of *Gery* as is reported. He restor'd Peace and good order to the Country, and Govern'd with an exemplary mildness and Justice. He Marry'd the Sister of *Levan Dadian* Prince of *Mingrelia*, though she were a Christian and Marry'd already. Her Husband being Prince of *Guriel*; whom *Levan* had depriv'd both of his Principality and his Eyes, for being in a Conspiracy against him, and taking his Wife away from him, Marry'd her to *Rustan-Can* neither the Ecclesiasticks of *Mingrelia* nor *Georgia* opposing that *Monstrous Conjunction*, if I may presume to call it so. The Name of this Princess was Mary,
of

of whom we have already spoken in our Recital of the last Revolutions of *Imiretta*. She is now the Wife of *Shanawas-Can*, Governor of *Georgia*.

Rustan-Can Dy'd in the Year 1640. and his Body was carry'd to *Com*, where it was enterr'd. At what time *Shanawas-Can*, *Taimuras's* Kinsman, was Governor and Grand Provost of *Ispahan*. Him *Rustan-Can*, having no Childern, adopted, and sent him to the Court, beseeching the King to look upon him as his Son, and to ratifie the Adoption. His Majesty approv'd his Choice, caus'd the Young Prince to be Circumciz'd, and bestow'd upon him the Government of the City; and this is he who is at Present *Viceroy* of *Georgia*; being Fourscore Years of Age, yet very Strong and Lusty.

So soon as *Rustan-Can* was Dead, the Princess *Mary* his Wife, had private Intelligence, that upon the advantageous reports of her Beauty, that had been made to the King of *Persia*, he had commanded her to be sent to Court. Thereupon she was adviz'd to fly into *Mingrelia*, or to hide her self. But she took a quite contrary course; for being well assur'd that there was no place within the Empire of *Persia*, where the King would not discover her, she went and lockt her self up for Three Days together in the Fortrefs of *Tefflis*, which was indeed to deliver her self up to the Mercy of him that sought her. All which time she shew'd her self every Day to the Commander's Wives; and then sending for him to her Apartment, she told him that upon the credit of his Wives, that had seen her, he might write to the King, that she was no such Amiable Beauty to be so ardently desir'd, that she was far gone in Years, and besides that she was a little mishapen; and therefore that she conjur'd his Majesty to let her end her Days in her own Country. At the same time she sent the King a Magnificent Present of Gold and Silver, and Four Young Damsels of an Extraordinary Beauty. And so soon as she had sent her present, she retir'd from the World, not suffering her self to be seen by any Body, she betook her self wholly to her Devotions, giving great Alms to the Poor, to the end they might Pray to GOD for her Souls Health. But at the end of Three Months there came an order from the King, for *Shanawas-Can* to Marry her. Who was over joy'd at the receipt of the Order, for *Mary* was Rich, so that he Marry'd her, though he had then another Wife of his own; and he has a very great Value for her by reason of her great Estate. Her first Husband the Prince of *Guriel* is still alive, residing in *Georgia*, but very
Old

Old, and very Decrepit. Nevertheless the Princess was so kind to send him one of her Damsels, to comfort him for his loss of her; and she allows him wherewithal to maintain himself, but at a very sorry rate: However she seems still to have some kind of Affection for him; insomuch that being upon the Frontiers of *Imiretta*, some Years since she sent for him, and kept him with her eight Days. At which when *Shanavas-Can* seem'd to be Jealous, the Princess fell a laughing at him; and ask'd Whether he were not ashamed to be Jealous of a poor, old, blind, miserable Creature, and altogether as impotent as himself.

The greatest part of the *Georgian* Lords are outwardly *Mahometans*; some professing that Religion to obtain Preferment at Court, and Pensions of State. Others, that they may have the Honour to Marry their Daughters to the King, and sometimes meerly to get 'em in to wait upon the Kings Wives. For which the usual Recompence is a Pension, or an Employment. As a forerunner to which the *Mahometan* Religion is always first of all embrac'd. The Pension is according to the Quality of the Persons; but most commonly not above Two Thousand Crowns. Upon which account there fell out a very lamentable Accident while I staid at *Tefflis*.

A *Georgian* Lord had giv'n the King to understand, that he had a Niece of an extraordinary Beauty. His Majesty commanded her to be brought to his Palace: And who should be so wicked and base as to carry the Order and serve it, but the Lord himself! Thereupon he came to his Sister, who was a Widow, and told her, That the King of *Persia* had a desire to Marry her Daughter, and that therefore she must persuade her to give her consent. Thereupon the Mother having made known to the Young Virgin, the force that was upon her, she was almost at her Wits end. For she had rather have had a Young Lord that was her Neighbor, by a Person whom she was extreamly belov'd. Thereupon they took a Resolution to make him a Sharer in their Misfortune, and to that purpose sent him the News by one of their Domestick Servants. Away comes the Lord Post, and arriving at Midnight, found the Mother and the Daughter with mutual Tears and a condolling Grief bewailing their hard Fortune. Presently the Lord threw himself at their Feet, and told 'em, That for his part he fear'd nothing so much as the loss of his Mistress, and that all the Anger of the King of *Persia* was nothing to him in respect of such a fatal Calamity. That there was but one way

for him to disingage himself out of this Noose, which was to be Marry'd immediately, and the next Day to tell her Perfidious Uncle, That the Lady by him demanded was no Virgin. This was agreed upon; and the Mother being retir'd, the Marriage was Consummated in a Trice. But the Uncle discovering the Plot, gave notice of it to the King. At which the King was so enrag'd, that he gave Order to send for the Mother, the Daughter, and the Husband; who thereupon hid themselves, and skulk'd up and down for some Months. But at length finding themselves too hotly pursu'd, beyond all likelihood of escaping, they fled to *Akalzikè*, the Bascha of which place has tak'n 'em into his Protection.

The fear which they have in *Georgia* of Accidents of the like Nature, obliges those that have handsom Daughters to Marry 'em as soon as they can, and sometimes in their Infancy. The poor People Marry theirs betimes, and sometimes in the very Cradle. To the end the Lords whose Vassals they are, should not take 'em away by force, either to sell 'em, or make 'em their Concubines. For certain it is, they have a very great respect for Marry'd Persons; and though they are but Childern, they are not easily induc'd to tear 'em out of their Houses.

The Kingdom of *Caket* is at present in Subjection to the King of *Persia*; *Shanawas-Can* having compleated the Conquest of it; and now *Archilus* his Son is Viceroy, who turn'd *Mahometan* to obtain the Employment. We have already made mention of him, and of the Love which he had for *Sistan-Darejan* the King of *Imiretta's* Wife, when we gave an Account of the Revolutions of that Petty Kingdom. *Sistan-Darejan* remain'd a Pris'ner at *Akalzikè*, where the Bascha's shew'd her an extraordinary Civility. *Archilus* had also a longing Affection for her, from the time that he had lost sight of her. Thereupon his Father so wrought by his Presents and Contrivances with the *Bascha*, that he releas'd her in the Year 1660. She was carry'd in Triumph to *Tefflis*, where *Archilus* Marry'd her immediately, and by that Match entitl'd himself to the Kingdom of *Caket*, of which he was actual Viceroy already. For the Princess his Wife was Daughter to *Taimuras-Can*, and Sister of *Heracius*, the only Son whom that Unfortunate Prince left behind him capable of Succession, in regard all the rest had had their Eyes put out. But he and his Mother were fled into *Moscorry*; where they say, the Great Duke allows 'em a Train suitable to their Quality. And here give me leave

leave to tell yee one Passage concerning this *Archilus* Viceroy of *Caket*, very much worthy to entertain your Curiosity.

He was affianc'd in his Youth, to a Daughter of one of the most Noble Families in *Georgia*. And the Lady fully expected to be his Wife, in regard that Breach of Contract is a thing never heard of in that Country. But when she heard that he had Marry'd *Sistan-Darejan*, she sent to him to demand satisfaction, for the Murder he had committed upon her Honour. For so in *Georgia* they call the affront done to a Contract, when a Man leaves the party affianc'd to Marry another. At first she resolv'd to Sue him at Law for the Injustice he had done her; but that way not seeming feasible, by reason of the great Authority and Sway which *Archilus* had in the Country, she put her self at the Head of Four Hunderd Men, and offer'd fairly to fight her Faithless Lover. But *Archilus* refus'd her, sending her word he did not use to fight with Young Maids: withal he bid her not make such a noise, lest he disclos'd the Favours which *Sizi* a Young Lord at Court had boasted to have receiv'd from her. The Young Lady enrag'd to hear her self reproach'd as well as scorn'd, turn'd all her fury against *Sizi*. She challeng'd him, and because he would not meet her; she lay'd her self in Ambush for him, put him to flight, pursu'd him and kill'd him above Twenty Men. She had also a Brother; and he also undertook to quarrel *Sizi*. The Prince and the whole Court did all they could to reconcile 'em: but seeing they did but labour in Vain, the two Adversaries were permitted to determine the difference by their Swords. Now it is the custom in *Georgia*, that when the Law cannot decide or reconcile a Quarrel among Gentlemen, they are permitted to try it out in a place Rayl'd in for the purpose. And before the two Combatants enter the Lists, they Confess themselves, receive the Communion, and prepare for Death. This is call'd, *Appealing to the Tribunal of GOD*, for the *Georgians* maintain that this way of referring directly to GOD the Punishment of a Crime, is both Honest and Lawful; where human Justice is not able to distinguish whether the party accus'd be Guilty, or whether the accuser charge him falsely. At length *Sizi* and his Adversary being arriv'd at the place appointed, they were parted by a Company of Souldiers, just as they had drawn their Swords. And the Young Lady Dying soon after with shame and Grief; the Prince by his Authority oblig'd her Brother to be Friends with *Archilus* and *Sizi*.

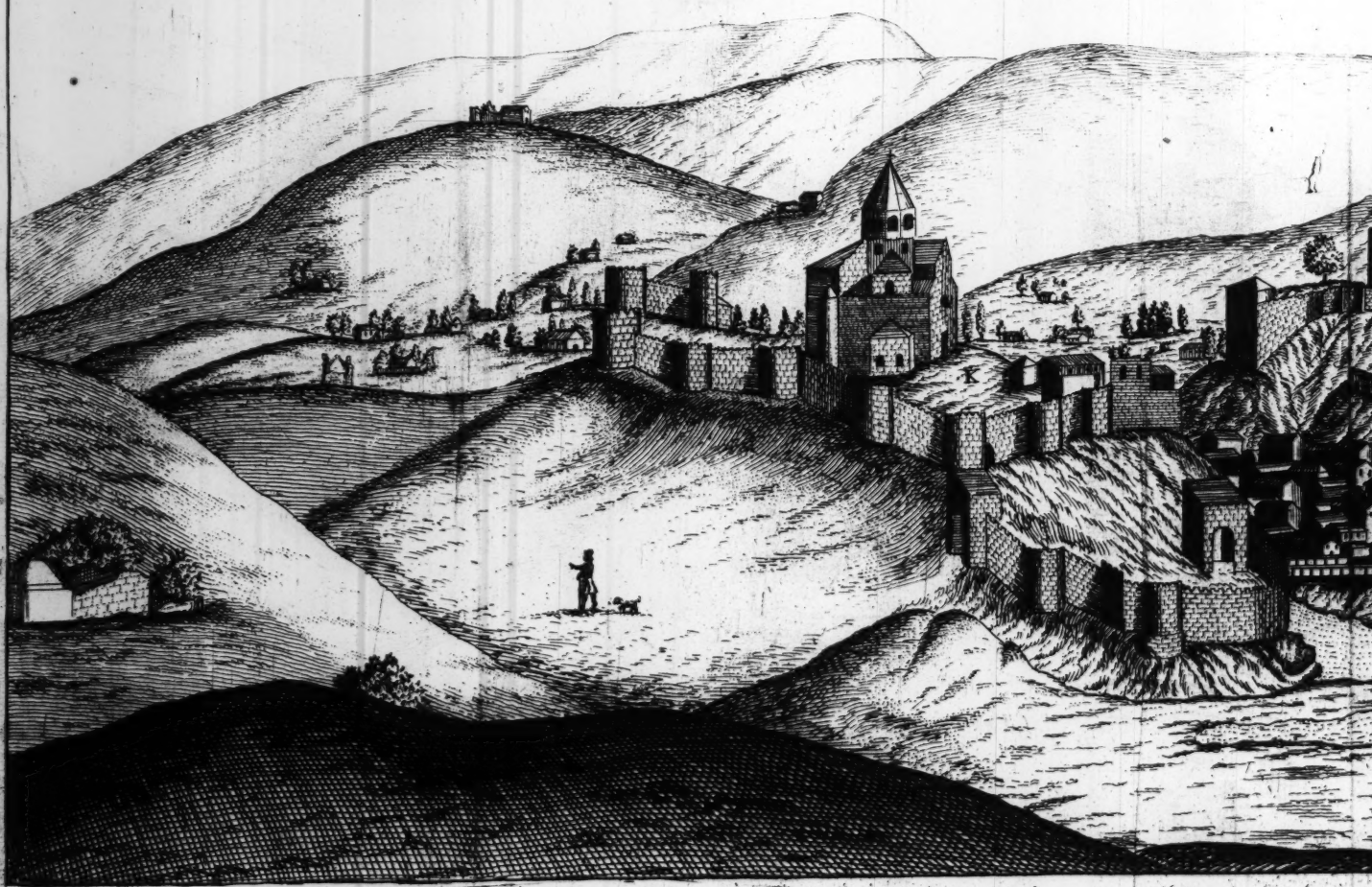
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And now before I relate what befell me at *Tefflis*, it behoves me to make a Description of the Place; though the Plate before the Leaf, might suffice to give a distinct Idea of it.

This City is one of the fairest in all *Persia*, though it be not so very big. It is seated at the bottom of a Mountain, at the Foot of which upon the Eastern side, runs the *River Cur*: Which River, being the Ancient *Cyrus*, or an Arm of that *Cyrus*, has its source in the Mountains of *Georgia*, and joyns to *Araxes*. The most part of the Houses built by the River side stand upon a hard Stony Rock. The City is encompass'd with very Strong and Beautiful Walls, only on that side next the River. It lyes all in length from the North to the South, defended by a large Fortrefs on the South side seated upon the brow of a Mountain, wherein there are none but Native *Persians*, whether Inhabitants or Souldiers. The Parading Place that is before it, serves also for a publick meeting Place and Market. This Fortrefs is likewise a Sanctuary of Refuge: All manner of Criminals and People in Debt are there safe. The Prince of *Georgia* is oblig'd to pass through the midst of it, when he goes according to custom to receive without the Gates of the City, the Kings Presents and Letters; for that when you come from *Persia* to *Tefflis*, there's no entring into the City but through the Fortrefs. Yet most certain it is, that the Prince never goes through the Castle, but he is afraid of being arrested, and least the Governor should have some secret order to seize upon his Person. And indeed the *Persian* Kings have very prudently establish'd a custom among the *Viceroy*s of *Georgia*, and the rest of the Governors of the Provinces of the Empire, that they are oblig'd to go and receive whatever the King sends 'em without the Gates of the City; by which means he may without any trouble or hazard seize upon their Persons. *Tefflis* contains several Churches; to the Number as they say of Fourteen; which is much in a Country where there is so little Devotion. Six are maintain'd and appropriated to the *Georgian* Service: The other belong to the *Armenians*. The Cathedral, which is call'd *Sion*, is seated upon the Bank of the River, built all of fair hewn Stone. 'Tis an Ancient Building well in repair, like all the Ancient Churches in the East; which are compos'd of Four Bodies, the middle of which is a great *Duomo*, sustain'd by Four Great Pilasters, and cover'd with a Steeple. The Great Altar is in the Middle of the Body that lyes to the East. The Inside of the Church is full of flat

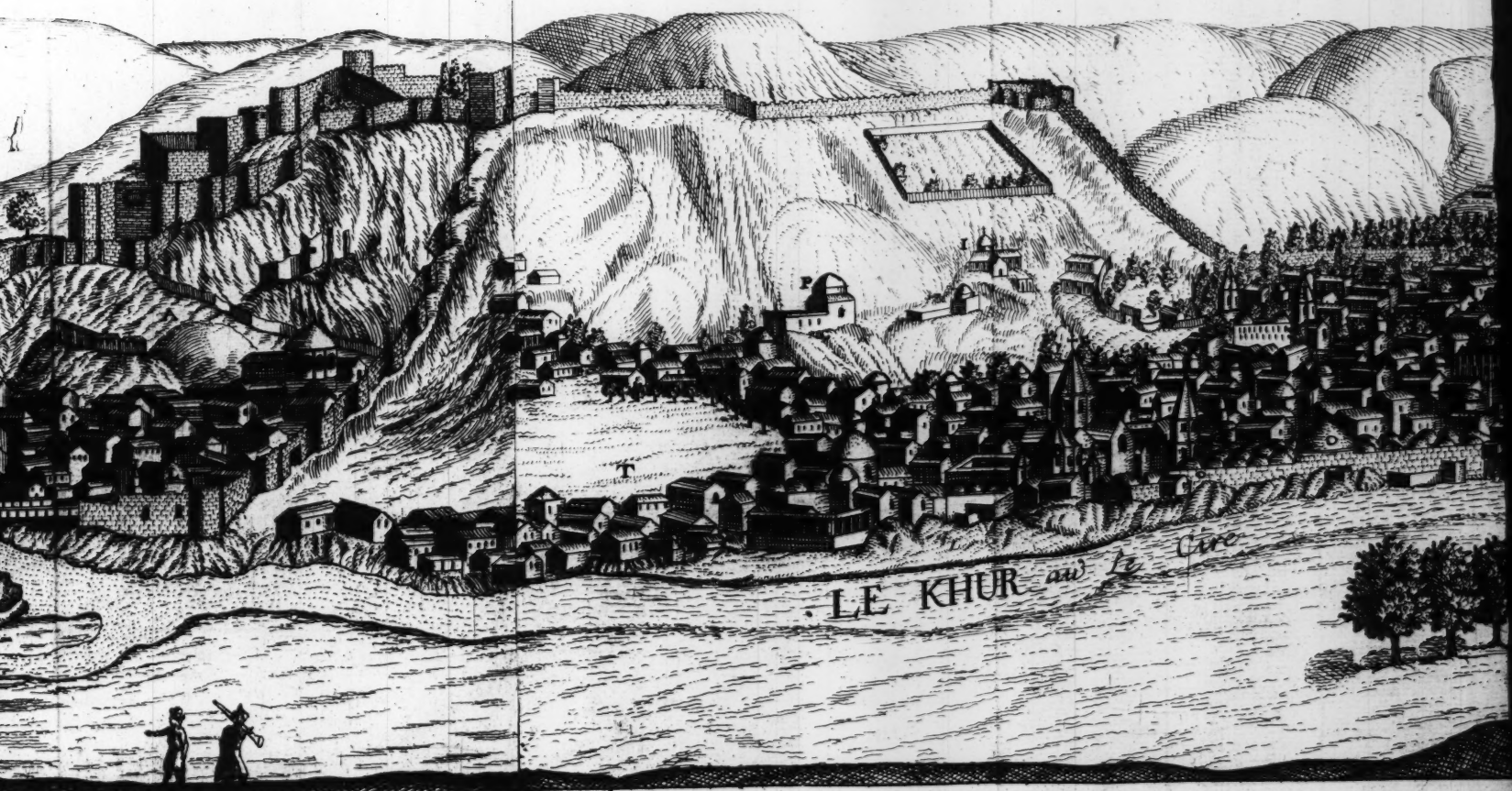
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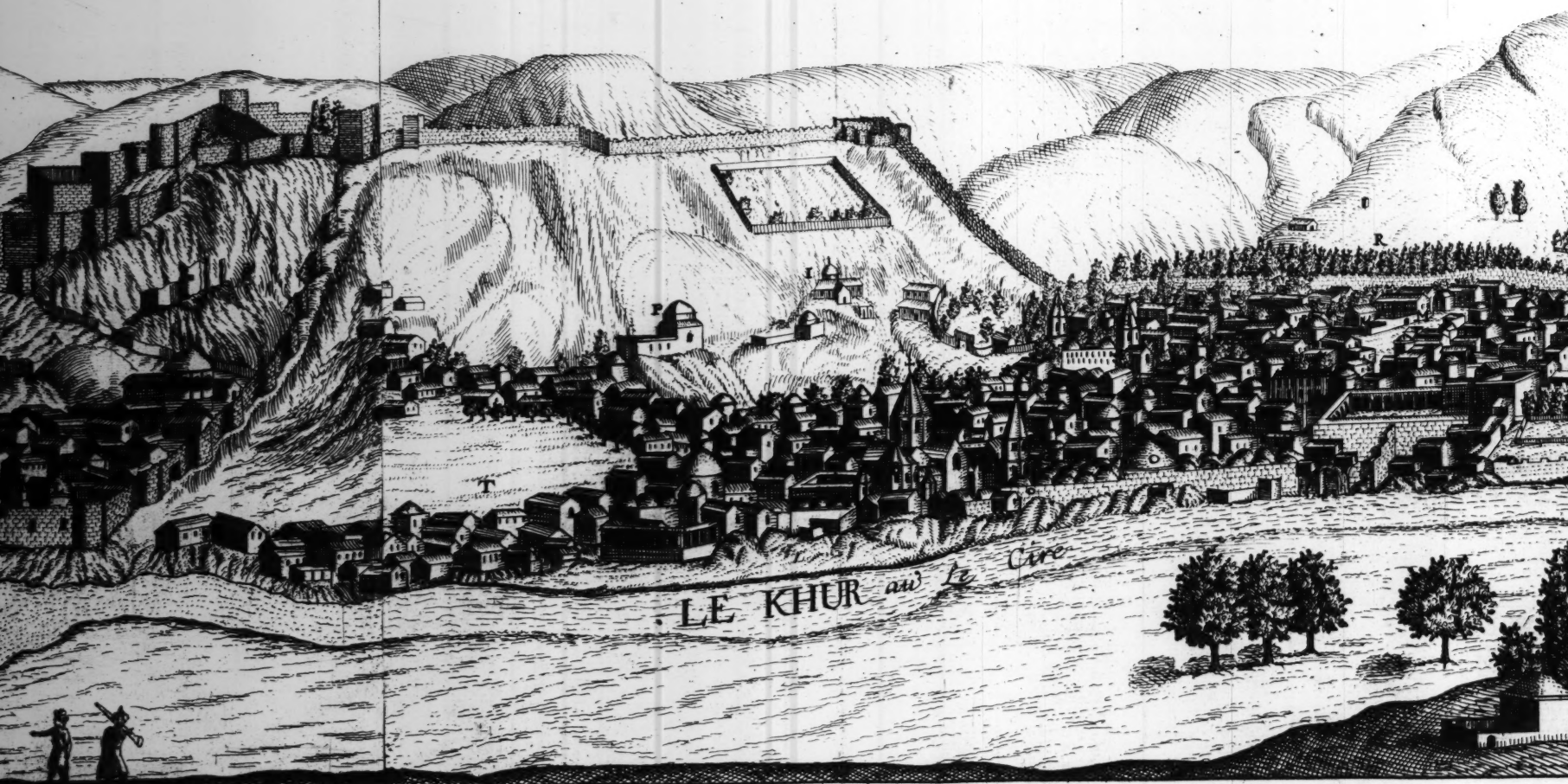
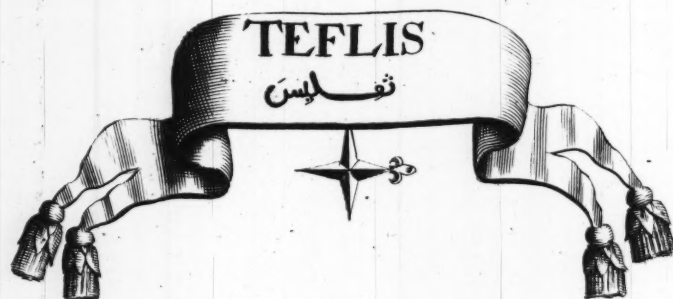


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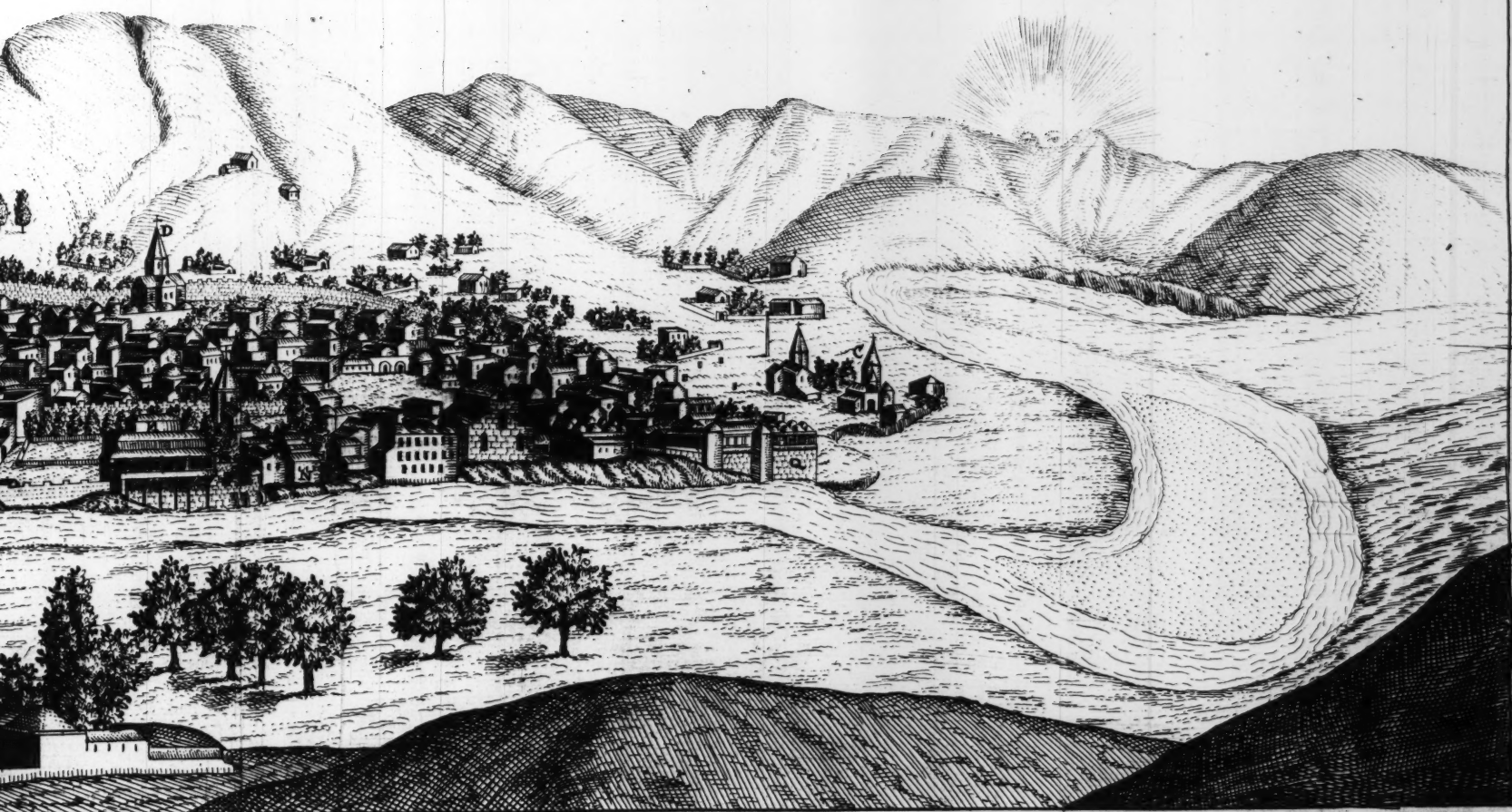
تفليس



No. 4



- A. The Fortrefs.
- B. The Bpps Church calld Sion.
- C. The Bastia's Monasterie.
- D. The Holy Cross.
- E. The Church & Palace of y^e Catholicos.
- F. The White Work or y^e Queen's Church.
- G. The New work.
- H. Magnay Church.
- I. Bethem Church.
- K. The Church of y^e Rupture.
- L. The Mosque.
- M. The Capuchins.
- N. The Prince's Palace.
- O. The Great Bazar.
- P. The public Magazines.
- Q. The Viceroy of Caket's Palace.
- R. The Prince's Gardens.
- S. The Prince's Piazza.
- T. The Place for Military Exercises.



Paintings after the *Greek* manner, painted but awhile ago, and by such leud Artists, that it is the greatest trouble in the World to know what they mean. The Bishop's See adjoyns to the Church, where the *Tibilele* resides: For by that Name they alway call the Bishops of *Tefflis*. Next to the Cathedral the Principal Churches of *Georgia* are *Tetrachen*, or the *White-Work*, which was built by the Princess *Mary*: and *Anguescat*, or the Image of *Abagare*. The *Georgians* call *Abagare Angues*, and hold that the Miraculous Portraiture which they assure us he receiv'd from Jesus Christ, has been a long time in that Church. They also call it the *Catholicos's* Church, because that Prelate's Palace joyns to it: and that he seldom goes other where to say his Prayers, or Officiate. This Church is seated upon the Bank of the River, directly parallel with the Bishop's See. The *Georgians* also had one more very fair Church at the end of the City upon the South-side: but the Prince made use of it some years for a Storehouse for his Powder. And indeed it was fit for nothing else, for long before that, the Thunder had thrown down a good part of it. Thereupon the Prince caus'd it to be repair'd; and this *Magazin* still carries the Name of the Church of *Melete*, that is to say, *The Rupture*. Which Name was given to it, by reason that it was founded by one of the Kings of *Georgia*, to shew his Repentance, for that he had without any occasion giv'n him, broken a Peace with one of his Neighbour Princes.

The Principal Monasteries that belong to the *Armenians*, are *Pacha-Vane*, that is, the Monastery of *Pacha*: in which Monastery, the *Armenian* Bishop of *Tefflis* resides. They so call it by the Report of the *Armenians*, for that a Fugitive *Basha* of *Turkey* turning Christian, caus'd it to be erected in this City. *Sourph-Nisbon*, that is, to speak properly, the *Red Sign*; and thence generally tak'n for the Holy Cross. *Bethem*, or *Bethlehem*, *Norachen*, or the *New Work* and *Mognay*. Now *Mognay* is the Name of a Village of the *Armenians* near *Iriwan*, where they have for a long time kept a certain Skull, which they assure yee to be St. *George's*: hence because that part of the Skull is remov'd to this Church, therefore they gave it the Name of the Place from whence they took the Relick.

There is not any *Mosque* at *Tefflis*, though the City belongs to a *Mahometan* Empire: and is Govern'd together with the whole Province by a *Mahometan* Prince. The *Persians* have endeavour'd all they could to rebuild one there, but never could accomplish their design; for the People still Mutiny'd,

H h h

and

and by force of Arms beat down the Work, and abus'd the Workmen. And indeed the *Georgian Princes* were glad of these Seditions of the People, though they would not countenance 'em openly : For in regard they had not renounced the Christian Religion but only with their Lips, and to obtain Preferment, they could not heartily consent to the Establishment of *Mahometism*. Now the *Georgians* are Mutinous, Inconstant and Valiant, as has been said : They also retain a smack and sense of Liberty. Then they lie near the *Turks*. And this is that which hinders the *Persian* from making use of Extremities, and preserves to the City of *Tefflis* and all *Georgia* a happy Liberty to retain almost all the Exterior Marks of their Religion. Upon all the Steeples of their Churches at the Top stands a Cross ; and they are furnish'd with several Bells which they ring. Every day they sell *Pork* openly, and in publick with the same freedom as other Vittles, and Wine at the Corners of the Streets. All which though the *Persians* are mad to see, yet they know not how to help it.

Some few Years since they built a small *Mosque* in the Fortrefs, close to the Wall that separates it from the Grand *Piazza* of *Tefflis*. They built it in the Castle to accustom the People to the sight of *Mosques*, and of the Priests, that call the *Mahometans* to Prayer from the Top of the Building. Nor could the *Georgians* hinder the Building of this *Mosque*, because they durst not enter Arm'd into the Fortrefs, where there was always a good Guard : But so soon as the Priest was mounted to the Top to make Confession of his Faith, the People gather'd together into the *Piazza*, and ply'd the Top of the Mosque with such Volleys of Stones, that the Priest was constrain'd to come down again in more haste then he went up : after which Mutiny, the *Persians* would never suffer any of their *Priests* to appear at the Top of the Mosque any more.

The publick Buildings at *Tefflis* are very graceful : Their *Bazars*, or Market-places are very large, built of Stone, and in very good repair. The *Inns*, or *Caravansera's* for the Receipt and Entertainment of Strangers, are no less beautiful. There are few Baths indeed in the City, by reason that every Body goes to the Hot-Baths that are in the Castle. The Water of which Baths springs from a Sulphur-Mine, and is very hot. So that the People which make use of 'em for Diseases and Distempers are no less numerous then those that go for Cleanliness and Curiosity. The Magazins also are well built, and kept

kept in Order, being seated in an open place near the Grand *Piazza*.

The *Prince's Palace* is without contradiction one of the most beautiful Ornaments in *Tefflis*; being adorn'd with spacious Halls and Rooms of State that look out upon the River, and the Gardens which are very large. It also contains several Aviaries, full of Birds of several sorts. a spacious Dog-kennel, and the most lovely place to keep Hawks in that Eyes ever beheld. Before the *Palace* lies a spacious Court sufficient to hold a Thousand Horse; which is surrounded with Shops, and joyns to a long Bazar right against the *Palace-Gate*. So that it is a lovely *Prospect* which the *Piazza* and the Front of the *Palace* makes from the Top of the Bazar. Moreover, the Viceroy of *Caket* has a *Palace* at the end of the City, which deserves to be well view'd and consider'd.

The Out-parts of *Tefflis* are adorn'd with several Houses of Pleasure, and several beautiful Gardens. The biggest of which is the Prince's; where indeed there are but few Fruit-Trees; but it is full of those that serve for the Ornament of Gardens, and for Shade and Coolness.

There is also a Habitation of Missionary Capuchins at *Tefflis*, where the Superiour of the Missions which that Order has, and hopes to have in *Georgia*, resides; it being about Thirteen Years ago since they were sent from *Rome*. The Title of Physicians which they give themselves, and which every Body there gives 'em, is the reason that they are well receiv'd wherever they desire to settle. For *Physick*, and especially *Chymistry*, which is very much esteem'd, is little known in the Eastern Counties. They settl'd first at *Tefflis*, and afterwards at *Gory*. *Shanavas-Can* gave 'em a House in each of those Cities with free Liberty to exercise their Religion. They brought him Letters from the Pope, and the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, and in their own Names made Noble Presents to himself, the Princess, the *Catholicos*, and the principal Grandees of the Court, which they continue to do at the end of every two Years. Whoever among 'em understands *Physick* best, never stirs from the Person of the Prince to preserve his Protection, which is their only Safeguard from the Persecutions of the *Georgian* and *Armenian* Clergy. They have endeavour'd to expel these Missionaries from time to time, as they saw their Endeavours to draw People to their Religion; but in regard there are neither Physicians nor Surgeons in *Georgia*, they make themselves necessary by the practise of *Physick* and Surgery, which

which some of 'em understand very well, and practise with very good success. They have permission from the *Pope* to take Money for their Cures, and they make good advantage of it, *Physick* being their chiefest Subsistence: They are generally paid in Wine, Meal, Cattel, and young Slaves; and some there are that give 'em Horses: of all which they sell whatever they have no need of, or whatever they have to spare. Were it not for this support of *Physick*, they could never subsist upon the Annual Pension which the *Congregation* allows 'em of 18 *Roman Crowns* for every Missionary, which make but Five Pounds Ten Shillings. Besides the Dispensation already mention'd, these Missionaries have several others both in Spirituals and Temporals; as, to say Mass, without any Body to assist at it, to say it in several sorts of places, and in all sorts of Habits, to give Absolution of all manner of Sins, to disguise themselves, to keep Horses and Servants, to have Slaves, to buy and sell, to pay and take Interest. In a word, they have Dispensations so ample, and of that extent, that they pretend a power to do, and do in effect, whatever is permitted to the most priviledg'd Ecclesiasticks. Nevertheless these Missionaries, with all their Artifices, and notwithstanding all this Liberty, make very little progress among the *Georgians*. For besides that the people are very ignorant, and take little care to instruct themselves, it is so rivetted into their Heads, that Fasting as they observe it, is the Essential part of Christian Religion: That they do not believe the *Capuchins* to be *Christians*, because they are inform'd that in *Europe* they do not fast as they do. This incredible Obstinacy obliges the *Capuchins* to fast as they do, and to abstain from Creatures which the *Georgians* abhor, as the Hare, the Tortoise, and others. They fast *Wednesdays* and *Frydays*, regulating themselves according to the Ancient Calendar, that they may be said to be outwardly no more then *Georgian Christians*. Many People at first repair'd to their Church at *Tefflis*, drawn thither by the Novelty of their Service, and a little Musick of four or five Voices, accompany'd with a Lute, and a Spinnet. But at present there go no more then only five or six poor People, who get something by the Missionaries. They have also set up a School, but they have not above seven or eight Scholars, the Childern of poor Parents, who go thither more for Vittles then Learning, as the Fathers confess'd themselves. They told me often that they did not keep up their Missions for any profit they got by 'em, but only for the Honour of the *Roman Church*;

Church; which, said they, would not be the Catholick Church; had it not Ministers in all parts of the inhabited World. In a word, these Missionaries have no more in all *Georgia* then the two Houses already mention'd. The Wars of *Imiretta* and *Guriel*, and the Calamities of those Countries, have forc'd 'em to quit several Settlements which they had made in those parts. And their design was, when I parted from *Tefflis*, to visit *Kaket* in *June*, and several other places upon Mount *Caucasus*. Their Mission consisted of twelve Persons, nine Priests, and three Lay-Brothers.

The City of *Tefflis* is very well peopl'd; and there are as many Strangers resort thither as to any place in the World. For it drives a great Trade, and the Court is very Numerous and Magnificent, befitting the Capital of a Province, being never without several Grandees of Note.

As to the Name of the City, I could never learn the Etymology of the word. They say, the *Persians* gave it that Name. Certain it is however, that the *Georgians* do not call it *Tefflis*, but *Cala*, that is to say, the City or the Fortrefs; which is indeed a Name that they give to all Spacious Habitations encompass'd with Walls. Which makes me think, that because they have no other Wall'd City in all the Country, they would give it no other Name but *Cala*. Some Geographers call it *Tebele-Cala*, or the Hot City, by reason of the Baths of Hot Waters within it, or else because the Air is not so cold nor so boystrous as in the other parts of *Georgia*. Neither could I learn the Time when the City was founded, nor the most remarkable Revolutions that have befallen it. For my part I do not believe its Antiquity surpasses Eight Hundred Years. It has been twice under the Power of the *Turks*. Once in the Reign of *Isbmael* the Second King of *Persia*; and the second time, in the Reign of his Successor, *Solyman* becoming Master of it, at the same time almost that he took *Tauris*. The *Persian* Tables place it in 83 Degrees of Longitude, and 43 Deg. 5. min. of Latitude. It is also call'd *Dar el Melec*, or the Royal City, as being the Metropolis of the Kingdom.

The 10th the Superiour of the *Capuchins* gave the Viceroy Notice of my Arrival. I desir'd him so to do, considering with my self, that having Servants and Luggage, and being lodg'd at the *Capuchins* House, my Arrival could not be conceal'd from a Prince who had Intelligence even of the most

trivial Things that pass'd in *Tefflis*, much more of my Adventures in *Mingrelia*, of which many People had spread a report. Besides, I was glad to see him, and shew him the King of *Persia*'s Passports, directed to all the Governours of Provinces, wherein I was effectually recommended. For I made no Question but the *Prince* upon the sight of those Orders would make me Welcom, and grant me a Convoy, if I should have occasion, for the rest of my Journey. *Shanawas-Can* understanding who I was, and that the deceas'd King had employ'd me into *Europe* upon his own Service and Affairs, order'd the Superiour to tell me in his Name, That I was Welcom, that he was glad of my Arrival, and that I would do him a Kindness to come and see him as soon as I could; which I was neither in a Condition, neither was I resolv'd to do so soon: being resolv'd to stay till I was ready to depart, because I would not be oblig'd to go every Day to Court. Therefore I desir'd Father *Raphael*, who was his Physician, to tell him, That I was overjoy'd at the Honour which he had done me, and that I would not fail to pay my Duty to him, so soon as I had put my self into a handsom Equipage; but that I was so out of order, that I could not stir abroad these Ten Days. I know not whether Father *Raphael* made a true Report to the Prince, or whether the Prince believ'd him; for so it happen'd, that about Twelve a Clock in the Forenoon, he sent a Gentleman to tell me, That since I was come to Town in a Week of Mirth and Jollity, while he Feasted every Day at Court, he desir'd that I would come and see him. I was surpriz'd and troubl'd at the Message; and therefore I desir'd the Superiour and Father *Raphael* to let the Prince know, That I could not yet stir abroad, and that he would be pleas'd to condescend that I might stay till the *Sunday* following before I receiv'd the Honour which he was pleas'd to do me. Which Message the *Capuchins* promis'd to deliver, but fail'd. They went to the Court 'tis true, but return'd the next moment, to tell me, That the Prince was impatient to hear what News from *Europe*. But the truth of it was, that they had an extraordinary desire to produce me. They were desirous to shew the King of *Persia*'s Agent, whom they asserted to be one of their own Nation, to the end themselves might be the more respected; and they desir'd my Comrade and my self to put on our most Sumptuous Habit, and to enlarge for their sakes the Present which we intended for the *Prince*. In which particular I was willing to gratifie 'em, and in whatever else I might

might conveniently do, as being glad of an Opportunity to acknowledge the signal Kindnesses they had done me.

It was almost Noon when we went to the *Palace*, accompany'd by the Superiour and Father *Raphael*, who attended to be assistant to us. The *Prince* was in a Room of State, a Hundred and Ten Foot long, and above Forty broad, built upon the side of the River, and all open on that side. The Ceiling, which was all of *Mosaic Work*, was plac'd upon a great Number of Pillars, Painted and Gilt between 35 and 40 Foot high. The whole Room was spread with very fair Carpets. The *Prince* and principal Nobility were sitting near three little Chimneys, which with several Brasiers warm'd the Room to that degree, that the Cold was not felt. *Shanavas-Can*, when people approach'd near him, caus'd himself to be Reverenc'd the first time, like the King of *Persia* Himself. They fell upon their Knees Two or Three Paces distant from his Person, and bow their Heads to the Ground, Three Times one after another. Which manner of Saluting the Eastern Princes, the *Europeans* have always scrupl'd to observe. And indeed it being impossible that a Man should prostrate himself in a more humble posture, such a Prostration should only be us'd before GOD himself. So that sometimes they excuse themselves from using this manner of Salutation, by saying they are of another World, and understand not the Complements of the Country. For my part I made my Obeysance with three Bows, without Kneeling. Afterward two Gentlemen led me to take my place: but I would not sit above the *Capuchins*, though the Gentlemen press'd me so to do, and the Steward of the Household who stood upon his Feet in the middle of the Room. For I was willing to do 'em that Honour, that they might have Honour done 'em by others. Which the Superiour was so glad to see, that he would needs have me take place of his Companion.

While I was paying my Obeysance, a Gentleman who had receiv'd from me at the Hall Door the King of *Persia's* Letters Patents which I held in my Hand, and the Present which I had brought for the Prince, and lay'd 'em in order in a large Silver Volder, set down the Volder at the Prince's Feet. Presently he took the Patent, open'd it, and rising up from his Seat put it to his Lips, and lay'd it upon his Forehead, then gave it to his Chief Minister to tell him the Contents. Afterwards he view'd the Present with a great deal of Curiosity and

and Satisfaction; which consisted of several pieces; that is to say,

A large Watch, with a Lunary Motion, in a Silver Case, Engrav'd and Gilt.

A Looking-Glass of Chrystal of the Rock, in a Silver Frame.

A Gold Enamel'd Box to put *Opium* Pills in. For the most part of the *Persians* take those Pills several times a day.

A Surgeons Case, furnish'd with all sorts of Instruments; being a very Delicate and Curious Piece of VVorkmanship. Knives with Handles, Neat and Delicately wrought.

The first Minister after he had receiv'd the Patent, with a low Voice gave the Prince an Account of the Contents. And I understood afterwards that the Prince should say, they had never read a Patent more Effectual nor more Honourable, and that they had very seriously consider'd it. All the Grandees admir'd the Golden Character, and the *Moresco*-Flourishes in the Margent which were very large. The Prince caus'd it to be Copy'd; and I thought it not amiss to give ye the Translation of it as follows.

HE WHO IS, HE IS GOD to whom belongs

praise and glorie.

[Regalitie is the gift of] God

In the name of God, clement and mercifull

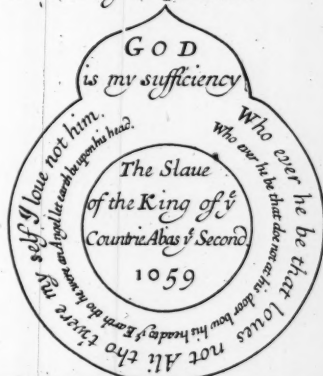
God. is elevated above all things.

[Prophetick]

[O Mahamed, O Ali]

[Judgment belongs to] God

[Assistance comes from] God.



Abas y Second Victorious
King Lord of y World.
Thrice Valliant Prince.
descended from Shuk.
Sephi from Mousa:
from Hasein.

Ali	Hasein	Husein	Ali
Mahamed	Iafer	Mousa	Ali
Mahamed	Hali	Husein	Mahamed

Absolutely Commands

The Lords of Lords who haue y Presence of a Lyon, y Aspect of Deston, The Princes who haue y Stature of Tahem-ten-ten, who seem to be in y Time of Ardëron, The Regents who carry y Majestie of Feribours, The Conquerours of Kingdoms, Sup-Intendants that unloose all manner of Knotts, and who are under y Ascehdant of Mercurie The Farmers of y Ports of y Empire of Cadgon, y Collectors of Tolls, y Provosts of Highways, & Passages of y Government are to understand, that at this present tim' wee have orderd by an Express Command y Aga's Chardin & Raisin, French Merchants, the Flower of Merchants to discharge themselves of an Employ'm^t wth they haue undertaken, & to execute such Orders as haue bin given to 'em There is therefore an absolute necessity that in what ever part of these Kingdomes of Spacious extent they shall be found, & that through what ever part of our Vast Empire they shall pass, whither going or coming, neither by way of request or demand any dutys or Tolls be exacted from 'em, of what nature soever, or what ever Authority such p'sons may haue to demand 'em, that they giue no Obstacle to their designs, nor disturb 'em wth any manner of Molestation, but that they pay 'em every where all manner of Hon^r & Respect, & giue 'em such assistance as they shall desire at all times that they shall require it. And so soon as this patent shall be adorn'd, enlightend, ennobl'd, & enliven'd, wth y Seale wth resembles the Sun in dignity & Vertue, wth makes manifest y Decree of y Lord of y World. & wth being aboute All things in Length & Breadth serues for a Law to y Universe, & that y Subscription Adorable, Holy [Sublime] most high & wth out compare shall be affix'd thereto, That they giue entire Credit to it, & render all Obedience to what it contains, as Being A Decree from on Hie Elevated above all Things, & that it serue to Perpetuity to y Persons to whom it is given. Given in y Month of Shaval y Honourable, in y yeare 1077 of y Holy flight. Peace & Happinass remain Eternally wth y followers of y Holy flight. At Asheraf y Noble in y Province of Theber = Estaan, where God always maintain Prosperitie & Abundance.



The Patent.

N^o 3.

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The *Patent* is writ upon a Sheet of Paper two Foot and a half long ; it is also beautifi'd with Letters of Gold, Blew, Red and Black. And therefore I have mark'd in great Letters, what is written in Letters of Gold, and what is written in the Original in Coloured Letters, I have inclosed between two little Hooks.

1. It is in the Original, *Hou Alla sub han Hou*. Which is an *Arabian* Sentence taken out of the *Alcoran*. *Hou* in this Language is the Essential Name of GOD, and not *Alla*, which signifies *Most High*. This *Hou* is the *Jehova* of the *Hebrews*, and signifies *He*, or *He there*. It signifies also *is*, or *He that is* ; by which is to be understood a *Being of Himself*, and *Uncreated*. This Name is to be met with in the *Alcoran* in a number of places ; and it seems that the Impostor who Compos'd that Book alludes to that Passage in the Third of *Exodus*, *He who is, has sent me*. The *Mahometans* place this word *Hou* over all their Decrees, Statutes, Petitions, and almost over all their Writings. And sometimes they add, *Alla ta à Alla*, that is to say, *He who is, is GOD Most High*.

2. These words ought to refer to the bottom of the *Patent* after these, *Being a Decree from above, Elevated on High above all things*, as much as to say, That GOD is still above. The *Persians* have this Custom in any Act or Decree, never to put the Name of GOD at the bottom of the Leaf ; but they place it at the top upon the side, and leave a Blank in that part to which it ought to refer. And this same Circumspection they observe with great Superstition, believing that they who fail therein, fail of their Respect to GOD. They have the same Respect for the King and the rest of his Ministers, in their Juridical Writings, their Petitions, and their Publick Acts : for they never insert 'em into the Body of the Writing, but always at the top of the Page upon the Right-Hand.

3. This word *Prophetick* set at the top, for the reason already observ'd, is relative to that at the bottom of the *Patent* : *The Holy Flight*, to signify that the Computation of Time, which begins from the Flight of *Mahomet* from *Mecca* to *Medina*, is an *Epoche* of Sacred Institution, and that it took its Original and it's Beginning from the time that the Person whom they call by way of Excellency, *The Prophet*, began his Mission.

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They

4 They that understand little of the Religion and Customs of the *Mahometans*, cannot be ignorant of this Invocation, in regard they pronounce it at the beginning of all their Actions, and all their Prayers. The most famous Professors of the Oriental Languages, say, That it ought to be thus Translated, *In the Name of GOD Sovereignly-Merciful*. And indeed, the Arabian word *Rahmen*, which signifies *Merciful*, is an Incommunicable Attribute of GOD, and which they never make use of but in speaking of the *Divine Clemency*. All the *Mahometans* believe that this Invocation conceals great Mysteries, and encloses an infinite number of Vertues. For they have it always in their Mouths, rising, sitting, taking a Book or an Instrument in their Hands, or a Pen. In a word, they believe they shall not prosper in any thing which they undertake, if they do not begin with this Invocation. They assure themselves that *Adam* and *Eve* spoke it before they went about any Business. It is set at the beginning of every Chapter in the *Alcoran*. And it is evident that it is in Imitation of the usual Sayings of the *Jews* and *Christians*, the one always beginning thus, *Our Aid be in the Name of GOD, who Created Heaven and Earth*: and the other with these words, *In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*.

I shall speak in another place of the Seal which is fix'd to this Patent, and of what is grav'd within. The Figure under it is call'd *Nisban*, that is, the *Signal*, and also the Flourish beneath the Subscription. It is here drawn with a Ruler, but in the Original it is made of the Tails of Letters. The Secretary who is us'd to write this Subscription draws those Tails so streight and so equal, that you would take 'em for Lines drawn by Rule and Compass. The whole Subscription is in Colour'd Letters, except the word which signifies *Lord of the World*, and those which I have Translated *Absolutely Commands*, which are in Letters of Gold. The words *Zels Ziourzoumis*, are ancient Turkish still in use in the *Lesser Tartary*. They signifie properly *My Words*, or *I speak*. And *Tamberlain* being the first that made use of those words in his Patents, the Kings of *Persia* have still retain'd the Custom. The twelve Names which are in the middle of the Flourish beneath the Subscription, are the Names of the twelve *Pontiffs*, real and lawful Successors of *Mahamet*, according to the *Persian* Belief.

5. The Governours in *Persia* are distinguish'd into Great and Petty. *Media* and *Georgia* for Example are great Governments; *Caramania* and *Gedrosia* petty Governments: Therefore they call *Beglerbeg*, which signifies *Lord of Lords*, the Governour of a Great Government; and the *Viceroy* of a Petty Government they call a *Kan*.

6. *Deston*, *Tabem-ten-ten*, and *Feribours*, are the Names of the ancient *Persian* Heroes, or if you please of the Old Giants, which deriv'd their Being from the ancient Fables. These are the *Alcides's* and the *Theseus's* of the *Persians*; and as the *Grecian Alcides* had several Names, so likewise has the *Persian*: but the most common Name which they have alway in their Mouths is that of *Rustem*.

7. *Ardezoon* is the Name of an Ancient Giant or Hero, who as the *Persians* say, conquer'd all *Asia*, and setl'd the Seat of his Empire in *Persia*. Their Histories have not preserv'd the Memory of any of his Atchievements: but their Romances feign an infinite Number which are altogether fabulous.

8. In the Original it is, *Who unloose all sorts of Knots*.

9. There is no People in the World more sottishly devoted to Judicial Astrology then the *Persians*. Of which being to speak in another place, I shall say no more here, but that the *Persians* rank all Penmen, Books and Writings under *Mercury*, whom they call *Attared*, and hold all People born under that Planet to be endu'd with a refin'd, penetrating, clear-sighted, and subtil Wit.

10. *Caagon* is the Name of an Ancient King of *China*: Nor is there any one over the whole *East* whose Memory is more Venerable. It seems, by what they report, that he was more particularly Illustrious in his Country for his Government in Peace and Administration of Justice, then for his Fears of Arms. Therefore the Eastern Monarchs assume his Name to themselves, as the Roman Emperors call'd themselves *Cæsars*. Moreover, it has the same signification in *Persia*, as *August* in *English*; so that when the *Persians* would express any thing that is Great and Royal, they say, *Caagoniè*. Thus I have explain'd the truth of this little Figure; and I believe
we

we shall be as little troubl'd to understand the whole Language of this *Patent*, though Metaphor and Hyperbole are therein most furiously injur'd.

11. The Term which I have Translated *Flowre of Merchants*, signifies Exquisite, Choice, Elected, or most Excellent. The *Persians* use it commonly as an Epithet for all sorts and Conditions of Men ; Great Lords, Foreign Ministers, Merchants ; and bring it down even to Tradesmen.

12. It is in the *Persian*, Nor by Importunate Flatteries, nor by Hanghty Demands.

13. The word which I have Translated *To Inconrage*, signifies properly *To Water*.

14. These words *In Dignity and Virtue*, are not in the *Patent*, only I have put 'em in the place of those that are, which signifies the *Seal of great Quality resembling the Sun*.

15. These words are to be referr'd to the words *Absolutely Commands*, which are under the Flourish beneath the Subscription. They are call'd here *The Decree of the Lord of the World*. *Tamberlain* was the first that made use of these lofty Expressions. Now the *Grand Signior* and the *Indian Monarch* make use of 'em as well as the King of *Persia* ; while every one maintains that it belongs to him only, and assumes it as his most Glorious Title. In the *Persian Language* it is, *Sahab-Cerani*. It may be also interpreted *Master of the Age*, but the other Translation is more clear and intelligible, and discovers more plainly the sottish pride that is contain'd in it.

16. We shall speak more particularly in another place of the Marks by which the *Persians* distinguish Times and Seasons. Here therefore I shall say no more then for the understanding of the Date, that the Month *Shavel* is the tenth, and that the *Arabians* have given Epithets to all the Months ; as for Example, to the *First*, the Epithet of *Sacred* ; to the *Seventh*, that of *Praise-worthy* ; to the *Ninth*, that of *Blessed* ; and to this here mention'd the Stile of *Honourable*. The word *Hegyra*, which is Translated *Flight*, proceeds from a Verb, which signifies to *fly*, as also to *retire*. So that the *Hegyra* of the *Mahometans* is the same thing with the *Exodus* of

the *Hebrews*. And without doubt *Omar* had that same *Exodus* in his Mind, when he setl'd the *Mahometan* *Epaēt*, from the time of *Mahomet's* departure from *Mecca*, which was the place in *Arabia* where Idols and Idolatry were most in Esteem.

17. In the Original it is *Hambager*, that is, *Flying together*

18. As the *Arabians*, as we have said, gave Epithets to the Months, the *Persians* also have given Epithets to the Principal Cities of their Empire. *Ispahan* and *Casbin* are call'd *The Seat of Monarchy*. *Canbadar*, *A Secure Retreat*. *Asberif* was call'd *The Ennobl'd*, because *Abas* the Great built a Spacious and Sumptuous Palace, and usually kept his Court there when he was in the Province of *Mazenderan*. Which Province is call'd *Tabar Eftaan* in all the Publick Acts, in the *Exchequer*, and *Chancery*; but in common Discourse they call it *Mazanderoon*. *Tabar Eftaan* signifies a place of Wedges, to denote that the Country is full of Wood; for that where there is great plenty of Wood, great store of Wedges are requir'd to cleave it.

19. The Impression of the Seal, which is at the bottom of the Date in the Translation, is not only upon the back of the Patent, but at the bottom likewise. This is the Seal of the Prime Minister, who is call'd *Mahomet Mehdy*. The *Persians* never put their Qualities in their Seals, nor any Title by which they may be known. There is only their own Name; their Fathers Name, which serves in stead of a Surname; according to the fashion of the *Hebrews*; and the Name of their Family when it has the Honour to be descended from *Mahomet* by his Daughter *Fatima*. For the *Mahometans* acknowledge no other Nobility then to be the Original Branches of that Progeny.

I had also joyn'd to the King of *Persia's* Patent a Note of Recommendation from the High Steward of his Household; which I was desirous the *Viceroy* should see, as being assur'd that it would work more effectually then the Patent it self: Which prov'd to be true; insomuch that I understood afterwards, that it was to that Note, to which I was beholding for all the good Offices and Honours which I receiv'd at *Tefflis*: which was as follows.

THe Commissioners of Governments, the Farmers Royal, Officers of Cities, Receivers of Toll, and Provosts of the High-Way, will have the (1) Honour to know, That M. Chardin and M. Raifin, French Merchants, the Flowre of Merchants, having brought to the most High and Sublime Court Rarities and Curiosities set with Precious Stones, worthy the (2) Wardrobe of the (3) Slaves of the (4) Distributer of Temporal Goods, they are Commanded to fetch others; and have expresse Order to cause to be made in their Country several Pieces of Workmanship for the Service of his Slaves; to that purpose they are Honour'd with a Patent under the (5) Sacred Seal; and that is the Reason they are forc'd to Travel. Where-ever they come therefore, it is absolutely requisite that they have Respect shewn 'em, and that all Reasonable Assistance that shall be necessary, be afforded 'em. Care also must be taken that they be not molested or put to Trouble, nor must any Persons whatever signifie in any manner whatsoever, that they expect or desire any Duties from 'em. For if it comes to the Ears of the Slaves of the Lord of Human Kind, that they have claim'd any thing of 'em, bad will be the Fruit of such an Information. Written in the Month of Shaval the Ennobl'd; 1076. of the Holy Flight; To which be Honour and Glory.

In the Margent there was,

The Intention of this is to give all those whom it may concern to understand, That the Bearers hereof are to be Treated and Respected according to the Tenour of the Patent, to which all the World pays Homage. The words of the Seal signifie Maxud the Son of Caleb, the Delight of the Creatures.

1. It is in the *Persian*, *They are Honour'd by that which they give 'em to understand.* For so the *Grande'es of Persia* write to the *Inferiour Officers*: especially when those *Officers* have their dependance upon 'em. This they do to maintain the difference which their *Authority and Imployment*, puts between 'em: and that there may not be any confusion by their manner of *Communication* one with another.

2. The Word which I have Translated *Wardrobe* is *Sercar*, Which signifies properly *Chief of the Workmanship*, and also a *Magazine*. For the *King and the Grande'es of Persia* keep in their Houses *Manufactures* of all sorts of *Trades and Arts*. They call those places *Carconè*, or *Work-Houses*. They are like the *Gallery of the Grand Duke of Florence*, or the *Galleries in the Louvre in France*. They maintain therein a great number of excellent *Masters*, who have there a *Pension* and their *Dyet* as long as they *Live*: and they find 'em *Materials* for their *Work*. And they make 'em *Presents*, or advance their pay upon every *Curious Piece* which they finish.

3. 'Tis out of *Pride and Vainglory* that they express themselves in these *Terms*. *Worthy the Wardrobe of the Slaves of the King.* As much as to say, that the *Kings Wardrobe* is so full of rare and pretious *Jewels*, that no body can bring any thing that is fit to be put therein. And therefore *Persian Eloquence* makes very much use of this *Circumlocution of Language* upon all occasions. So speaking of an *Ambassador* that has pay'd his *Obeysance* to the *King*, they say, *That he has kiss'd the Feet of the Slaves of the King.* In like manner, when they would say, that the *King* has perform'd any great *Action*, they say, *The Slaves of the Prince have perform'd such a great Action.* Forms of *Speech* that sufficiently discover the *Vanity* of the *Eastern People*. I take 'em to be drawn from the *Alcoran*, which the *Mahometans* affirm to be the source of true *Eloquence*. There you shall meet with many such like *Expressions*. As for *Example*, speaking of the *Works of GOD*, they call 'em, *The Works of the Angels. The Angels Created the Heavens and the Earth.* VVhich, say the *Mahometans*, more clearly expresses the *Power of GOD*. For if the *Angels* have so much *Power* as to *Create VVorlds*, how great must be his *Power* whose only *Servants and Ministers* they are? In short, all the *Oriental*s are perfect *Slaves*; their *Sovereigns* having

having a right to command their Lives, and Fortunes, their VVives and Childern. But they are so far from being terrifi'd with their condition, that they Glory in it. The Grandees themselves count it an Honour to be call'd Slaves: and *Shacouli*, or *Coolom-Sba*, which signifies the Kings Slaves, is as Honourable a Title in *Persia*, as that of *Marquess* in *France*.

4. *Valineamet*, which I have Translated *Distributor of Temporal Goods*, is a compound Word. *Vali* signifies a *Sovereign*, and absolute *Lieutenant*, who has the same Power in the place where he is settl'd as he that Rules the Empire. The *Persians* also frequently call their King *Vali-Iron*, to let yee understand that he is in *Persia*, which they call *Iron*, the true Successor, Vicar, and Lieutenant of *Ali*, to whom GOD gave the Dominion of the VVorld, after the Death of *Mahomet*. *Neamet* is deriv'd from *Inara*, which signifies a *Present*, *Favour*, *Temporal Grace*, or *Bountiful conferring of a Benefit*. So that by the VVord *Vali-Neamet*, which is the most usual Title which the *Persians* give their King, speaking to his Majesty, they mean, *That he is GODS Lieutenant in the World, to distribute in his behalf all the Benefits and Blessings of Fortune to Men, and as it were the Conduit-Pipe, through which Heaven Conveys it's Blessings to the Earth.*

5. It is in the *Persian Moubarec-Nishan*. It has been said that the Subscription, wherein are VVritten the Twelve Names of the Successors of *Mahomet*, is call'd *Nishan*, though *Moubarec* signifies *Blessed*.

I said nothing to the *Viceroy* when I pay'd my Obeysance, nor did he speak a word to me, or make the least sign. VVithin a Moment after Dinner was serv'd in, he sent me upon a Plate of Gold the half of a large Loaf that was before him, and order'd his Carver that brought it me, to tell me, that I was welcome. A little after that, he sent to ask me how the War went forward between the *Turks* and the *Polanders*. During the Second course he caus'd us to be serv'd with his own Wine in the Cup that he Drank out of himself. The Wine stood in a great Flagon of Gold Enamell'd; and the Cup was set in the lower part with Rubies and *Turquoises*. The Gentleman that fill'd us out the Wine, bid us in the Prince's Name, *Be Merry, and Eat Heartily*. When the Third Course was upon the Table, the Prince did us yet farther Honour, and sent us part of the Roastmeat which was set before

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his own Person; that is to say, a *Pheasant*, two *Partridges*, and a *Quarter of a Hind*; and order'd our Attendant to tell us, *That the Wine would make the Wild-t owl go down the better; though he had commanded that we should not be press'd to Drink.* All which Honours I receiv'd with low bows, but without making any Answer. And the *Capuchins* did the same. For it is the Custom among the *Persians* never to return any other kind of Answer to those kind of Favours.

I shall say nothing of the Order and Magnificence of the Feast, but only this, That there was hard Drinking, that there was a most prodigious Quantity of Meat, and that they brought it up some Fish, and some Flesh, in respect to the Patriarch and the Bishop who were there, and profess Abstinence from Flesh all their Life-time. We rose from the Table after we had sat three Hours; at what time others of the Guests were already withdrawn: though as yet they had not tak'n away the Roast-Meat. Retiring, we made a low Reverence to the Prince, who then sent me word once more, *That I was Welcom*; and caus'd us to be conducted Home to our Lodging.

The 14th, the Prince sent me two large Flagons of Wine, two *Pheasants*, and two Brace of *Partridges*. The Gentleman that brought the Present told me, That the Prince had given him Order to enquire, *Whether I wanted any thing and whether the Capuchins took care to let me not want Company*: and to tell me moreover, *That if I lik'd the Wine, I might send every day to his Buttery.* In answer to which, I desir'd the Gentleman to assure the Prince, *That my Landlords did not let me want any thing, and that we would all together drink his Health in the Wine which he had sent.* Nor indeed could better Wine be tasted: So that we were very Merry with a *Polish Surgeon*, and two *Syrians*, that serv'd the Prince, whom we sent for to Sup with us.

The 16th, the Prince sent to invite me to his Niece's Wedding, who was Marry'd in his *Palace*. I went about Five a Clock with the Superiour and Father *Raphael*; but the Ceremony of the Marriage was almost over, before we came. It was perform'd in the Great Room of State, where we had Din'd the Sunday before. I had a great desire to have seen her, but because the Room was full of Ladies, there was no Admittance for any but the Prince and his near Relations, the *Catholicos* and the Bishops.

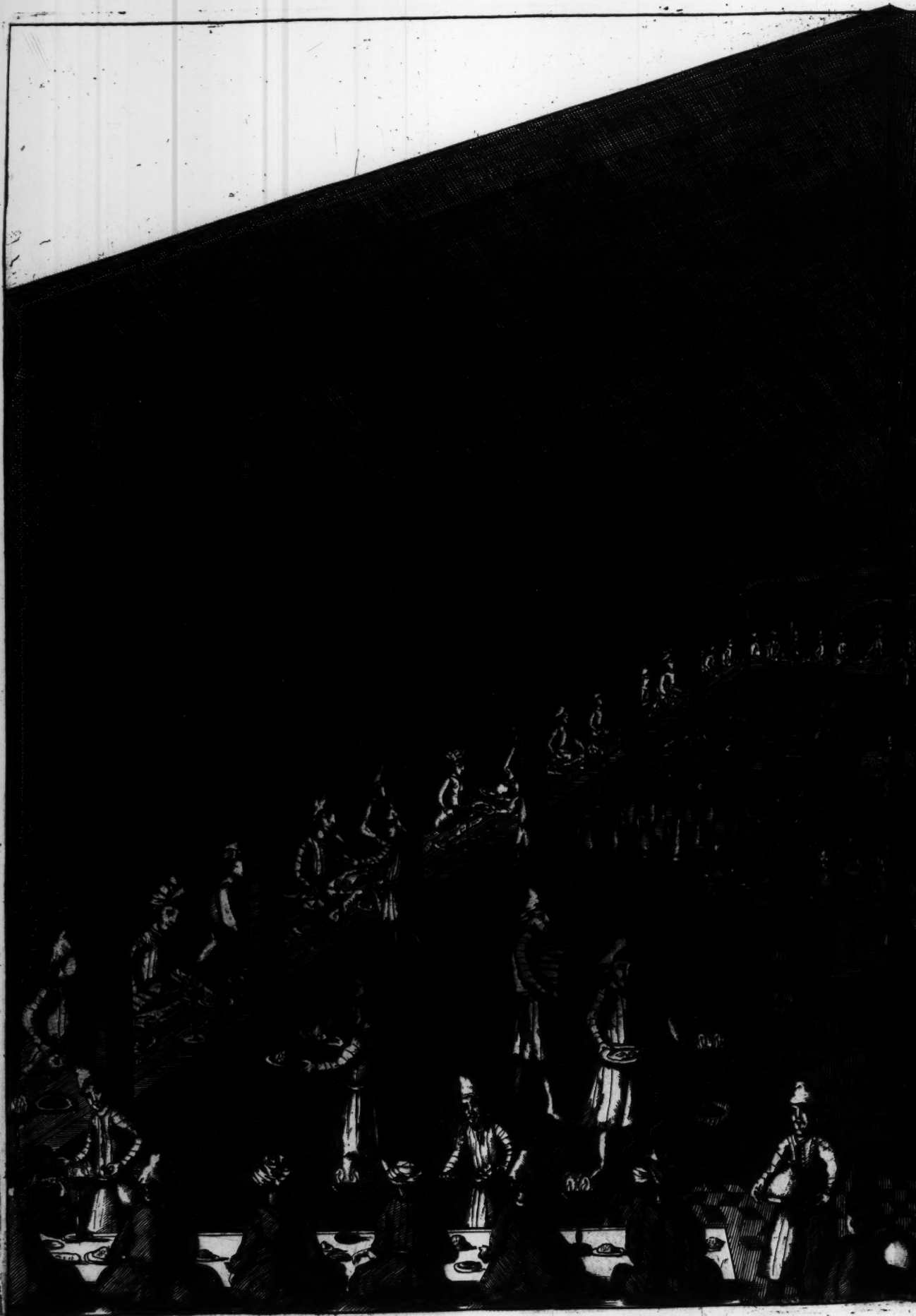
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This same Custom of forbidding Women the Company of Men, has been only in *Georgia*, since the Country became subject to the *Persians*; nor is this Prohibition but only in the Cities. For in the Country, and in such places where there are no *Mahometans*, they go without Vails, and make no scruple both to come into Company, and discourse with Men at their pleasure. But in regard the Customs of the *Mahometans* prevail more and more in *Georgia* with their Religion, we find the Women to be more and more restrain'd of their Liberty: and that lovely Sex are forc'd out of Conformity to good Manners to keep apart by themselves. The Nuptial Feast was kept upon a Terrace of the *Palace*, surrounded with Beds of State, or *Estrades* rais'd about two Foot, and six Foot in depth. The Terrace was cover'd with a large Pavillion fix'd upon five Pillars, two and twenty Foot high, and about five Inches in Diameter. The Lining was of Cloth of Gold and Silver, Velvet and painted Cloath so neatly and artificially intermix'd, that by the Light of the Tapers it look'd like a Wainscot of Flowers and *Morefco* Work. In the midst of this sort of Room of State, if I may so call it, stood a large Fountain spouting out Water. However, we did not feel the Coldness of the Weather: For the Crowd of People, and the large moving Hearths that were in the Room, almost stew'd us before we got out. The Floor was cover'd with fair Carpets, and about Forty Branches gave Light to the whole Room. Of which the Four that hung next the *Prince* were of Gold, the rest of Silver; which Branches usually weigh Forty Pounds apiece, the Foot being a matter of Fifteen Inches in Diameter. The Branch about a Foot and a half high, carries a Bowl full of pure Tallow, which feeds two lighted Matches. And these sort of Lamps give a very great Light.

The Figure, or rather Picture inserted, gives yee a distinct *Idea* of the Order of this Festival. The Guests were rank'd upon Beds of State, or *Estrades*. The *Prince* had his Place upon an *Estrade* somewhat higher rais'd then the rest, cover'd with a Canopy in the likeness of a *Duomo*. His Sons and his Brothers were upon his Right Hand; the Bishops upon his Left: The Bridegroom's Place was betwixt both. As for my self and the Capuchins, the *Prince* order'd us to sit immediately next below the Bishops. For you must understand there were at this Feast above a Hunder'd Persons. The Musick stood at the lower end. And now in a short time after we were all plac'd, the Bridegroom enter'd lead by the *Catholicos*.

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The Nuptiall Feast



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Who having taken his place, the Princes Relations, went every one to Complement and Present him. Which was also done by the greatest part of the Guests, insomuch that it look't like a kind of Procession, which was the reason it lasted above half an Hour. The Presents consisted in Money, some Gold, some Silver, as also in little Silver Cups. I confess I was desirous to know how much the Presents amounted to; but as far as I could find, 'twas no such great Sum, as not exceeding above Two Hundred Crowns.

However, let it be what it will, in the height of this Ceremony, Supper was serv'd up in this manner. In the first place Table-Cloaths were spread before all the Guests, and in three parts of the Court before the Tent. Which Table Cloaths were as large as the Estrades. After which done, the Bread was serv'd in. Of which there were three sorts, the one as thin as Paper, the next about a Finger thick, and the third sweeten'd with Sugar. The Meat was brought in cover'd in large Silver Dishes, but far larger then are made in *Europe*. The Plate and the Cover usually weighing about Four Hundred and Five Hundred Ounces. They that brought up the Dishes first into the Room, set 'em down in order upon a Table Cloath at the Entrance; from whence other Officers carry'd 'em before the Squire-Carvers, who cut off several hollow Plates full, and order'd 'em to be sent to the Guests; the Princes being first serv'd, and afterwards the rest according to their Degrees: and the custom is to Carve one Dish to all the Company; then of another, and so of all the rest. The whole Feast consisted of three Courses every one containing Sixty of those large flat Dishes a piece. The First was of all sorts of *Pilo*, or Rice boyl'd with Meat, of which they make several sorts of distinct Colours and Tasts. The Yellow is boyl'd with Sugar, Cinamon and Saffron. The Red, with Juice of Pomegranates, but the White is most natural and the best. This *Pilo* is a very good sort of Diet, pleasing to the Tast and very wholesome

The Second Course was of Meats Bak'd, Stew'd, and Fricassiy'd; and other Ragoo's of the same Nature. The Third of Roasted. Not but that in all the three Courses there was an Intermixture of Fish, Eggs, and Salades for the sake of the Ecclesiasticks. For our parts they serv'd us both the Flesh and Fish. In a Word, every thing was set upon the Table, and taken away with that order and silence that was to be admir'd. Every one did his Duty without speaking a word. So that you shall

shall hear three French-Men at one Table make more noise than a Hunderd and Fifty Persons, that were in the Room at that Feast.

But that which was most to be wonder'd at after all this excellent order, was the Court Cupboard which contain'd about a Hunderd and Twenty Vessels, that appertain'd to Drinking; Bowls, Cups, Horns, Sixty Flagons and Twelve Jugs. The Jugs were for the most part Silver. The Bowls and Cups were some of Polish'd Gold, others Gold Enamell'd, some set with pretious Stones, others only Silver; the Horns were Embellish'd after the same manner as the Richer sort of Cups; and of several proportions. The ordinary ones were about Eight Inches High, Broad at the Top about Two, very black and Polish'd. Some were of *Rhinoceros's* Snouts, others of Deers Horns, whereas the Common sort were made of the Horns of Oxen and Sheep. However the Custom of making use of 'em for Drinking Cups, and Embellishing 'em has been all along observ'd among the Eastern People. I cannot tell how long the Feast lasted: for I did not stay it out. Only this I know, that though it was Midnight before we went away, the Roast-meat was not then taken off the Table. Nor did they begin to Drink at first, till the Third Course came, that they began to be Warm, and then they Drank their Healths after this manner. They sent to Eight Persons, who were the Prince's nearest Relations, four upon the Right, and four upon the Left, Eight Bowls of the same Bigness and Equally full of Wine. At what time they rose and stood up till they had Drank; they that were upon the Right Hand Drinking first: they on the left hand Pledg'd 'em; and then the same Eight Bowls were fill'd again, and carry'd to the next in the same order till the Health was gone Round. Which done, they began again Eight Bigger Bowls. For the Custom of the Country is to Drink the Grandees Health last in the biggest Cups. Which is done on purpose to Fuddle their Guests the more Effectually; by that means engaging 'em out of Respect and Esteem for the Persons to Drink the more Liberally till they are quite Drunk. In this manner they Drank all the two last Hours that I stay'd at the Feast, and as afterwards I understood, from that time till next Morning. The first Bowls held no more than an Ordinary Glas: and for the last which I saw Drank off, they held about a Pint and a half. Nevertheless they were only those that were accounted Moderate Draughts. The *Capuchins* and my self were exempted from Drinking, and in truth

truth, had I Drank as much as my Neighbours, I had dy'd upon the Spot: but the Prince had so much kindness for us as to give order not to carry us any Healths; nevertheless we had both Wine and Water, and a Gold Tumbler standing before us all the while. But they never fill'd us, but when we call'd for it. When the Healths were began, the Musick began to Play: being a confus'd mixture of Vocal and Instrumental, which so pleas'd the Company, that they seem'd Ravish'd with it. But for my part I could hear nothing that was Musical, but rather only what was harsh and full of discord. The Prince also being in a pleasant Humour, as upon whom the Liquor began to work, sent to the Superiour to bid him send for his *Spinette*. Who with his Comrade were no less mad at the Extravagant Fancy of the Prince, though the Chief cause of their disgust was my being there, fearing I should make some Relation of the Passage to their Disadvantage, and aggravate their sawning Complaisance upon such an occasion; that a Superiour of a Mission, should condescend to prostitute himself like a Fidler before a *Mahometan* Prince, in an Assembly of Infidels and Hereticks, Clergy and Laity, that in the Condition they were in, might well be term'd an Assembly of Drunkards. However when the *Spinette* came they set it upon the Table in the midst of the Room, and the Superiour was order'd to Play; at what time the Prince having order'd him to Sing and Play together, he first Sung the *Magnificat*, the *Te Deum*, and *Tantum Ergo*, and after that several Court-Aires in *Italian* and *Spanish*, for the Church Musick was then too Grave for the Prince. Besides the *Spinette* was out of Tune, and the Superiour play'd out a Tune a purpose, and being very Old beside, and brok'n with Age and Labour, you may well Judge what sort of Divertisement his Consort could be. However it was Pastime for the Prince for Two Hours together. During which time, the Steward of the Houshold came to me, and ask'd me whither the use of Instruments were permitted in our Religion? To which when I answer'd, *It was*; he reply'd that the *Mahometan* Religion forbid it expressly; and though it were generally us'd in *Persia*, yet yet that custom did not make it Lawful. He told me moreover that Instruments were particularly forbid in the exercise of Religion, in regard that GOD requir'd only the Praises of Human Voice. During which dispute, a *Georgian* Bishop fell in to discourse with Father *Raphael* upon the same Subject. I cannot tell all that was then said, in regard I did not well understand the Language, nor would the Father be my Inter-

preter. Only he told me thus much, that he was offended to see the Superiour Divertise the Company at a Festival with the same Hymns, which he pretended were appointed for the Service of GOD in the Church. Father *Raphael* also added, That he took it very ill, that the Viceroy had us'd his Authority so far, to oblige the Superiour to play upon the Lute, and sing at every turn to please his Humour; only that their Security depended so much upon his Favour, that they durst not deny him any thing. About Midnight therefore, as I told yee, we left 'em; after we had tak'n leave of the Prince with all due Reverence. Nevertheless before he would let me go, he ask'd me how his Kinsman the King of *Spain* did, and drank his Health in a Bowl set with Pretious Stones: and would needs have both the *Capuchins* and my self pledge the Health in the same Cup. Though I know not whether he did it out of Vain-glory, or to honour the Superiour, whom he knew to be a Subject of his most Catholick Majesty.

The 17th, reflecting upon the Title of King of *Spain*, which the Prince had assum'd to himself, and finding that it was not incoherent with what several Authors alledge, that the *Spaniard* Originally came out of *Iberia*, I ask'd the *Capuchins*, How the Prince claim'd Affinity with the King of *Spain*? They answer'd, That *Clement* the VIII. having written to *Taymuras*, and in his Letters call'd him Kinsman to *Philip* the Second, and the *Iberians* and *Spaniards* Brothers, his Successors ever since retain'd that Imaginary Kindred. And upon that occasion they told me several Stories of the Pride and Vain-glory of the *Georgians*, and of the Viceroy in particular, and shew'd me the Copy of a Letter which he wrote about two Years since to the King of *Poland*. Of which I have inserted the Translation in this Journal, as being an Authentick Piece, and proper to shew that the pride of the *Georgians* is not a little Extravagant, and because the Crowd of Vain-glorious Titles with which it is stuff'd, discovers plainly, that the Eastern Nations beyond all compare surpass all others in the World in Vanity.

PRaise, Glory and Adoration are to be given to GOD most Omnipotent, who has Created and Preserves all Things; who was neither Produc'd nor Engender'd; Exempt from all Evils; Ineffable, Merciful to all, as well the Dead as the Living; who Commands, with absolute Power both Great and Mean, and Governs 'em with Clemency. The most High, the most Puissant Prince,

Prince, the King of the Georgians, Licimienians, Licians, Mesulcians, Shevians, Sheviultians, Suans, Ossi, Bualtians, Circassians, Tusicians, Psianetians, Tidisiceans, Jalibusians, the People both on this side, and beyond the High Mountains, and of all the places there inhabited; Lord of the three Grand Tribes (the Georgian term is Eristava, Eris signifying People, and Tava Chieftain, or Prince) and of the Holy Seat of Schette, Capital City of all the Provinces which God through his favour has given us in Heritage: King of Iberia and Mucrania, Sabatian, Trialec, Talschire, Sometta, Chianchia, and Schianvanda, and of several other Kingdoms which he possesses with settl'd and absolute Authority, and over which he has full Power; who is descended from Jesse, David, Solomon, and who by the Grace and Power of GOD is loaden with Prosperity; the Vanquisher of Vanquishers, the Invincible King of Kings, the most High Lord, Shanavas-Can. To you John Casimir, who are laden with Honour, and can replenish Men with it; who are Famous in Peace, and well edifi'd in Virtue; who by the Mercy and Power of GOD are August, Happy, Born under a favourable Constellation, most great in Magnificence, who are always a doer of Good. Who for your rare merit are most worthy of a Throne and a Crown, most Potent Sovereign, Victor over Victors, Victorious over Enemies, Celebrated Exterminator of Rebels, Prince born a Christian and bred up in the Christian Religion; Renown'd for feats of Arms; Hereditary King of Poland, Gothia, Vandalia, Lithuania, Russia, Prussia, Livonia, Mazovia, Samotia, Chiovia, Ciarnacovia and several other Kingdoms and Provinces; most Serene Lord whose renown is expanded over all, and Reaches to the Sun. To you, I say, Great King of Poland, without Compare, profound in Wisdom and all manner of Knowledge, and Most Illustrious through all those just Elogies which are given you, for having understood all the most noble Languages. We salute yee withal our Affection, and with as much ardour as the Obligation of our Heart good will desires it, we wish you perfect Content, long Peace, and multipl'd Prosperities. We render infinite Thanks to God for having learnt the Estate of your Health, by Letters brought us from the most Illustrious and most Excellent Lord John Leszczynski, Count of Lersno, Great Chancellor in your Kingdom, and Lieutenant General in upper Poland. We humbly beseech his Divine Goodness that we may understand from time to time the continuance of your Health in its perfection, that you tast without Molestation the Fruits of a Happy Peace, and that you enjoy a perfect Felicity. Your good Servant Burgibug-Danbec, Officer
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of your Kingdom, a Gentleman no less Illustrious for his Fidelity then Nobility, is come hither in *Quality* of an Envoy from your Royal Majesty to renew the Peace, and Ratifie the Friendship and good Correspondence between the happy King Sultan Soliman, whose Grandeur is advanc'd to the Heavens, and Establish'd over all the Earth, a Prince most High, Supream, Incomparable, Infinite in Power, accusom'd to make himself by force ador'd by his most formidable Enemies, who enriches the Universe no less then the Sea, and who is worthy more Praises then it is possible for Men to give him. Monarch of Persia, Media, Parthia, Hircania, the Persian Golph, and the Islands therein contain'd, Caramania, Aracofia, Margiana and other Innumerable Principalities and Lordships. Your Agent has pass'd through our Territories, without having suffer'd the least Inconvenience, or receiv'd the least Molestation. He has now taken his leave to depart by the Assistance of God toward your Royal Majesty. I beseech you through the hearty good will and Friendship which we mutually bear one to the other, that this good Subject and my Domestick may be as welcom to your self, as he has been to your Predecessor.

At the Royal Palace of Tefflis, March 26. 1671. of the Birth of Jesus Messia.

The Twentieth, I desir'd the Prefect or Superiour of the Theatins, and Father Raphael to return Thanks to the Prince for the Favours and Honours he had done me, and to pray him that I might have an Officer to conduct me to Iriwan the chief City of Armenia the Greater. To which the Prince satisfi'd with the Complement, and no less ready to grant me my request, Commanded the Capuchins to tell me, That he had a great Kindness for the Europeans, and would have wish'd I could have stay'd longer at Tefflis, to the end he might have made it more clear to me what he profess'd; but that he would not presume, neither had he any desire to stop me, because I was going upon the Kings business, and therefore that I was at Liberty to go when I pleas'd; that there was all manner of security within his Territories, and that therefore I needed no Convoy; notwithstanding that he would send one of his Officers along with me if I desir'd it.

The Fathers told me afterwards that he had held 'em in a long discourse concerning his earnest desire that the Europeans would come and settle in Georgia, to which purpose they had orders to tell me, that if they would come thither for Trade, he would Grant 'em all the Priviledges and Advantages they could

could desire. That his Territories extended to the *Black-Sea*, and that bearing a great sway in *Persia*, and being highly esteem'd in *Turkey*, such *Europeans* as design'd to the *Indies*, could not chuse a better Road then through his Territories; and that he was assur'd that when they had once travell'd it, they would always make choice of it for the future.

I desir'd the Fathers to return my most humble Thanks to the Prince, for the Kindness which he had for our Nation; and to let him know, That I would not fail to give to the *French East-India Company* Notice of his good Intentions, which if he would be pleas'd to signifie in a Letter, I would certainly take care to have it sent. Lastly, That he would do me a great Honour to grant me one of his Domestick Servants, to Conduct me to the next Government, of which I should not fail to give an Account to the King and his Ministers, when I should be arriv'd at *Ispahan*.

The 24th, the *Tibilelle* (for so is the Bishop of *Tefflis* call'd, as I have said already) came to see me. He told me, That the Prince had commanded him to acquaint me, That having consider'd upon what I had sent to him about Writing to the *French Company* for settling a Trade, and a Passage through *Georgia*, He was about to have done it, to inform 'em of the Advantage they might make of a Trade into that Country: but in regard he was no more then a Vassal to the King of *Persia*, he was afraid his Majesty would look upon it as a Crime to have Written without his Order to Strangers about Business. However, I might assure 'em this, That if they would send Factors into his Country, they should find many sorts of Merchandizes that were proper for *Europe* very cheap; besides that they should be receiv'd with all the Civility imaginable. In answer to which I desir'd the *Tibilelle* to assure the Prince that I would faithfully discharge my Trust. The Prelate staid with me about a quarter of an Hour in my Chamber; and at his departure I presented him a very fair Rosary of Coral: according to the Custom of Repaying the Visits of a Person of Quality. Nor were the *Capuchins* less glad of the Visit I had receiv'd, then of the manner of my Acknowledgment, in regard the Bishop of *Tefflis* had never been at their House before.

The 25th, the Prince sent me a Present of Wine, and order'd the Messenger to tell me, That he had appointed a *Persian* of his own Family for my Guide; that he had commanded a Letter of Orders to be dispatch'd that I might set forward as soon as I pleas'd.

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The 26th, Father *Raphael* made me spend two Hours with an old Woman that practis'd Physick by the help of an infinite Number of Receipts : Of which he caus'd me to write down some that he had heard People make the greatest Brags of, in my Table-Book.

For the Dropsie, R half a Dram of the Juice of the Roots of Garden-Chiches, and repeat the Remedy every other Day.

To stop a Flux of Urine, Eat for three days together the inner Skins of the Gysern of a Capon roasted, five every day.

Against the Biting of a Scorpion, Take a Live-Hen, pull the Feathers off the Rump, and lay it upon the Wound. For then the Hen sucks the Poyson into her Body, and dies. When the Convulsion begins to seize the Hen, take another, and apply her in the same manner, and so another till all the Poyson be suck'd out.

For the Yellow Jaundise, Make a Bed of Boyl'd Rice, and lay the Patient well cover'd upon it ; or else put him into a Bath of Milk, and it works the same effect.

For External Pains of the Joynts, Take either the Decoration or the Perfume of three Drams of Hellebore.

For Inward Pains of what sort soever, Take Potions of Mummy.

For all sorts of Falls, Bruises and Hurts, Take Mummy in Drink, wrap up the Patient in a Cows Hide, and let him bleed. The Wound must be heal'd with the Powder of the Herb *Mullein*.

For Defluxions and Rheumes to the Head and Throat, Take Perfume of Yellow Amber.

For the Dysentery, Give the Infusion of the Leaves and Berries of Myrtle ; or else the Blood of a Roasted Hare infus'd in Wine.

For the *Hemorrhoids*, Powder the Leaves of *Plantain*, and strew upon the part affected.

For

For Pains in the Reins, take the Decoction of the Leaves and Seed of Marsh-Mallows.

For Ulcers in the Reins, use Milk.

Against a Pleuresy, take two little thin Cakes of ordinary Meal, and boil 'em in Water with Roch-Altum and Madder, and apply 'em as hot as may be endur'd upon the side, the one behind and the other before: this Remedy must be dayly repeated till the Cure be perfected.

Against a Cough, make use of the Root of the Herb call'd Hounds-Tongue or Dogs-Tongue.

The most usual Cure for Agues in this Country, is to make Plaisters of the Fat of a Sheeps Rump, Cinamon, Cloves and Cardamomes, and all the time of the cold fit to lay these Plaisters upon the Forehead, Stomach and Feet. When the hot fit is over, take off those Plaisters and lay on others, made of the Leaves of Cichory, Plantain, and the Herb call'd Solanum or Nightshade, afterwards they take a Sucking-Pig, cut it in two and clap it to the Feet. All which time the Patient is fed with Bread and Cream of Almonds, eating nothing that is boyl'd.

Father *Raphael* assur'd me that he had seen 'em in that Country cure Agues, by carrying the Patient in the height of his Cold fit and plunging him over Head and Ears in the Water. It is a thing hard to be beleiv'd; and in Truth, to me it appear'd a thing altogether Extravagant, in regard it seem'd to be so Dangerous. However it is observ'd that the difference of Climates and Temperaments of Countrys produces far different effects in Remedies, so that the Remedy, if I may so say, that Kills in one Country, does but only stir a Man in another.

In the Evening the Princes Chancellors Secretary, brought me the Officer who was to conduct me to *Erivan*; and in my presence gave him the Letter of Orders for his so doing. Of which the Translation follows.

G O D.

U*nder severe Penalties the Noble Lord (1) Emin-Aga, is Commanded exactly to cause to be Executed the Tenor of the Patent, which the Deceas'd King, who was here below the Master of (2) Fortune, and is now in (3) Heaven, gave to Mr. Chardin, and Mr. Raifin, (4) French Europeans, by Vertue of which the (5) Judges of Places, Provosts of Highways, Receivers of Tolls, and all sorts of Officers of the Empire are oblig'd to Honour 'em, and to take care that no Duty be exacted from 'em.*

The said Emin-Aga shall make it his Business to conduct 'em safe to the Blessed City of Erivan, without receiving any Damage or Molestation by the way: that nothing may hinder 'em from arriving well satisfi'd at the Palace, of the (6) Support of Human kind. And all Persons to whom this Letter shall be shewn, shall take care not to Contradict or Transgress it in any manner.

Given in the Month of Zialcadè the Sacred, in the Year of the Hegyra 4083.

1. *Emin* has the same Signification as *Mir*, and is all one. They signifie Lord, Noble, Valiant, Chief of a Family, or Tribe. We find *Deut. 2. v. 10.* That the Word *Emim* is very Ancient in some of these Significations. Though properly in *Hebrew*, *Aim* signifies *Terrible*, and thence *Haemim*, Gyants or Men of great Valour.

2. To render it Word for Word, it signifies *Master of the Conjunction*. For the *Persians* doating as they do upon Judicial Astrology, believe that Victory and all good Fortune proceed from the Conjunction of two Stars, and therefore it is that they say, a Man is *Master of the Conjunctions*, when nothing but Prosperity and Happiness attends him.

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3. It is in the *Persian*, *Whose Nest is in Heaven*: For the Followers of *Ali* hold the Kings of *Persia* for Saints, in the Quality of *Mahomet's* Successors and Lieutenants of GOD. And it is an Article of their Faith, That their Kings go to Heaven, by a Destiny as Uncontroulable and as Natural as the Birds fly to their Nests.

4. The word which I Translated *Europeans*, is *Frangui*; for the *Orientals* call by that Name all that are born in the *Christian* Dominions of *Europe*, except those of *Moscow*. *Frangui* is most certainly deriv'd from *François*; the *Turks* having assuredly given that Name to all the *Europeans*, because the *French* were the first among 'em with whom they had Commerce and Alliance.

5. *Homal*, which I have Translated *Judges*, is as much as *Petty Regents*, or Inferiour Officers. Under which Names are comprehended the *Daroga*, or Judge of Criminal Causes, the *Mustauf*, or Controller of the *Exchequer*. The *Sheir-el-Islam*, or Lieutenant Civil. The *Vasier*, or Receiver-General, and the *Kelonter*, or Provost of the Merchants.

6. One of the most Ordinary Titles which the *Persians* give their King, is *Alempenba*, or the Support and Basis of the World.

7. This is the Eleventh Month of the Year.

I gave the Chancellor's Secretary a *Guinea*, as his Fee for Dispatches of this Nature. Though there be no certain Rule for such Fees; but only every one gives according to the Advantage which he receives by his Dispatch, and according to his Quality and Condition. Presently my Guide gave me to understand, That he wanted a Horse, which was as much as to say that he wanted four *Guinea's* to buy one. Which I immediately knew to be a Trick to get Advance-Money out of me, fearing lest when I came to *Erivan*, that I should be so dishonest as to recompence him only with a Trifle, or perhaps give him nothing at all. For the *Persians* are not very prone to make Acknowledgments, and for the *Georgians* they are ingrateful above measure. The greatest Kindnesses make no Impression upon their Minds: for they forget 'em, and

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repay with shrewd Turns those to whom they owe their Advancement with as little Check of Conscience, as if they were altogether Strangers. For which reason it is, that they desire payment before-hand, standing very little upon the Nicety of a little Impudence, but demanding a Reward for the smallest Service which they do.

The 28th I set forth from *Tefflis* about Eleven a Clock in the Forenoon; the *Polish* Surgeon, and some *Georgians* with whom I had made an Acquaintance, accompanying me some part of my way. My Guide rode before to prevent the Toll-gatherers or Receivers of certain small Duties which are taken upon all Horses that go loaden out of the City, from demanding any thing of my Servants. Which sort of Guides are call'd *Mehemander*, (a word which signifies *He who has care of a Guest*;) and are granted to all Envoys, Ambassadors and Strangers of Quality. Their Duty is to provide Lodging, Vittles, and Carriage-Horses for the Persons whom they Conduct; and in a word, to discharge 'em from all the care of a Traveller. They are like Stewards or Purveyors for those Persons to whom they are appointed for Guides. For they make use of their Service in every thing, send 'em upon Errands, and to carry Messages to those Persons, to whom a Man would not be troubl'd to go himself. These Guides are well paid for their Service; so that it is a Kindness to be recommended to such an Employment. The Villages where they pass make 'em Presents, to be the more sparing in what Money they raise, to defray the Expences of Travellers which they have in charge, and to prevent their being too wastful and lavish. They take into their protection such Merchants as are desirous to Travel along with 'em; and besides that, they secure 'em from Robbing, and exempt 'em from paying several Tolls and Duties. Which is worth 'em something more. But their greatest Gain is the Present which must be made 'em when they are sent back.

I was very glad to see my self got safe out of *Tefflis*. For I was afraid I should there be put to some kind of trouble for two Reasons. The first was, For that the *Prince* having sent to me two or three times to tell me that he had a great desire to see what I carry'd to the King, I constantly refus'd to shew him, alledging for my excuse, that I had Orders from his Majesty not to expose 'em to any but himself. Moreover, I observ'd that this *Prince* is not altogether so much a Subject to the King of *Persia*, nor so submissive to his Orders, as the
other

other Viceroys and Governours of his Empire, besides that the *Georgians* are very perfidious and covetous of other Mens Goods. I was therefore fearful lest, if I should shew the high-priz'd Jewels which I had, their Beauty and their Value might tempt him to take 'em from me, or that other people might Murder me for the Lucre of such a Booty. And this was one Consideration that prevented me from shewing 'em.

The Second Cause of my Distrust was this, That the *Capuchins*, to do me the more Honour, out of a design to bring a greater Reputation to themselves, had set me out for a Person that was very Rich and Powerful, so that there ran a Report over all the City, that I had immense Sums. Which made the Customer look about me; so that he demanded great Duties from me. But those Duties were not the thing that disturb'd me, for by the Kings Patent I was fully discharg'd. But I was afraid lest the Prince would make use of that pretence to view my Goods whether I would or no. And this was that which encreas'd my Fears, and made me insist upon having an Officer to conduct me. For my reason told me, that such a Provision would render the *Viceroy* more responsible for any Accident that should befall me, and that my Guide would secure both my Person and my Goods. And indeed the greatest part of my Fears were dissipated when I saw my self quite free of *Tefflis*; for then I began to conceive good hopes of all the rest of my Journey. That Day I travell'd two Leagues through a Passage of the little Mountain that lies to the South of the City; and lay at a Great Village call'd *Sogan-Lou*, or the Place of Onions, built upon the River *Cur*.

The 1st of *March*, I travell'd Eight Leagues in a fair Plain, where the Road was indifferently streight, leading to the North-East. Within three Hours I came to a Village consisting of about a Hunderd and Fifty Houses, call'd *Cupri-Kent*, or the Village of the Bridge. Because there is a very fair Bridge that stands not far from it, built upon a River call'd *Tabadi*. This Bridge is plac'd between two Mountains, seperated only by the River, and supported by Four Arches, unequal both in their Heighth and Breadth. They are built after an Irregular form, in regard of two great Heaps of a Rock that stand in the River, upon which they have laid so many Arches. Those at the two ends are hollow'd on both sides, and serve to lodge Passengers; wherein they have made to that purpose little *Chambers* and *Portico's* with every one a Chimney. The Arch in the middle of the River is hollow'd quite through from one part to the other, with

with two Chambers at the Ends, and two large Balconies cover'd, where they take the cool Air in the Summer with great delight, and to which there is a Descent of two pair of Stairs hewn out of the Rock. Adjoyning to this fair Bridge there stands an Inn now ready to go to decay. However the Structure is Magnificent, having several Chambers with every one a Balcony that looks out upon the Water. Neither is there a fairer Bridge, nor a more beautiful Inn in all *Georgia*.

The Second, we Travell'd Nine Leagues among Mountains very rugged and difficult to cross. So that we were twelve Hours ere we got to our Journeys end, though we Travell'd at a good rate. About Sun-set we arriv'd at a great Village call'd *Melik-Kent*, or the Royal Village, built upon a point of one of those High Mountains.

The Third, we Travell'd eight Leagues i' the Mountains where we were much perplex'd, and where we did nothing but ascend and descend. At length we lay at a Village as big as *Melik-Kent*.

The Fourth, we Travell'd only three Leagues: and before Noon we came to a Town that consisted of about Three Hundred Houses, call'd *Dily-jan*. It is seated upon a River call'd *Acalstapha*, at the Foot of a High and Dreadful Mountain, which together with the rest that we pass'd the preceding days, was a part of Mount *Taurus*. There was every where great plenty of Water, and here and there some Plains that were but small, but very fertile. The Goodness of the Soyl thereabout is not to be imagin'd; nor the Number of Villages that are to be seen on every side. There are several that stand so high-raisd upon the points of the Rocks, that you can hardly have a sight of 'em. The most part are inhabited by *Georgian* and *Armenian* Christians, but not intermix'd. Those People having such an inveterate Antipathy one against the other, that they cannot live together, nor in the same Villages. In all these Mountains are neither Inns nor publick Houses: however, Travellers are lodg'd in the Countrymens Houses very conveniently, where there is plenty both of Meat and Drink. For my part I wanted nothing, for my Guide rode still before when we were got about half way; so that when I came to the Village, I still found a large Chamber, empty Stables, a good Fire, and Supper ready. The first days Journey I would have paid my Landlord, but my Guide would not permit me, telling me, 'Twas not the Custom, and that I should rather

rather give Him what I intended the Man of the House. Which was the reason, that the next Days, I only caus'd something to be given in private to the People where I Lodg'd. And indeed 'tis very good Travelling with these Guides: for they cause yee to be diligently attended. All Night long my Chamber was guarded by the People of the Village who kept Watch, as well in Obedience to the Commands which were laid upon 'em, as for my Security, though there was no danger to be fear'd.

The most part of the Houses of these Villages are in truth no more then Caverns: For they are hollow places made in the Earth. The rest are built of great Beams of Timber up to the Roof, which is made like a Terraſs, and cover'd with Turf. Only they leave a hole open in the middle, to let in the Light, and let out the Smoak: which hole they stop up as they please themselves. Which sort of Caverns have this Convenience, that they are very warm in the Winter, and cool in the Summer: nor is it an easie thing for Thieves to break into 'em.

The Borough of *Dily-jan*, and all the Country round about for six Leagues distance to the North and South, and very far to the East and West, belongs to *Kamsbi-Can*; and is call'd the *Country of Casac*. It holds of *Persia*, and depends upon that Kingdom after the same manner as *Georgia*, that is to say, it is always Govern'd by its own Natural Princes from Father to Son. *Abas* the Great subdu'd it, at the same time that he Conquer'd *Georgia*. The Inhabitants of *Casac* are Mountaineers, stout and fierce: Originally descended from those *Cosaques* that inhabit the Mountains to the North-East of the *Caspian* Sea.

The Fifth, we Travell'd five Leagues over that dreadful Mountain, already spok'n of. There are two Leagues from the Town of *Dily-jan*, which stands at the very Foot of the Hill to the Top, another of even Ground to the Top of all, and two Leagues of Descent again. A tedious Days Journey, which I thought would have kill'd me. For I was troubl'd with a terrible Dysentery, which forc'd me to alight altogether; and then two Men held me up as I went, and a third lead my Horse. The Mountain is most dreadfully laden with Snow, there being nothing else to be seen at the Top, neither Tree nor Plant. The Road also lay through a narrow Path of Snow, hard'nd by the Feet of Horses and Travellers: so that if they did but slip their Feet out of the Path, they

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sank up to the Belly in the looser Snow. Nor is there any passing over this Mountain when the Snow-falls or when the Wind blows, for then the print of the Feet is lost, and it is impossible to find the way. Which is the loss of many People and Beasts every Year. Nor does this Snow ever melt, the Mountain being continually cover'd with it.

It separates *Georgia* from *Armenia*: and I was no sooner over it, but I found a Country quite of another Form and Fashion. For whereas on the other side there was nothing to be seen but very high Mountains, and some few small Plains between 'em, and a Woody Country very well Peopl'd, here on this side we saw spacious Plains, with little Hillocks cover'd alike with Snow, bare of all sort of VVood, but what was planted about the Villages. VVe lodg'd at *Kara Phefish*, a great Borough seated at the Foot of the Mountain which we cross'd over, and upon the Banks of the River *Zengui*. VVhich River waters one part of *Armenia* the Greater.

In making the Geographical Description of the Country as I pass'd along, I never mind any Author whether Ancient or Modern, finding 'em all so opposite one to another, and altogether dark and confus'd. VVhich was the same thing that *Strabo* said of the Authors that preceded him; and whoever will take the pains to compare those that have follow'd him, either with the Ancients or among themselves, will be of the same Opinion. As for example in *Caldea* or *Affyria*, which at present they extend almost to the *Mediterranean* Sea, though *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, *Strabo*, *Ptolomy*, and the other most Celebrated Ancient Geographers enclose it between the *Desert* of *Arabia* and *Mesopotamia*.

I have also observ'd one thing in the Government of *Persia*, which has made me since believe, that although Authors have set different Bounds and Limits to the Countries, yet that they might have all written very true and justly, and as Things stood in their Times, when the Governments were enlarg'd, or confin'd within narrower Bounds, as the Supreme Governor pleases, or as necessity requires; for then the Province that gives the Name to the Government, has not the same Limits, nor observes the same Situation as before. And therefore I will mark out the Extent and Situation of the Country where I pass'd, as I found 'em; and if I must follow the Ancient Authors, it shall be only those of the *Persian* Geography.

Some there are among 'em who divide *Armenia* into Three parts. The first which they call properly by that Name, the
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second which they call *Turcomannia*, and the third to which they give the Name of *Georgia*. But the greater Number divide it only into two parts, the Upper and the Lower. The Lower which is sometimes call'd the *Lesser*, sometimes the *Western*, but generally the *Lesser*, is under the Dominion of the *Turks*. The Upper, which they sometimes call the *Eastern*, sometimes the *Great*, but usually the *Greater*, is a Province of *Persia*. To the small or *Lesser Armenia* they assign for Bounds, the *Great Armenia* to the *East*, *Syria* to the *South*, the *Black-Sea* to the *West*, *Cappadocia* to the *North*, and they place the *Great Armenia* between *Mesopotamia*, *Georgia*, *Media* and *Armenia the Less*. Which Situation agrees in part with that of the Ancient Geographers, who enclose *Armenia the Less*, between *Cappadocia* and *Euphrates*, and *Armenia the Greater*, between *Euphrates* and *Tygris*. But it no way corresponds with that of some Authors, as is to be seen, who put *Syria*, the Shoars of the *Mediterranean Sea*, and the Banks of the *Caspian* in *Armenia*, of which they make *Edessa* to be the Capital City. Neither do Authors differ less about the Denomination of this Country; while some derive the Name of *Armenia* from *Armenius* a *Rhodian*, or *Thessalian*. Others with far more Reason from *Aram*, which might have some Relation to the Hebrew word *Ram* which signifies High or Elevated, either because the Country lyes High, and for that several of the Eastern Mountains make a part of it, or else because it fell as his share to *Aram* the Grand-Child of *Noah*; who therefore call'd it by his own Name. And therefore *Hayton* who was King of the Country derives this Name of *Armenia* from *Aram-Noah*. But how uncertain soever this Etymology may be, I had rather give credit to it, then to another Story which he reports of *Armenia*, that is to say, that it was the Province where *Salmanassar* planted the Greatest part of the Jews which he took Prisoners in the Conquest of *Palestine*. The Holy Scripture, where ere it has occasion to mention it calls *Armenia*, *Ararat*. Certainly it is one of the most lovely and most Fertile Countries of *Asia*. It is water'd by Seaven large Rivers, which is the reason in my opinion that obliges the most part of the Interpreters of the Old Testament to place the Terrestrial Paradise in this Province. However it were, *Armenia* is renown'd for several other Famous Accidents and Events. There is not any other Country wherein were fought so many Bloody Battels nor with greater Numbers on both sides. It has had particular Kings of its own at several times; though they could not pre-

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serve their Dominion, while as Histories assure us, all the most Eminent Captains that ever invaded *Asia*, subdu'd it under their Subjection in their several turns. It was the Theatre of the last Wars between the *Turks* and *Persians*; while the *Turks* fought to have had it all entire; though at length they were content to share it with the *Persians*, yet not so but that they have had the greatest part.

The 6th, I continu'd my Journey, half dead as I was with Cold and a Dysentery. But the hopes I was in to meet at *E-rivan* with all necessary Accommodations for my Cure, made me hasten thither, notwithstanding all the Pains that I felt. So that we Travell'd Four Leagues and arriv'd at *Bichni* a considerable Village seated at the Foot of a Mountain upon the River *Zengui*. We lodg'd at a fair *Armenian* Monastery built between the Village and the Mountain. This Monastery is an Ancient Foundation between Eight and Nine Hunderd Years standing. The Cloister is built after the Fashion of the Country, encompass'd with High and Thick Walls of Free Stone. Near to the Monastery are to be seen the Ruines of Towers, Castles, and Ramparts in so great a Number, that it renders very probable what the People of the Country report, that *Bichni* has been one of the strong Places of *Armenia*. I lodg'd in the Convent, where the Monks receiv'd me with great Civility, and put me into the fairest Apartment they had, only I could by no means prevaile with 'em to let me have a Fowl to make a little Broth, because it was their time of Lent. So that my Guide was forc'd to use his Authority, even to the holding up his Cane to procure me a few Eggs. Toward the Evening I had a desire to Drink some Coffee, which my Guide brought me boyl'd with a little Sugar; and of that I Drank Four small Glasses as hot as I could; which done, I lay'd me down well cover'd before a good Fire. To which feeble Remedy it pleas'd GOD to give so great a Blessing, that I slept without Interruption all that Night, and the next Morning found my self wholly cur'd of this Distemper.

The 7th, I set forward by break of Day, after I had made a small Present to the Monastery. All that day we travell'd over Plains all cover'd with Snow as the day before. And indeed it is not only troublesome but very dangerous to travel through those deep Snows. The Mischief is that the Beams of the Sun which lye all the day long upon it, molest the Eyes and Face with such a scorching Heat, as very much weak'ns the Sight, whatever Remedy a Man can apply; by
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- A. The Fortres .
- B. The small Fort calld Guetshi-cala .
- C. Deuf Sultan's Mosque .
- D. The Great Piatza .
- E. An Old Tower .
- F. The Bpps Church calld Two Fronts .
- G. The Church calld Catowike .
- H. The New Inn .
- I. The River Zengui .
- K. The River calld Forty Fountaines .
- L. The Mountain where Noah's Ark rested .



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wearing as the People of the Country do, a thin Handkerchief of Green or Black Silk, which no way abates the Annoyance. Then another Danger there is, that when Travellers meet, there arises a Dispute, who shall be forc'd into the Snow. For the Road is so narrow that two Horses cannot go abreast: so that if equal Parties meet, they fall to blows for the way, and the weakest side is forc'd to yield. Then they unlade their Horses, and drive 'em into the Snow, where they sink up to the Bel-lies to give passage to the others. But my Guide constrain'd all that we met to unlade, which was to me a very great Ease. Thus we pass'd through many Villages and Towns, and Night coming on we arriv'd at *Eriuan*.

'Tis a hard matter to describe the true Road from *Tefflis* to this City, in regard of the many Turnings and Windings, and the frequent Occasions to ascend and descend the greatest part of the way. Only I observ'd that we still kept on to the South-West. From *Tefflis* to *Eriuan* it is reck'ned to be about Eight and Forty Leagues.

Eriuan is a great City, but ill-favour'd and dirty; and of which the Vineyards and Gardens make the greatest part, there being no Ornamental Buildings within it. It is seated in a Plain encompass'd with Mountains on every side. Two Rivers run by it, *Zengui* to the North-West, and *Queurk-boulak* to the South-West. Which *Queurk-boulak* signifies Forty Fountains; the River being said to rise from so many Springs; nor does it run a long course. But we shall say no more of the City, nor of its Figure, the Draught being sufficient to give an Idea of it.

The Fortrefs it self may pass for a small City. It is of an Oval Form, being about Four Thousand Paces in Compass, and containing Eight Hunderd Houses, inhabited only by Natural *Persians*. 'Tis true, the *Armenians* have Shops therein, where they Work and Trade all the Day long; but in the Evening they shut up their Shops, and return Home to their Houses. This Fortrefs is surrounded with three Walls of Earth, or Bricks made of Clay with Battlements, flank'd with Towers, and strengthen'd with very narrow Ramparts, according to the Ancient Manner, and therefore without any Regularity, after the Eastern Fashion. And indeed it had been a hard matter to have made a Regular Fortification in a place that would not admit of it, in regard the Fortrefs extends it self to the North-East upon the side of a dreadful Precipice, broad and steep, above a Hunderd Fathom to the bottom, where the River

runs. And therefore this side being impregnable and inaccessible, has no other Fortifications then Terrasses furnish'd with Artillery. However, a Garison of no less then Two Thousand Men is always kept in pay for the Guard of this Fortrefs; which has as many Gates as Walls, all plated with Iron, and strengthen'd with Port-Cullices and Courts of Guard fortify'd. The Governor of the Provinces Palace being within the Castle, stands upon the Brink of the Precipice already mention'd; and is very fair, very spacious, and very delightful in Summer.

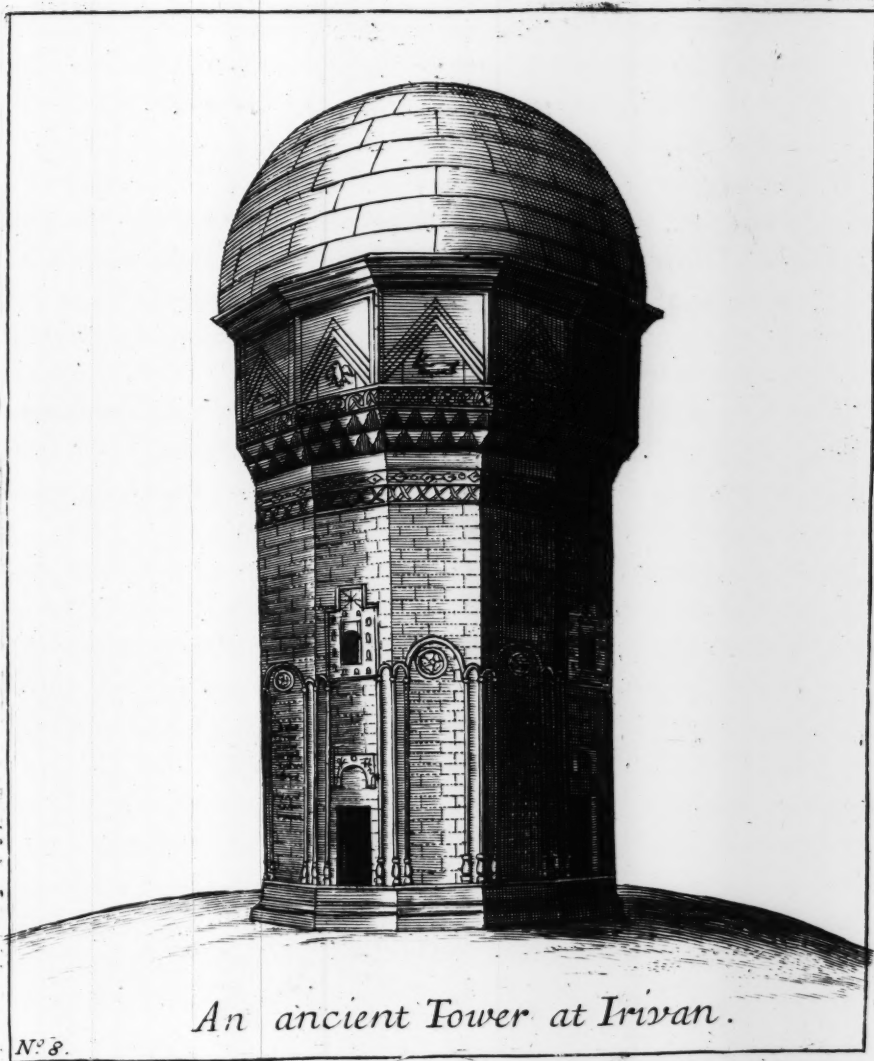
Near to the Fortrefs, about a Thousand Paces distant upon the North-side, stands a Hillock which Commands it, the upper part being fortify'd with a double Wall, and planted with great Guns, and capable to lodge Two Hunderd Men. This little Fort is call'd *Quentshy-cala*.

The City stands about Cannon-Shot distance from the Fortrefs; but the space between is fill'd up with Houses and Market-Places; but such pitiful thin Structures, that they may be all remov'd away in one day.

There are several Churches in this City; of which the principal are the Episcopal See, call'd *Ircou-ye-rize*, or *Two Faces* and *Catovike*. Which two Churches have stood ever since the Reign of the two last Kings of *Armenia*. The others were Erected since; and are small, sunk deep in the Earth, and not unlike so many *Cata-Combs*, or Burying-places.

Near the Episcopal See stands an old Tower built of Free-Stone, of which you see the Draught in the Sculpture. I never could learn when it was Erected, nor by whom, nor for what use. Yet there are Inscriptions on the outside, of which the Character resembles the *Armenian*, but the *Armenians* could not read it. The Workmanship of this Tower is all of Antique-Work, and singular for its Architecture, as may appear by the Figure. The inside is all empty and naked: but on the outside and round about it several Ruines so dispos'd, as if formerly there had been some Cloyster there, and that this Tower had stood in the midst of it.

Before it appears a great Market-Place, and not far from it an old Mosque built of Brick, but very much decay'd. They call it *Deuf-Sultans* Mosque, from the Name of the Founder. Three Hunderd Paces distant is to be seen the *Grand Maydan*, which is the Name in *Asia* for all the Grand Market-Places. This in *Erivan* is four-square, Four Hunderd Paces in Diameter, and planted round with Trees: being the place appointed



An ancient Tower at Irivan.

N^o 8.

pointed for all manner of Exercises both for Horse and Foot, as *Carousels*, Racing, VVrestling, and Managing of Horses for VVar.

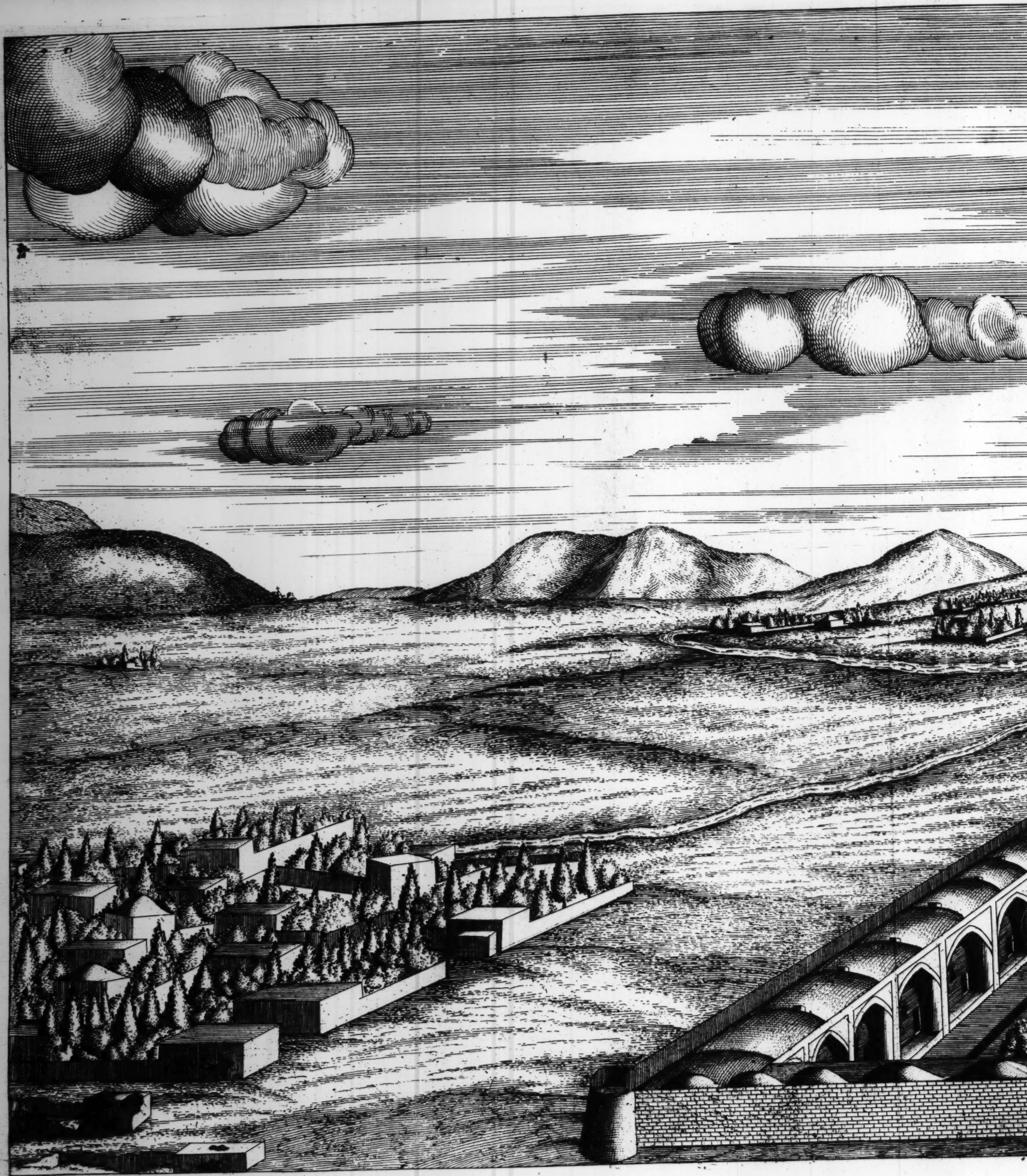
There are many Baths in the City and in the Fortrefs, and many Inns: of which the fairest stands about Five Hunderd Paces from the Castle, built by the Governor of *Armenia* some few Years ago. The Portal is Eighty Paces in depth, and forms a fair Gallery, full of Shops, where are sold all manner of Stuffs. The Body of the Structure is square, containing three great Lodgings, and Sixty small ones, with fair Stables, and very large Warehouses. Before it lies a Market-Place surrounded with Shops, where are to be sold all sorts of Provision for the Belly; and upon one side a fair Mosque and two Coffee-Houses.

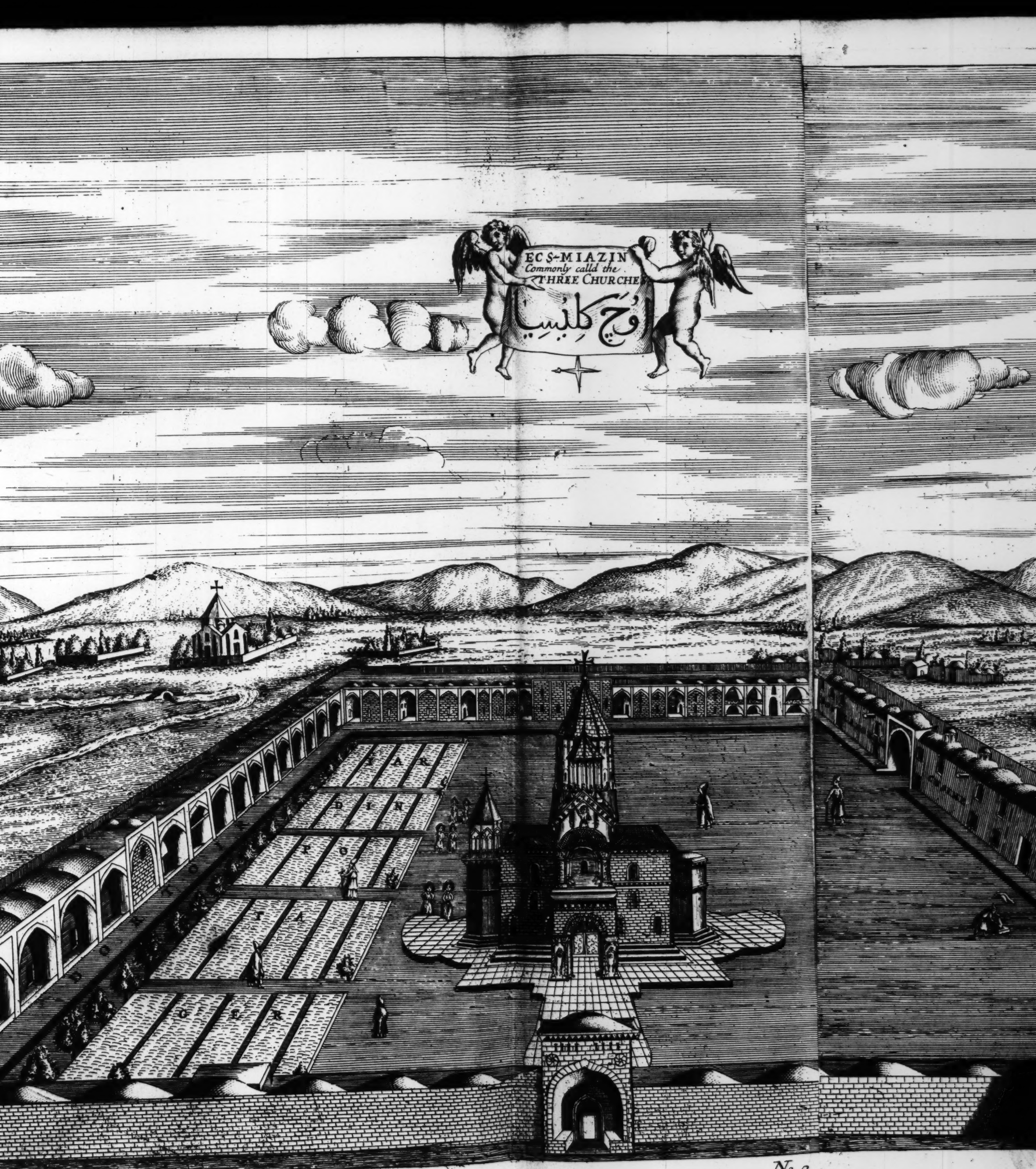
The Elevation of *Eriuan* is in 40 Deg. 15 Min. The Longitude in 78 Deg. 20 Min. The Air is good, but a little thick and cold: and the Winter lasts long; so that sometimes it will Snow in *April*. Which constrains the Country-People to bury their Vines in the Winter, and never to dig 'em up again till the Spring. The Country is delightful and very fertil. The Earth produces her Fruits in great Plenty, especially Wine, which is very good and cheap. The *Armenians* also have a Tradition, That *Noah* planted a Vineyard near to *Eriuan*, and some there are who pretend to know the Place, and shew it about a small League from the City. The Soyl produces all sorts of Provision, which is therefore sold at a very low rate. The two Rivers that run by the side of it, and the Lake of which we shall take an occasion to speak, furnish the City with Excellent Fish, and among the rest with Trouts and Carps that are wonderfully good, and famous all over the East; of which I have seen some that have been three Foot long: And then for Fowl, no place in the World where Partridges are more plentiful.

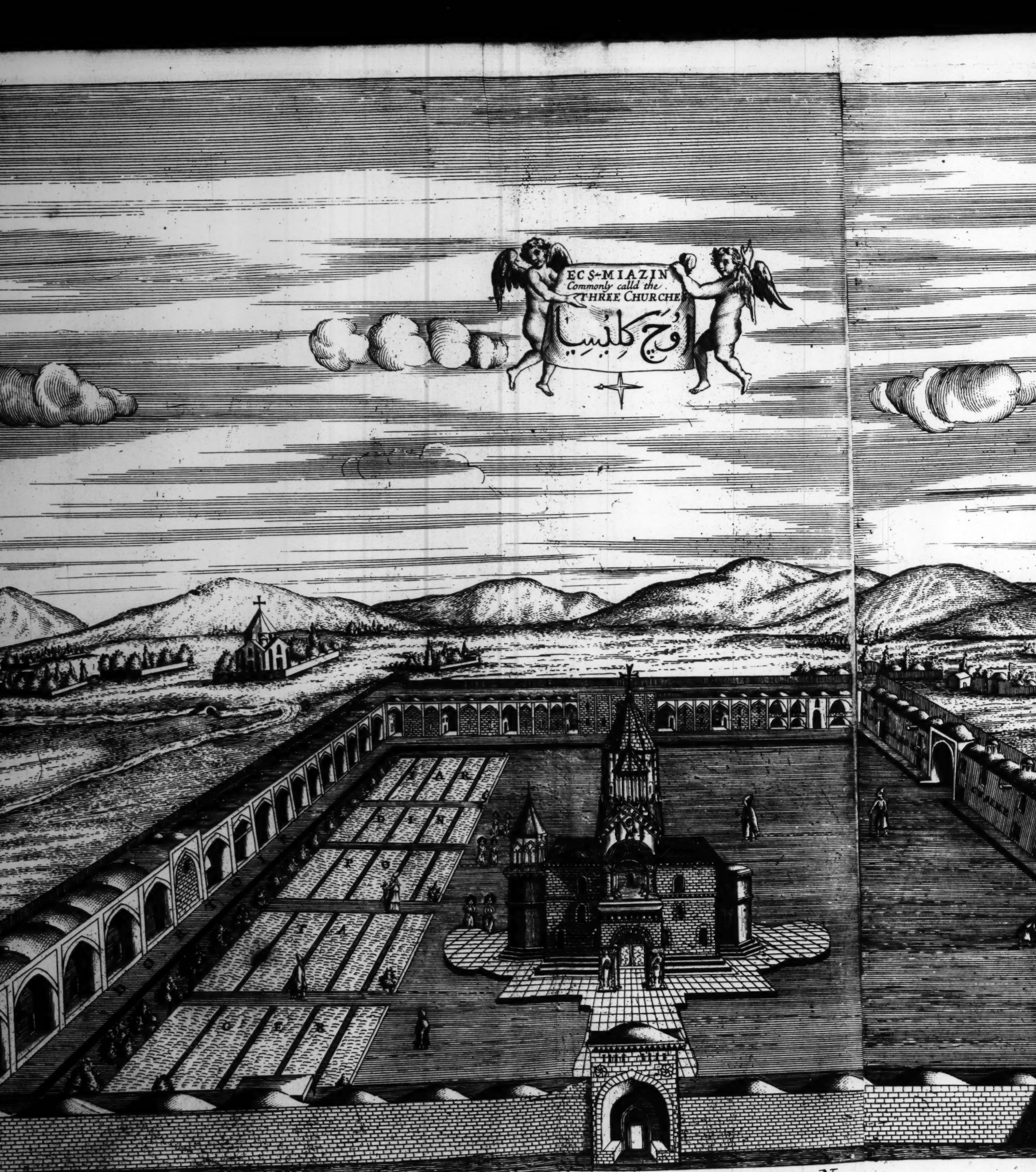
The Lake of *Eriuan* lies three small days Journeys off to the North-West; by the *Persians* call'd *Deria-Shirin*, or the Sweet-Lake; by the *Armenians*, *Kiagar-couni-sou*, which signifies the same thing: and the reason why it is so call'd is from the extraordinary sweetness of the Water. It is Five and Twenty Leagues in Circuit, and very deep; affording nine sorts of Fish which are there tak'n; the fairest Trouts and Carps which are eaten at *Eriuan*, being caught in this Lake. There is a small Island in the middle of it; where stands a Monastery built about 600 Years ago, of which the Prior is an Archbishop,

bishop, who takes upon him the Title of Patriarch, refusing to acknowledge the *Grand Patriarch*. Our Maps take no Cognizance of this Lake; a wonderful thing to me, that among all our Travellers into *Persia*, not one should make any mention of it. By which defect it may be judg'd that those Authors were little curious after the Rarities of the Countries through which they pass'd. The River *Zengui* takes its source from this Lake, and crossing one part of *Armenia*, meets with the River *Araxes* near the *Caspian Sea*, into which at length they both discharge themselves.

Eriuan, by the report of the *Armenians*, is the most Ancient inhabited place in the World. For they affirm that *Noah* and all his Family dwelt there, both before the Deluge, and after he descended from the Mountain where the Ark rested; and that here was also the Terrestrial Paradise. But all this is a Story without Foundation, and reported by Persons equally ignorant and vain-glorious. Some Authors there are who affirm *Eriuan* to be the City which *Ptolomy* calls *Terwa*, and makes to be the Capital City of *Armenia*. Others hold it to be the Royal *Artaxate*. The History of the *Turks* calls it *Eritze*: but that of *Armenia*, which is to be seen in the famous Monastery of the Three Churches, asserts, That this City was formerly call'd *Vagar-Shapat*, which signifies (word for word) *Vagar's City*. But that which renders these Pieces of Antiquity very much suspected, is, That the same History, speaking of the Etymology of *Eriuan*, derives it from an *Armenian* word which signifies *To see*; and says farther, that that same Name was giv'n to this City, because the Territory belonging to it was the first Place that *Noah* discover'd when he descended from the Mountain of *Ararat*. And yet it is well known that the *Armenian* is a Modern Language, that has not been in use above these Seven Hundred Years. Nor do we find any thing in the *Persian* History concerning the Original of *Eriuan*. Neither do I believe it to have been built before the Conquests of the *Arabs* in *Armenia*; and that which makes me believe it is this, for that neither in the City, nor in any parts adjoining round about it, there are any Footsteps of great Antiquity to be seen. The *Turks* became Masters of it in the Year 1582. and built the Fortress still to be seen. The *Persians* retook it in the Year 1604. and fortify'd it against the Violence of Cannon-Shot. In the Year 1615. it held out a Siege of four Months; at what time the Rampart withstood the Batteries of the *Turk* with that Impregnable Resistance, though but of Earth,

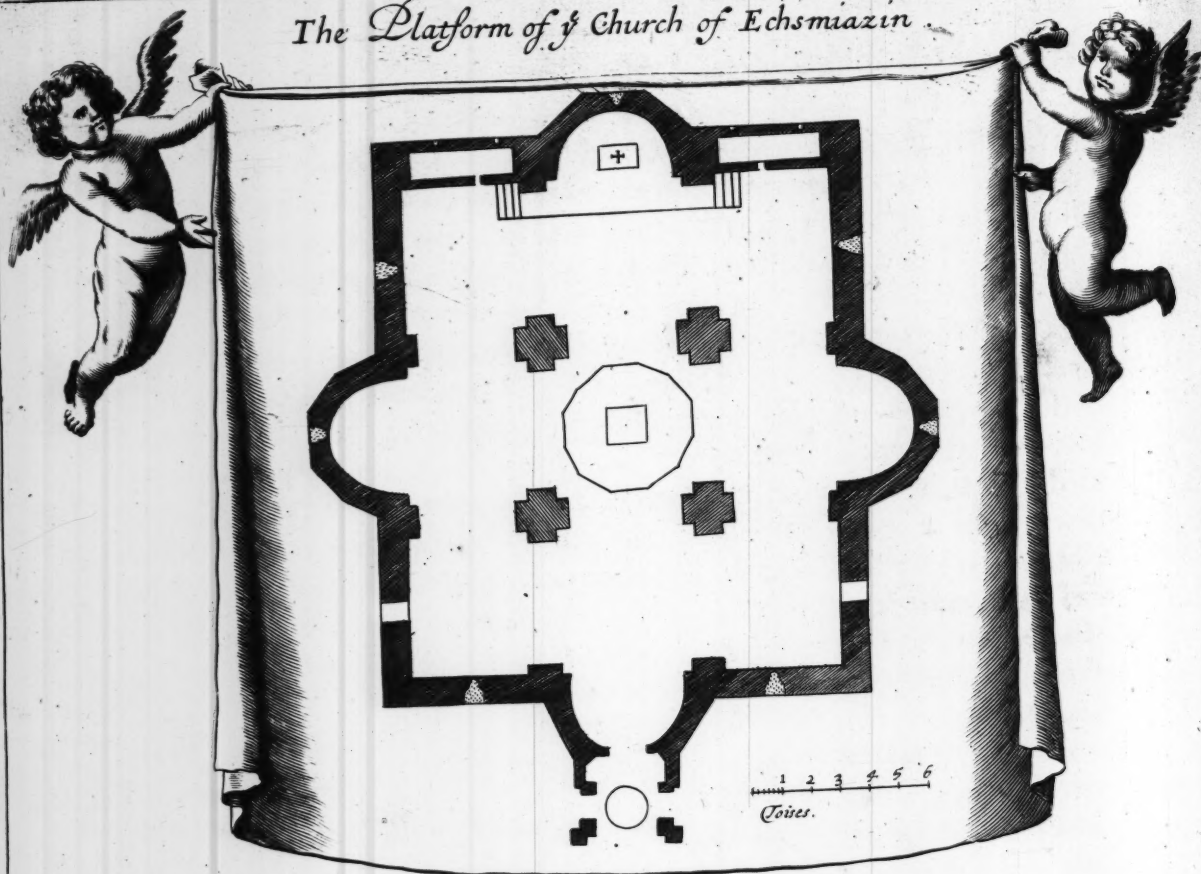








The Platform of y^e Church of Echsmiazin



Earth, that the Besiegers were forc'd to raise their Siege. After the Death of *Abas* the Great, they return'd and carry'd the Place, but were not long Masters of it. For *Sophy* retook it in the Year 1635; since which time it has never been Besieg'd.

Two Leagues from *Erivan* stands that famous Monastery of the *Three Churches*; the Sanctuary of the *Armenian* Christians; if I may presume so to call it, and the place to which they pay their greatest Devotion. I have caus'd a Draught to be made of it at large, and have added a Geometrical Ground-Plot, and a small Sketch of the outside of the Principal Church, to give a more distinct Description of the Monastery; and more easie for Apprehension. The *Armenians* call it *Ecs-Miazin*, or the *Descent of the only begotten Son*, or the *Only begotten Son is descended*. Which Name, say they, was given to this Place, because *Jesus Christ* shew'd himself visibly in this place to St *Gregory*, who was the first Patriarch of it. The *Mahometans* call it *Visbi-Cliffie*, or the *Three Churches*; for that besides the Church belonging to the Convent, there are two others adjoyning to it. The first and the principal, call'd *Ecs-Miazin*, is a very substantial and dark Structure, all built of large Free-Stone. The Pilasters, which are Seventy two Foot high, are mishapen Piles of Stone; as are also the *Duomo*, and the Roofs. On the inner side are to be seen no Ornaments either of Sculpture or Painting. The Chappels stand upon the East-side; besides three at the lower end of the Church. Of which the middlemost is very spacious, with an Altar of Stone after the manner of the Eastern Christians very well adorn'd. But there is not any Altar in those upon the Sides, only one serves for a Vestry, and the other for a Treasury. In the Vestry the Monks that belong to the Place shew yee several Pieces of Church-Furniture, very beautiful and rich; as Crosses, Gold Chalices, Lamps and Candlesticks of Silver of an extraordinary bigness. The chiefest part of which Wealth was the Munificence of Papal Liberality; and Testimonies of Rome's Credulity, as well as of *Armenian* Dissimulation. There are also to be seen in the Treasury, several Shrines of Silver and Vermillion Gilt. The principal Relicks belonging to the Place, by the report of the Monks that have 'em in keeping, are the upper part of the Body of St. *Repsima*, an Arm and a Thigh of St. *Caiana*; an Arm of St. *Gregory*, surnam'd the *Illuminator*, because he Converted *Armenia*; a Rib of St. *James* Bishop of *Jerusalem*; a Finger of St. *Peter*, and two Fingers of St. *John*

the *Baptist*. Whose Body, as the *Monks* of this Monastery affirm, lies in a Church belonging to a Convent of their Order near to *Erzerum*: That *Leontius*, Bishop of *Casarea*, gave it to their first *Patriarch*, and that after it had lain Three Hundred and Fifty Years at *Echs-Miazin*, it was Translated to the place where they say it now lies. But the *Monks* of *Echs-Miazin*, who are the great Doctors of the *Armenians*, are so ignorant by their own Confession in my hearing, that they never heard of those Histories which relate how that the Body of St. *John the Baptist* was burnt to Ashes by the Command of *Julian* the Apostate. I omit to say any thing of those other Relicks which they pretend to have in their Treasury, as being the Relicks of Saints very little known to this part of the World. I shall only therefore add this farther, That the *Monks* belonging to the Convent affirm for a great Truth, That once they had the two Nails that fasten'd the Sacred Hands of *JESUS CHRIST* to the Cross, which are still preserv'd, the one at *Diar-Bekre*, the other in *Georgia*; and that *Abas* the Great took out of their Treasury the true Lance, and the Seamless Garment; to enrich the Treasury of the Kings of *Persia* at *Ispahan*.

In the middle of the Church stands a large square Free-Stone, being three Foot in Diameter, and five Foot thick. The *Armenians* assure us, as an Article of their Faith, That this was the place where St. *Gregory* their Apostle saw *JESUS CHRIST* one Sunday in the Evening, while he was at his Prayers, and where he spake to him. They farther ascertain us, That *JESUS CHRIST* drew round about this Saint with a Beam of Light the Design of the Church of *Echs-Miazin*, and order'd him to build it according to the Model which he had there drawn. They add, That at the same time the Earth open'd in that part where the Stone lies, and that *CHRIST* cast down to Hell through that Hole, all the Devils that were in the Temples of *Armenia*, and utter'd false Oracles, and that Saint *Gregory* caus'd the Hole to be cover'd with Marble. They add, That *Abas* the Great carry'd away the Marble, and put it into the Royal Treasury of *Persia*, and caus'd this Stone to be set up in the Room of it. Concerning which I made a diligent Inquiry at *Ispahan*, nay I ask'd the Superintendents of the Treasury themselves; but I could not find that They understood any thing of it. *Armenian* Tradition tells yee also of another particular in reference to the Center of this Church, which I shall set down, though as fabulous as the rest, That
 † this

this was the true place, where *Noah* built that Altar, and offer'd that Sacrifice, which is mention'd in the Eighth Chapter of *Genesis*.

The Great Steeple has been newly rebuilt, containing Six Bells, the biggest of which weighs 1200 Weight. One of the smaller Bells fell down about Forty Years since, and was never hung up again, for want of Money, as the *Armenians* say: and indeed it is certain that they are very Poor. The first Monastery of this Church was built by *Nierfes* the Twenty Ninth Patriarch of *Armenia*. This the *Tartars* ruin'd; and if we may believe the Chronology of the Place, it has been Five times levell'd with the Ground. It is at present built of Brick; the Patriarchs Apartment lying to the East. There are besides in the Convent Lodgings for all strangers that come to Visit it, and for 80 Monks beside; but usually there are not above Twelve or Fifteen. And here it is that the Patriarchs of *Armenia* are oblig'd to reside. But to say Truth, the Avarice, Envy and Ambition with which they are possess'd in this Age, finds 'em so much business, that they spend all their time in Rambling over *Persia* and *Turkey*. This Patriarch has Twenty Bishopricks under him.

The two other Churches that stand near *Echs-Miazin*, are call'd one *St. Caiana*, and the other *St. Repsima*, from the Names of two Roman Virgins, who, as they say, fled into *Armenia*, in the time of the Ninth Persecution, and suffer'd Martyrdom in the same place where the Churches stand. *St. Caiana* stands upon the Right Hand, 700 Paces distant from the Monastery. *St. Repsima* upon the Left, about 2000 Paces off. These two Churches are half-ruin'd, there having been no Service perform'd in either for a long time.

Within the Territory of *Eriwan* which extends above Twenty Leagues every way, there are Three and Twenty Convents for Men, and Five for Women: but all pitifully Poor and badly kept; the most part not having above Five or Six Persons a piece, whose Penury continually employs 'em in getting a Livelyhood, so that they never perform Holy Duties but upon Holy-days. One of the most considerable is *Cour-Virah*, which in the *Armenian* Language signifies Literally the Church upon the Wells: and therefore this Name is given to this Convent, as being built over a Well, into which, as the *Armenian* History relates, *St. Gregory* was thrown, and yet preserv'd alive, being fed in the same manner as *Daniel* was fed in the Lyons Den. This Monastery stands upon the confines of the Territory

ritory of *Eriwan* to the South of *Echs-Miazin*: where the People of the Country report, that the Ruines of *Artaxarte* are also to be seen. Which City they call *Ardashat*, from *Artaxerxes*, whom the Easterns call *Ardesbir*. Among the Ruines of which, as they say, are also to be seen the Ruines of the Palace of *Tyridates*, built about 1300 Years ago. They say moreover, that there is the Front of a Palace which is not above half Ruin'd, where there still remain four Rows of Columns of Black Marble, every one of Nine Columns, that these Columns encompass a great Heap of wrought Pieces of Marble, and that the Columns are of that bigness, that Three Men can hardly enfold 'em in their Arms. They call the whole place, where this heap of Ruines lies, *Tact-Terdar*, or the Throne of *Tyridates*. I shall forbear to speak of the other Monasteries, or of the particular Stories which the *Armenians* recount concerning 'em, or of the Relicks that are there preserv'd; among which they number up the *Veronique*, or the Napkin which a Woman of that Name brought to wipe the Sweat from Christ's Face: the Bodies of *St. Thomas*, and *St. Simon*, which is all meer Idle and ridiculous Fable: for in truth the *Armenian* Tradition has nothing of common Sense. Nor shall I speak any thing of the *Armenian* Belief or Worship; for it is well known what they are, as having been for several Ages wrapt up in the Opinions of the *Monophysites*, who in the East are call'd *Jacobites*, of which at this day they understand nothing at all, being altogether drown'd in Ignorance.

Twelve Leagues from *Eriwan* to the East, is to be seen the Famous Mountain, where almost all Men agree that the Ark of *Noah* rested; though no Body can bring any Solid Proof to make out what they affirm. VVhen the Air is Serene, this Mountain is not to be seen at more then the distance of two Leagues, as High and as Great as it is; and therefore I am apt to believe I have seen far higher; and if I am not deceiv'd, that part of *Caucasus* which I cross'd over, as I Travell'd from the *Black-Sea* to *Akalzikè*, is higher then this Mountain. The *Turks* call it *Agridag*, the High or Massie Mountain; but the *Armenians* and *Persians* call it both by the same Name *Masis*. VVhich word the *Armenians* derive from *Mas* or *Mesech* the Son of *Aram*, who, as they say, gave to their Nation both its Original and Denomination. The *Persians* derive it from *Axis*, a VVord which in their Language signifies *Dear*, or *Dearly-Belov'd*; and they will have this Mountain to be so call'd,

call'd, by reason of the choice that GOD made 'of it to bear the happy Ark that inclos'd all Mankind. These are forc'd Etymologies as much as any can be, and such as we may well compare to the meer Tinkling of Bells. This Mountain is call'd by two other Names in the *Persian* Books: that is to say, *Con-nough*, or the Mountain of *Noah*, and *Sabat-toppous*, or the Happy Hillock. But the Holy Scripture gives it no particular Name, only it says, That the Ark rested upon the Mountain of Ararat, which is *Armenia*. These are those Mountains so famous in the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, which they assert to be part of Mount *Taurus*, and call by the Names of *Gordian*, *Cordean*, *Corduénian*, *Cardian*, *Curdi*, and *Carducht*, every Author altering the word according to the Pronunciation of his own Language.

The *Armenians* have a Tradition, That the Ark is still upon the Point, or highest Top of this Mount *Macis*. They add moreover, That never any Body could ascend to the Place where it rested; and this they firmly believe upon the Faith of a Miracle, which they say, happen'd to a certain Monk of *Echs-Miazin*, whose Name was *James*, afterwards Bishop of *Nisibis*. They report, That this Monk, possess'd with the common Opinion that this was the Mountain where the Ark rested after the Deluge, resolv'd to ascend to the Top, or die in the Attempt; that he got up half way, but could never go any farther; for that after he had clamber'd all the Day long, he was in his Sleep miraculously carry'd back to the place from whence he set forward in the Morning. This continu'd a long time; but that at length GOD giving Ear to the Monk's Prayers, was willing to satisfy his Desires in some measure: to which purpose he sent an Angel to him with a piece of the Ark, with Orders to bid him not toyl himself any more in vain, for that he had debarr'd from Mortals access to the Top of that Mountain. And this is the Tale which they tell; upon which I shall observe two things. First, That it has no Coherence with the Relations of Ancient Authors, as *Josephus*, *Berosus*, or *Nicholas* of *Damascus*, who assure us that the Remains of the Ark were to be seen, and that the People took the Pitch with which it was besmear'd as an Antidote against several Distempers. The second, That whereas it is tak'n for a Miracle, That no Body can get up to the Top, I should rather take it for a greater Miracle, that any Man should climb up so high. For the Mountain is altogether uninhabited, and from the Half-way to the Top of all, perpetually cover'd with

T t t

Snow

Snow that never melts, so that all the Seasons of the Year it appears like a Prodigious Heap of nothing but Snow. What I have reported concerning this Mountain, will doubtless cause no small wonder in those who have read the Travels of Father *Philip*, a Barefoot *Carmelite*, that he should undertake to say that the Terrestrial Paradise lies there in some Plain which GOD preserves from Heat and Cold; for those are the words of his Translator. The thought it self seems to me to be very pleasant; and I should have thought he had spoke it jocularly, did he not relate with an extraordinary seriousness several things in the same Book which are altogether as improbable.

At the Foot of the Mountains, in a Village inhabited by Christians, stands a Monastery, call'd *Arakil-Vanc*, or the Monastery of the Apostles; to which place the Armenians pay a very solemn Devotion. For they report that the Bodies of St. *Andrew* and St. *Matthew* were found there, and that the Scull of the Evangelist is still preserv'd in the Church belonging to the Monastery.

When I came to *Eriwan*, I alighted at the House of an Armenian of my Acquaintance, whose Name was *Azarias*. He was a Person extreamly persecuted by those of his own Nation, because he had been at Rome to turn Roman Catholick, and Disciple to the Colledge for the Propagation of the Faith, and for endeavouring to settle the *Capuchins* at *Eriwan*. I found him indispos'd and in Bed. However he rose to give Notice of my Arrival; fearing to come into trouble if he deferr'd it till the next Morning. To which purpose he went to Court, but could not see the Governor who was retir'd into the Apartment of the Princess his Wife: Nevertheless an Eunuch did his Message.

The Eighth, the Governor sent a Person to give me a Visit, and to tell me I was Welcom. Whereupon Mr. *Azarias* undertook to go in my behalf and return him my humble Thanks, and withal to let him know who I was. Upon which the Governor shew'd an earnest desire to see me as soon as I could, and some part of the Jewels I had brought along with me. Afterwards he ask'd how many Servants I had, and order'd Mr. *Azarias* to inform him whether I had rather Lodge in the Fortrefs, or in the Inn which he had built, and to bring him word speedily. For my part I made choice of the Inn, as well for the Security of the Place, as for that a Man shall never there want Company, because of the great resort of Merchants

chants thither, besides that Travellers alighted there every day. Thereupon the Governor order'd me one of the best Apartments.

The Ninth, I went thither betimes in the Morning, and spent all that day in settling my self in my Lodging. About Noon one of the Governors Officers brought me an Order from the Steward to send for from the Office Bread, Wine, Meat, Trouts, Fruit, Rice, Butter, Wood, and other Necessary Provisions as much as would suffice six Persons. The Quantity of every thing is regulated, never augmented nor abated: but the Propottion allow'd for one Person is so large, that two may well be satisfy'd with it.

The 10th, the Governor sent so earnestly for me to come to him, and bring him part of my Jewels, that I could no longer defer it. I found him in a very large Cabinet or Study, very Decent and very Light. There was also with him the Head Surveyor of all the Mints of *Persia*, who at that time was come to *Erivan*, and four other Lords. He receiv'd me with an Extraordinary Civility, three times told me, I was welcome, and set before me Sweet Meats, and *Aqua Vita* of *Moscovy*. Presently I presented him with the Kings Patent, and that of the Grand Master, already mention'd. Of both which he made great accompt, and spent an Hour in Enquiries after *European* News, as well concerning the late Wars, and the present Estate of Christendom, as about Arts and Sciences, and what new Discoveries had been made therein. Another Hour he spent in considering and viewing the Pretious Stones and Jewels which I shew'd him. He gave me to understand, that among the *Persian* Poets, Emraulds of the old Rock were call'd *Emraulds of Egypt*, of which they believ'd there had been a Mine in *Egypt* which was now lost: and at length, after he had lay'd by what he lik'd himself, and what he thought would please the Princess his Wife, he stay'd me to dine with him. Dinner being ended, he honour'd me the other half Hour with his Company and then dismiss'd me, commanding an Officer in my hearing to go to the *Caravanserai* and charge the Inn-Keeper to be careful as well for my security, as to give me all Content. And he was moreover so kind as to tell the Officer farther, that he made him my *Memander*, who is as it were a Gentleman-Waiter, and such as are appointed to attend upon all Persons of Quality to take care of their Persons: and the same Evening he sent me besides a Present of *Moscovy Aqua Vita*.

This

This Governor bears the Title of *Becler-Beg*, or *Lord of Lords*. For so they call the Deputy Lieutenants of large Governments; to distinguish 'em from those meaner Governours whom they call *Can's*. He has also the Title of *Serdar* or General of the Army. So that he is one of the Principal Lords of *Persia*, and one of the most Judicious and most refin'd Politicians in the Kingdom. He is call'd by the Name of *Sephi-Couli-Can*; or the *Duke, the Slave of Sephi*. He enjoy'd one of the most Noble Governments of the Empire in the Reign of the Deceas'd King, but through some Intreague among the Women, he fell into disgrace, three Years before the Death of that Prince. The Wife which he has Marry'd is of the Blood Royal by the Mothers side. And this Princess it was, who at the beginning of the present Kings Reign, restor'd her Husband to his Majesties Favour, from whom in a little time he obtain'd the Government of *Eriwan*, the most considerable in the Kingdom, and which yields him the fairest Revenue, no less then Two and Thirty Thousand Tomans a Year, which are above a Hundred and Twelve Thousand Pounds Sterling. The Fines, Presents, and indirect ways to enrich himself, are worth him Fifty Thousand Pounds more. And doubtless this Lord is the most wealthy and most Fortunate of all the Kingdom. The King loves him, the Court has a Veneration for him, and his two Sons are the Kings only Favourites: the People under his Government Love and respect him, because of his Popularity, his doing Justice, and for that he is not so oppressive and given to extortion as others. So that he deserves the good Fortune he enjoys; for besides these good Qualities, he is Learned, and a great Lover of Arts and Sciences.

The 11th, this Lord sent to invite me to the Nuptials of his Stewards Brother where he was. I found him pleasant and in a very good Humour. For he had receiv'd at the opening of the Gate, an order from the King by a *Coolom-Sha*, who came from *Ispahan* in Thirteen Days. This Order related to an affair of great Importance. For several *Sultans* who are Lords of Countrys and Governours of strong Holds, having refus'd to obey his Orders, and having made great complaints against him to the King and his Ministers; He on the other side had justifi'd his own Rights and Prerogatives; upon which his Majesty had given Sentence in his behalf, and had sent him an order to Command Obedience. Which Order the *Coolom-Sha* was to see Executed, and to cause Satisfaction to be giv'n to the Governour.

Coolom-

Coolom-Sha signifies the *Kings Slave*. Not but that they who bear this Title are as free, as other the Kings Natural Subjects ; but they take it as a Mark of their perfect Devotion to their Sovereign, as being that to which they were bred up altogether in their Infancy. For the Employment of these *Kings Slaves* in the Court of *Persia*, is almost the same with that of Gentlemen-Ushers ; who are Childern of good Quality, employ'd very young in Duty, as well for the Profit which they get by it, as to give 'em a fair Opportunity to make their way to Preferment at Court. There are some Persons who send their Sons to these Employments at the Age of Five Years. To whom the King assigns Exhibitions according to the Quality of their Family, or the Service which it does the King ; for that serves in stead of other Recompence to the Parents. The usual Exhibition is Twenty *Tomans* a Year, and their Diet ; which Twenty *Tomans* make about Seventy Pounds Sterling : And the Diet taken in Money amounts to about Forty Pounds. But these Exhibitions are frequently enlarg'd proportionably either to the Service which they do the King, or to the Kindness which the King has for their Persons. For which reason they are very diligent at Court, and are employ'd in the Execution of all Orders of Importance. They are sent with the Kings Presents to the Governors ; and out of their Number are taken several to supply the Vacancies of Officers.

Orders that require Expedition are carry'd Post. Which Couriers are call'd *Tshapars* ; a word that comes from a *Turkish* word that signifies *Gallop*ing, whence that other word *Tsapgon*, which signifies a *Courier*. These *Tshapars* make great haste, though they do not always meet with Horses when they have occasion for 'em : For there are no set'd Stages in all the *East*. In *Persia* the Kings and Governors Couriers take Horses wherever they find 'em ; nay, they have Authority to dismount Travellers upon the High-way : besides, the Magistrates of the Places through which they pass, are oblig'd to furnish 'em. However, this is a very mischievous Custom ; for such as have neither the Strength nor the Courage to resist, are constrain'd to give Money to these Couriers, or to alight and suffer their Horses to be rid away with, and then to run after 'em if they intend to have 'em again. Nevertheless they dare not meddle with Persons of Quality, nor the Kings Officers, nor Strangers that are going to the Court, for fear of being call'd to Question. Usually therefore they take up Horses in the Villages through which they pass ; which they must not make

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use of however above one Days Journey ; for which reason they generally send a *Runner* along with 'em to bring the Horses back.

These Couriers are easily known by their Habit : For they wear a Cloak ty'd behind 'em ; and a little Cloak-bag, which runs through the Pommel, and is fasten'd to the Saddle-Bow. They carry a Poniard, a Sword, and a Quiver by their Sides, and a Cudgel in their Hands. Their Bows hang about their Shoulders ; besides all which they have a Scarf that comes twice about their Necks, which is brought down Cross-wise upon their Backs and Breasts, and ty'd to their Girdle. When they are descry'd at a distance, they who are afraid of being dismounted, flee out of the way and hide themselves, or compound for Money, or else offer 'em their Horses. These Couriers ride generally two and two, and if they be Persons of Quality, 'tis the more difficult to get rid of 'em : for they will take no Composition ; and upon the least Resistance, they either up with their Battoons, or out with their Swords, well knowing they shall be upheld in what they do ; which is a Violence that other Couriers dare not offer.

One of the Principal Extraordinary Expences which the Grandees are constrained to be at, is when the King sends 'em his Orders or Presents by a *Coolom-Sha*, or by any other Person of Quality ; for he must Cloath him upon his Arrival, and at his Departure he must make him a Present answerable to his Employment, and the Reputation that he bears ; besides that he must be well Feasted and Entertained all the time of his stay. This *Coolom-Sha* that I speak of, cost the Governor of *Eriwan*, as I was inform'd, Four Hunderd *Tomans*, which amount to Fourteen Hunderd Pounds besides Lodging and Diet. Many times the King himself Taxes the Present which is to be giv'n to the Person whom he sends, but then the Person is oblig'd to pay it presently down as a Debt, and to bestow in Gifts and Largesses many times double the Present : in short, they treat their Messengers according to their Birth, their Merit, and their Credit at Court. This they diligently observe, so that when they understand that a Messenger or his Relations have free Access to the King, then they are more free in their Entertainment, to the end he may make an Advantageous Report of his Usage, and the Civility shewn him. I remember to this purpose, in the Year 1669 when the King conferr'd upon the Son of the Prime Minister, the Command of Colonel of the Musketeers, his Majesty sent the Dispatches

patches and Habit by his Goldsmiths, to reward 'em for some Jewels which they had made to his liking ; and that he Tax'd the Present which the Colonel was to give 'em at Three Hundred Tomans. Thereupon four of the chief Goldsmiths carry'd the Dispatches and the Habit, who instead of Three Hundred, receiv'd 400 Tomans, which make Fourteen Hundred Pounds, and a Present besides in Stuffs.

I stay'd three Hours at the Wedding, and took my leave after Dinner. The Feast was kept in a low Dining-Room, rais'd about two Foot, opening into a Court which was Rail'd about like a Tilt-Yard, where several Wrestlers and Gladiators divertis'd the Company, while the Governor spent his time in looking on, and discoursing sometimes with the Kings Messengers, sometimes with the Company, and sometimes talking with my self about the news of *Europe*. There were but nine Persons at the Feast, among whom the Bridegroom and his Godfather were sumptuously habited, their Turbants being garnish'd with Heron-Tuffs, set with precious Stones. The Master of the Household, his other Brothers and his Sons standing upon their Feet at the lower end of the Room, with several of the Governours Officers. Every one of the Guests were serv'd at their first coming, with a Volder of Sweat-Meats Dry and Wet, upon small Porcelaine Plates; the Volders themselves being of Wood Painted and Gilt; so that nothing could be seen more Neat.

Matrimony in *Persia* is very expensive, frequently to the Ruin of those that engage in it: So that only Persons of Estates will venture upon it: as for the meaner sort, they are contented with a Concubine or a Slave.

The *Mahometans* that follow the Tenents of *Ali*, take their Wives after three manners, either by way of Purchase, by way of Hire, or by Marriage. All which three ways they hold to be Lawful. Their Religion allows and teaches 'em this Liberty; and the Civil Law acknowledges the Childern Born in any of these three sorts of Wedlock, to be equally Legitimate. So that if a Man have a Son by his Slave, before his Marry'd Wife brings him one, the Son of the Slave is acknowledg'd for the Eldest, and enjoys all the Priviledges of Eldership to the Exclusion of the Son of the Lawful Wife, be she a Princess and of the Blood Royal. And therefore in *Persia* Quality and Nobility descends only from the Father.

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The Wives, who are Slaves, are call'd *Canizè*: of whom the Law allows a Man to have as many as he can maintain. Nor does the Government either Ecclesiastical or Civil take any Cognizance how they are us'd. They that have put 'em to all manner of Drudgery, as they please themselves, being not only Masters of their Chastity, but of their Lives. Nor is it a dishonour in the East for a Slave to serve her Master as a Wife; but rather a great Honour and the best Fortune she can arrive at: for when they are advanc'd to their Masters Bed, they have an Apartment separte from the Rest of the Slaves. They are well Clad, allow'd Servants, and a Pension; and if they bring Childern, their Allowances are enlarg'd. For then they are no more lookt upon as Slaves, but as the Mothers of the Lawful Heir of the Family.

The hir'd Wives are call'd *Montaa*, from *Amovad*, which signifies a Concubine and also a Servant: of which they may take as many as they please, and as long as they please for the price they agree upon. At *Ispahan*, which is the Metropolis of *Persia*, those that are handsome and Young may be hir'd for Five and Thirty Pound a Year, besides Cloaths, Diet and Lodging. Which sort of Marriage is a contract purely Civil. At the end of the Term, if both parties are agreed they may renew the Bargain; and they are at Liberty to break off before the end of the Term, and to put away the hir'd Wife, but then they must give the whole Sum contain'd in the Contract. Yet cannot the Woman so dismiss'd let out her self again, nor give her self to another till Forty Days after her Dismission. Which interval is call'd *the Days of Purification*. They who understand the Ceremonial Law of *Moses*, may easily perceive that the *Mahometans* borrow'd this custom from the *Jews*, though new modell'd and alter'd after their own humour. And indeed the Law both of the one and the other agrees in the point of Marriage, and the Behaviour of Men toward Women.

The Espous'd Wives are call'd *Nekaa*: of which the *Mahometan* Religion allows a Man to Marry Four. Nevertheless they never Marry above one, to avoid the Expence; and because of the disorders that Multiplicity of Lawful Wives creates in a House. For every one will Command, and their mutual Jealousie keeps the House in perpetual Confusion. Therefore People of Quality Marry generally into Families equal in Degree, if they cannot content themselves with one Woman, which is a Misfortune that never fails to befall 'em, they make

use of their Slaves. By that means the Peace of the Family is never disquieted ; for the Marry'd Wife is always Lady and Mistress. As to other things, whether contented or no, her Relations never take any notice. As for hir'd Wives, seldom any Body takes 'em, but People of mean Condition, or Strangers, which they do that they may be rid of 'em when they please. The lowest sort of all never make use of that Custom, as not being able to pay 'em their Wages. Neither do Persons of Quality ; in regard they scorn the Leavings of another, or that another should make use of a Woman who has belong'd to them. But if by chance a Person of Quality falls in love with a Woman either publick, or not fit to be his Wife, he hires her for Ninety-Nine Years ; and by that means he is sure to enjoy her as long as he lives, without Marriage. And they take this course, especially if They are Marry'd to Women of Quality or Nobly descended, because their Relations would take Themselves to be highly affronted should They bring into their Houses Women of mean Birth to be their Companions.

In *Persia* they usually Marry by Proxy : because the Women are never seen by the Men. Which Ceremony is perform'd after this manner. The Kindred of both Parties meet at the House of the Party intended to be the Husband or Bridegroom. Thither they send for a Churchman to make the Contract. Or if the Parties are Persons of high Quality, then the *Cedre*, who is the chief *Pontiff*, or the *Sheikelislam*, who is the chief Civil Judge, and is invited for that purpose. If they are Persons of mean Degree, they endeavour to get the *Kazy*, who is the Lieutenant Civil : and if they be very poor People, they send for a *Molla*, or Priest of the Law. Presently the Party Affianc'd in the Company of several Women repairs to a Chamber not far from the place where the People are met, where the Door stands half open, but the Tapestry is let down that there is no Body to be seen. Then the Proxies of both Parties rise, and the Proxy for the Party Affianc'd setting himself against the Door of the Chamber, and stretching out his Hand, cries out aloud,

I N. Authoriz'd Proxy for you N. Marry yee to N. here present. You shall be his perpetual Wife with such a prefix'd Dowry according as you have agreed.

Then the other Proxy thus answers :

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I N.

I N. Authoriz'd Proxy for N. take thee N. in his Name for my perpetual Wife, who hast been given him for such by N. his Proxy here present, upon Condition of the Dowry prefix'd and agreed on by both Parties.

After this the Minister, or whoever he be that is present to make the Contract, rises, and laying his Head to the Tapestry which divides the Room, cries out to the Affianc'd,

Do you Ratifie the Promise which N. your Proxy has made in your behalf? Who answers, Yes.

Then he puts the same Question to the other Proxy, makes the Contract, fixes the Seal, and causes the rest that are met to Seal it likewise; and gives the Contract to the Proxy of the Affianc'd Virgin. Which Contract is kept by the Woman for the Security of her Dowry.

There is no difference between this, and the Ceremony of Marriages for time, when they hire VVives, only that the Proxies make their Promises on other Terms. As thus:

I N. by Virtue of an Authentick Procuration receiv'd from N. give her to N. to the end he may have the use of her for such a Term, and at such a Price. Or thus:

I N. by Virtue of an Authentick Procuration from N. take in his Name N. to Wife. I take her upon the Conditions agreed upon, I take her upon my Soul.

The poor People make less stir, without any Proxy: For the VWoman enters Veil'd with her Parents, who are also in the Room where the Men are, and then says the Party himself,

I N. Proxy for my self, take you N. for my perpetual Wife, at such a certain Dowry; I take ye for such upon my Soul.

Now the VWomen are the Match makers; and as soon as the Articles are agreed upon, the Husband settles the Dowry upon the clearest part of his Estate, and then sends the VWedding Ring and the Presents to his Bride: VWhich consist in Cloaths, Jewels, and Ready Money. For which the Bride returns him several Knick-Knacks, as Embroider'd Handkerchers, Toylets, Needlework Night-Caps, and such kind of Trifles, usually all made with her own Hands.

The Wedding is kept at the Mans House, and lasts Ten Days : upon the Tenth Day, by broad Daylight, they send him home that which is call'd the *Bride's Bundle*, which consists in Furniture, Jewels, Moveables, Slaves and Eunuchs, according to the Quality of the Bride, and all this upon Camels or other Beasts of Carriage, the Musick playing before 'em. The Slaves and Eunuchs ride either upon the Packs or else on Horseback : and sometimes it happens that they borrow Household-Stuff and a Train, and send empty Chests ; and all to make a shew and dazle the World. At Night the Bride is conducted home ; and if she be a Person of Quality she is carry'd in a *Cagiawat*, being a kind of Cradle of which a Camel will carry two. If she be a Person of mean Condition, she is set upon a Horse, or else goes a Foot : and then the Musick marches first ; then the Servants with every one a Wax-Taper in their Hands, follow'd by the Women with lighted Candles in their Hands after the same manner. The Bride her self is veil'd from Head to Foot ; with another Veil over that, plaited like a Cassock ; made of Silk and Silver, or Cloth of Gold, or plain Silk, which reaches down to her waste. So that a very Lynx could never be able to discover her shape or Stature. If she be afoot, two Women lead her by each Arm ; if on Horseback, an Eunuch leads the Horse by the Bridle. About an Hour after she has been at her Husbands House, the Nuptial Feast being over, the Matrons carry her into the Bridal Chamber, uncloath her to a little Waste-Coat, and a thin pair of Drawers next to it, and put her to Bed. Soon after the Bridegroom is conducted to the same place either by Eunuchs or Old Women, the Lights being all taken away when he enters the Room.

Thus the Man never sees his Wife till after he has Consummated the Marriage ; and many times he never does that, till several Days after his Wife has been at home, the nice Lady flying his Embraces and hiding her self among the Women, or else unwilling to let her Husband meddle with her. Which Coyness frequently happens among Persons of Quality, who look upon it as a piece of Immodesty to bestow their last Favours so soon. The Virgins of the Blood Royal more particularly put their Husbands to this trouble, so that it requires whole Months to reclaim 'em, and to perswade 'em that their Husbands are worthy their Embraces.

To this purpose they tell a Story of a Daughter of *Abas the Great*, who was Marry'd to one of his Great Generals, that she was a long time before she would condescend so much as to
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look upon her Husband. Thereupon the Lord complain'd to the King, *That his Majesty had given him a Tygress instead of a Wife; that he durst not come near her; for that she had Twice run at him with a Dagger in her Hand.* At which Abas could not forbear Laughing, and ask'd him how many white Slaves he had in his Seraglio? The General answer'd, about Five and Forty. Then said the King, *Lie with 'em all one after another, I am sure that will be a means to reclaim your Wife.* The General took the Kings advice. The Princess enrag'd at this his manner of proceeding, ask'd him, if that were his Conjugal Faith that he had plighted to her, and seeing he continu'd his Course, notwithstanding all her fury, made her complaints to the King, telling him, *That she came to demand Justice of him against her Husband, who Ravish'd all his Maids and Slaves.* To whom the King with an incens'd Countenance answer'd, *That he had done it by his Order:* and at the same time sent her away, with an express Command to invite her Husband to come and lie with her. Which the Princess did accordingly, and was well satisfi'd.

To the same purpose they relate another very pleasant Story of one of the Concubines of *Sephi*, the last King of that Name. She was a lovely Person, and for that reason infinitely belov'd of the Prince, which had made her extreamly Proud, and to take upon her many times to talk over boldly to the King. One Day therefore *Sephi*, who was naturally Cruel, was so incens'd against her that he would have put her to Death; but his Anger not believing Death to be a sufficient Punishment, he took from her all her Women, and her Eunuchs, caus'd all her Cloaths to be Burnt, and her Jewels to be Pounded in a Mortar, and the bitts of Stones to be flung into a Pond before her Face; and to add to her Ignominy, caus'd her to be Marry'd to a Paltry *Negro*, that was one of his Cooks: and so the Unfortunate Lady was sent home to the Cooks House with only one Chamber-Maid left her. But when her frightful Husband thought to have approach'd her, the Chamber-Maid as Lovely and Majestick as her Mistress, drawing a naked Dagger out of her Pocket, and throwing her self before her Mistress, *Dog of a Negro*, said she, *Do but touch her so much as with thy Finger, and I will make a Thousand Holes i' thy Heart.* Upon which the poor Cook flew for his Life; and the Story being told to the King, he was so pleas'd with the action, that he recollected himself, asswag'd his Passion, Marry'd her to a Colonel, and sent her Cloaths and Furniture suitable to her Condition.

There happens in the Marriages of the meaner sort of People, something that seems to be quite the Contrary. For if the Man have oblig'd himself to make his Wife a Dowry, that exceeds his Estate, to obtain the consent of his Wife's Parents; he shuts his House door when they bring her home, and cries that he will not give so great a Price for her. Then the Parents of both Parties dispute the Matter between themselves; and the Friends of the Bride are oblig'd to abate something, for fear the Bridegroom should refuse her; for it would be the greatest Dishonour in the World, as well for them, as for the Maid, to be carried back again.

Now one would think this way of Marrying, without ever seeing the Parties face, should produce very unfortunate Matches; but it does not. Nay we may say in General, that the Matches are more happy in a Country, where the Men and Women never see one another, then where the Women are so frequently seen and courted. And the Reason is plain: For they that see not another Mans wife, lose less suddenly the Affection which they have, or ought to have, for their own. And yet we cannot say the *Persians* marry without altogether knowing whom neither. For the Mother or Kindred or other Persons, upon whom they rely for the choice of a Wife, make such a frequent and lively Description of the Virgin, that they may sufficiently judge by their Report, whether the Original will please, or whether she be a fit Match or no. Besides when they are Girls, tho the Greatest Lords Daughters, they are not so close lockt up, till they come to be above Seven or Eight Years of Age. Till which time they appear up and down the House, to the end they may be publickly seen and taken notice of; so that sometimes it happens, that a Man may have seen the Maid, propos'd him for a Wife, especially when she was little.

The Mahometan Religion holds Divorce to be Lawful, however it be done, or whatever the Occasion may be. 'Tis sufficient that one of the Parties dislikes the other, and that they resolve to unmarry themselves; for then, tho otherwise the most prudent and civil People in the World, they presently divorce. Which Act of Separation is pass'd, either before a Judge or before a Church-man. This Act is called *Talaac*, or a *Bill of Divorce*; which being granted, the Parties are at Liberty to marry again where they please themselves. Upon the dissolution of the Marriage, the Man is oblig'd to return the Woman her Dowry; if it be he that sues out the Divorce;

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but if it be the Woman that seeks the Separation, then she loses her Portion. The Mahometans also hold for lawful, the Renewing of Marriages dissolv'd, and that they may dissolve and renew and dissolve Three times; but if it happen that after a Divorce the third time, the Man and the Woman desire to come together a fourth time, they cannot do it; but upon this strange Condition, that before the Woman marry another Husband, she shall dwell with him forty days, and then be divorc'd from him.

The *Persians*, to speak in general, rarely make use of this excessive License to unmarry one another. The Citizens and Tradesmen sometimes make their Advantages of it: But Persons of Quality will rather choose to dye, then repudiate their Wives, and you may as soon take away their Lives, as force 'em to consent to a Divorce. The poorer sort never use it, for they are too silly and clott-pated to unmarry one another; besides that it would cost 'em too dear, in regard they must return the Portion they had, upon the Repudiation. Which however occasions a more crying piece of Injustice to be committed among the viler sort. For they, when they would be rid of their Wives without returning their Portions, misuse the woman in that terrible and inhumane manner, that she is forc'd to sue for a Divorce, and sacrifice all to her Liberty. Besides, the Courts of Judicature, rarely know the Differences that happen between Man and Wife, the mischeivous Tricks that they play one another, and the Reasons that move 'em to separate. The Place where the Women are shut up is sacred; especially among Persons of Condition: And it is a Crime for any Person whatever, to be enquiring what passes within those Walls. The Husband has there an absolute Authority, without being oblig'd to give any accompt of his Actions. And 'tis said, that there are most bloody doings in those places sometimes, and that Poyson dispatches a World of People, which are thought to dye a natural Death.

The 12. I dismiss'd the Officer of the *Can* of *Georgia*, who conducted me to *Irrivan*. I made him a present of about Six Guines; and gave him a Letter for *Father Raphael* of *Parma*, wherein I let him know how diligently the Officers had serv'd me, and desir'd him to give the Prince an Account of it, and to return him my humble Thanks. For it is the custome to give such Letters of Commendation to those sort of Officers. Without which should they return to their Masters, it would be a fault, for which they would not fail to be punish'd.

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The 13. I stay'd at the Palace some part of the day, and din'd with the Governor. The 14 and 15. I din'd there likewise. He was extreamly civil to me, to the end I should let him have what he had a mind to at a cheap Rate. For 'tis not to be imagin'd, how these Persian Lords will debase themselves, when they are dealing for their own Interest with People over whom they have no Authority. They are not ashamed to beg for what they have a desire to. They flatter, they praise, they promise, there is nothing so mean, which they will not make use of to attain their Ends; and when they have once attain'd 'em, they have done with those People. Which Inequality of Temper, they that have business in *Persia* shall have every day occasion to make Tryal of.

The 16. I went to visit the Patriarch of *Armenia*, whose name was *James*, an Ancient Man, all over hairy, and venerable for his Presence and Aspect, but of a fickle and inconstant Disposition, and whose Behaviour justify'd the Accusations which his Nation laid upon him, which were, that he wanted Judgment, but was very Ambitious. He lodg'd at the Episcopal Mansion; and was confin'd within the Walls of the City. A misfortune that for some Pranks which he had play'd he had drawn upon himself. And as for that he then lay under, the occasion was this, of which he made me a long Rehearsal himself.

The *Armenian* Clergy is very much addicted to Symony, as well as that of the Eastern Sects. But that which they sell most dear is the holy Oyl, which they call *Myrone*. The most part of the Eastern Christians believe it to be a Balsom, and a Remedy that physically Cures all the Distempers of the Soul. Nay there are whole Societies of Christians who believe, that the Grace of Regeneration, and Remission of Sins, is imparted by the use of this Oyl: Saying, that in Baptism for Example, 'tis the Oyl and not the Water, which is the Matter prescrib'd. And the Clergy keep the People in this pernicious Error, because of the Advantages which they get by it, selling at a dear rate the Unction of this Oyl. Which the Patriarch has the only right to Consecrate, and he sells it to the Bishops and Priests. Now about twelve Years since the *Persian* Patriarch began to project, how he might prevent the *Armenian* Ecclesiasticks over all the East from furnishing themselves with this Holy Oyl, from any other Person but himself. Those of *Turky* bought it of the *Armenian* Patriarch residing at *Jerusalem*, and who is the Chief
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over all the *Armenian* Christians within the Empire. *James* pretended, that it was not lawful for the *Armenians* of *Turky*, to go for Holy Oyl to *Jerusalem*, but at a time when the War between the *Turk* and the *Persian*, hinder'd 'em from coming to his See; and he was of opinion for a sum of Money, well expended at the *Ottoman Court*, he might obtain an Order from the *Port*, by vertue of which the Ecclesiastical *Armenians* of that Empire should be oblig'd to fetch their Holy Oyl from *Persia*, as formerly. But first he must have the consent of the *Persian King* to undertake an Affair of that Importance, which *James* easily obtain'd, and afterwards went to the *Port*; where after he had spent a great deal of Money and Time, at length he obtain'd his Hearts desire.

All this while the *Armenian Patriarch* of *Jerusalem*, a more Politic Prelate, and one better skill'd in the Affairs of *Turky*, never stirr'd from his Seat, while the other was negotiating at the *Grand Signior's Court*. He let him expend and exhaust himself, and onely watch't for *James's* Return into *Persia*. But then it was no hard matter for him, to demonstrate to the *Divan* the *Grand Signiors* Interest in that Affair, and the Damage which his Highness did himself, in obliging the *Armenians* under his Subjection to fetch their Holy Oyl from *Persia*, because of the great Revenue which it produc'd. Whereupon the *Divan* cancell'd the Order which they had given the *Persian Patriarch*; and left the whole Business as it was before.

However *James* to his own and the misfortune of his Nation, went on obstinately against his own Interest, he got a Re-hearing, believing that his large Presents and his Importunity would at length gain him his Cause. I cannot tell certainly, how much the Money was that he spent in this idle Concern; but they say it amounted to no less than threescore thousand Guines.

All that I know is this, that he owes fourty thousand pound which he took up at *Constantinople*, and spent upon this same incomparable Project. He borrow'd first of the *Armenians*, as long as his Credit would last, and when they would lend him no more, then he borrow'd of the *Turks*. At length he became an absolute Bankrupt, and at the same time he was forc'd to quit his design and retire out of *Turky*, where there is nothing to be done by men that have no money in their Pockets. The Patriarch however thought he could oblige the *Armenians* of *Persia*, that go and come to *Constantinople*, to pay

pay what he ow'd the *Turks*. Which as he importun'd 'em to do, so he obtain'd in part. For they paid several considerable Sums, in hopes to free their Patriarch out of his Troubles; whom they thought not to be so deeply engag'd as they found him to be. But finding still that after they had paid one Debt, larger Sums discover'd themselves, and call'd for Satisfaction, they refus'd to disburse any more Money, notwithstanding all the fair and foul Means he could use. *James* therefore sooth'd up his *Turkish* Creditors, and told 'em that if they would send along with him two Trustees to receive their Money in *Armenia*, he would pay 'em there: and so they let him go upon his Word. But when he came home, he found both the *Persians* and the *Armenians* equally offended with him for his extravagant Expences, and the Folly of his Design; So that not a man would part with any Money, nor would they suffer him to touch the Patriarchal Treasure: Insomuch that the two *Turkish* Trustees for the Customer of *Constantinople*, that came to receive the payment of Six Thousand Guineys, which he ow'd their Master, were forc'd to return, finding the Patriarch to be utterly insolvent.

The Customer perceiving his Debt to be so desperate, obtain'd an Order from the *Grand Signior* to the Governor of *Erzerum*, to give his People, that return'd into *Persia*, all the Assistance he could, to enable 'em to recover the Debt. To that end the Governor gave 'em Letters of Recommendation for the *Can of Erivan*. But those Letters prov'd of little or no effect; and because the Length of Journeys is very tedious in *Asia*, and for that the distance of one Place to another happens to be a great delay of Business, the *Turkish* Trustees stay'd a year at *Erivan* without doing any good. At length they receiv'd new Letters of Recommendation from the *Grand Vizir*, the *Kaimacan* of *Constantinople* and the *Basha* of *Erzerum* for the Governor of *Erivan*, which were so full and so importunate, that the Governor was forc'd to bestir himself. He sent for the Patriarch, and told him he must pay the six thousand Guineys. The Patriarch, who was really insolvent, demonstrated his Inability to the Governor as clearly as could be done i' th' world; and besought him very earnestly to obtain leave of him from the Court, that he might raise the Summ upon the Churches of *Media* and *Georgia*; and to oblige the Governor to intercede for it, gave him several considerable Presents. So that the Governor at length

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consenting, he not only petition'd for Leave, but had it granted; and when it came, *James* sent about his Deputies to put it in Execution. But both the Clergy and Seculars of those Provinces, who are really very Poor, and continually vex'd with Impositions, Levies of Money, Taxes and Imposts, refus'd to pay the Patriarch. Besides, when the Governors of *Media* and *Georgia* were inform'd of what the Patriarch had done, they forbid the *Christians* under their subjection to part with a Farthing; saying withal, that the if Governor of *Armenia* were so liberal to the Patriarch, he might make his Levies upon the Churches that belong to his own Government. Thereupon there was a necessity for him, to write back to the Court. But the Governor of *Armenia*, fearing least the Patriarch should absent himself, or that he would not go to the Court, order'd him to keep at *Erivan*, and not to stir thence without leave. And this was that Prelate's Condition, when I went to visit him. At what time he seem'd to be very impatient in Expectation of the Resolutions of the Court.

The 21. Forty seven Minutes after Sun-rise and the first day of the Month *Zilbage*, which is the Twelfth Month of the Year among the *Mahumetans*, the Great Guns of the Fortrefs were thrice Discharg'd, and the Garrison gave three Vollies to give Notice that it was New-Years Day. And this they always do at the very Moment that the Sun enters in *Aries*, whether it be Day or Night. The Astrologers, who make their Observations very exactly with their *Astrolobes*, give the Signal, and then it is that all the Guns go off, as I have already said. This Festival lasts three days; and is the most Solemn one that is celebrated in *Persia*: We shall tell yee in another place, after what manner it is Solemniz'd.

The 21. in the Afternoon I went to the Governor to wish him a happy *New-Year*; and presented him at the same time with a Hafted Dagger, and a Sheath of Ivory inlay'd with Gold. Which the Governor very much admir'd, and was very well pleas'd. For it is the Custom in *Persia*, now become a Law, never to come into the Presence of a Great Person empty-handed during this Festival. The Governor on the other side made me sit down by him, and gave me a Collation of dry'd and green Fruits, and Excellent Wines of *Georgie* and *Shiras*. The General of the Mint, and the King's Envoy, of whom we have already spoken, were both with him at the same time. So that I staid two hours discoursing of Sundry things.

The 25. he sent for me, and after several Discourses at Rovers,

Rovers, he told me, He was very much troubl'd for me, that I was come in *Persia* at such an unlucky Season, when there was so little Trade for Jewels, for that the King had little or no esteem for 'em, and therefore bought very few. That I was not now to look upon my Condition, as if King *Abas* were alive, for those days were gone; and that I should find it a hard matter at Court to put off the worth of Three Thousand Pound. Then going on, he told me farther, That he did not speak this to discourage me, but that I might betimes consider what I had to do, and lose no opportunity of selling what I had brought: That he had a design to lay out to the value of Two Thousand Five Hundred Pounds, if I would let him have good Bargains. Presently I found what the Governor aim'd at by his Discourse, and that his Advice tho very good and true, proceeded rather from Interest, then that he was really concern'd for my Benefit. However I return'd him Thanks, and told him, I heard of the Great Change of Humor at Court, but yet for all that I did not question but to sell, expecting from his Majesty's Justice that he would consider, that I had not made such a tedious Voyage, nor brought so many Jewels, but by the Orders of the Deceased King his Father. Nevertheless, that I was resolv'd to sell as much as I could without Loss, and that I was so much beholding to him for his Favors and his particular Care of me, that I would sell Cheaper to him then to another Person.

Thereupon the Governor promis'd me, that I should have the favour of his Sons, and be assisted by all the Credit which they had at Court; to which purpose he would give me most Effectual and Earnest Recommendations, and at length order'd me to bring all that he had set apart. He told me he would make his first Purchases of little Jewels and of small value, to the end he might see, whether I would be as good as my word. Which Method of his did no way please me, and therefore I propounded to him to take all at a Lump, and never to make two Bargains, assuring him that he would find it his cheapest way. After that I desir'd him to begin with the Great Pieces; but he refus'd to accept either of my Proposals; he knew how to manage me so dextrously, that he perswaded me that his Intentions were real, and that he would try by those things wherein he had most Judgment, whether I sold him dear or no. So then we agreed upon a Price for Forty Watches of several Fashions: All which I sold him at a low rate, to purchase his good Opinion, and to the end I might
sell

sell him more of my Commodities. Presently he sent me to his Cashier to receive my Money; which while we were telling, in he came with a great Chrystal Looking glass set in Gold, which he had set aside from among those other that I had shewn him, and telling me, *the hour was now lucky*, ask'd me the Price of the Glass; and I let him have it for Five Hundred Crowns, which he paid me with the rest of my Money. For the *Persians* are strangely infatuated with Judicial Astrology, and attribute to the Influences of the Stars all their good and bad Success. And when two Stars which they call *Benign*, are in Conjunction, that they call the *lucky hour*.

The 27. The Governor did me the Honour to give me a visit. Tho I had rather he had let his visit alone; for it cost me a Gold-Box of Eight Guineys. Which I presented to him to gratifie the Custom of the Country; which is, to repay the visits of great Personages with a Present. The Governor staid a quarter of an hour in my Chamber; after which he went and made a stop where the People that belong'd to the *Customer* of *Constantinople* lay, which was very near to my Apartment. Then he went and visited a *Turkish* Merchant, and an *Armenian* Merchant, that lodg'd in the same Inn, who made him every one a Present, but of things of little value. The People that belong'd to the *Customer* of *Constantinople* gave him two Ducats, the *Turkish* Merchant a little bag of Coffee, worth an Angel, and the *Armenian* presented him with two Ells of Damask. For the Governor comes forth out of the Castle into the City constantly twice a Week, that is, *Frydays* and *Saturdays*; *Fryday* he goes publickly to the *Mosquee* to say his Prayers; *Saturday* he visits every Quarter of the City, and gives such Orders as he finds to be requisite. So that there can be nothing better contriv'd then his Method of Government. If he stop before any House they never make him any Present, unless they please themselves. But if he go into the House, Custom obliges 'em to present him. And there is an Officer, call'd *the Receiver of Presents*, who keeps an account of all that is presented him, let it be of never so mean a value.

The 29. and 30. I din'd with the Governor, and sold him as many ordinary Jewels as came to about Five Hundred Pounds. We drove our Bargains every price by it self, and when we were come to a Price he paid me in ready Money. And most assuredly he got by that way of dealing; for

for by that means I sold him at a much cheaper rate. The same day a little after I was return'd to my Lodging, the Princess his Wife sent for me, to make her a price of some certain Jewels which she had made choice of. But just as I was ready to take Horse, the General of the Mint, and the Kings Slave came to give me a visit, so that I could not go to the Castle that day: neither would I go the three next days, as being the three last of the Passion Week; but the Fourth of April I went. So soon as I came, the Princess's Steward, who was an old *Eunuch*, told me, That the Princess was extremely angry that I had stay'd so long, and that if one of the Country should have serv'd her so, she would have made him feel two hundred Drubs upon the Soles of his Feet. At which I laugh'd, and ask'd the *Eunuch*, if his Lady were wont to pronounce Sentences. Sir, said he, she is one of the Haughtiest Ladies in the World; and for the least fault exacts a most severe punishment. If it be a man that has offended her, she sends her *Eunuchs* to seize him, who bind him hand and foot, and put him in a Sack, carry him into the *Seraglio* into her presence, and punish him according to her Commands, without letting him out of the Sack, or suffering him to know where he is. But I never yet knew that the *Persian* Ladies ever inflicted such sort of punishments. And therefore I desir'd the *Eunuch*, to let the Princess know the Reason that had kept me at home, and that I was always ready to obey her Commands. I tarry'd above four hours at the entrance into the *Seraglio*, while the *Eunuch* went and came back. At length a Bargain was made between us for so many Jewels as amounted to Four Hundred Pounds, for which I received my Money the next Morning.

The 3. I went to the Governor, and desir'd him to give me leave to depart; for that I was in haste to be at Court. He promis'd to dispatch me after Dinner: and I waited on him again at his time appointed. At what time, he ask'd me with a smiling Countenance what was the value of the Gold Box I had given him, when he came to visit me. I knew not what his design was, and therefore in my answer I valued it at Ten Pounds. Pray then Sir, said he, oblige me to take it again and give me the value of it in Keys, in Springs and Strings for Watches. I was not a little surpris'd at his Proposal, which did not seem to be very civil for a Person of his Quality. However I answer'd him, that I was ready to do what he pleas'd; & added that I had several Watchmakers Tools, that I had brought for the

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Kings Artificers, which I would send him, if it were his Pleasure. He took me at my word, assuring me that I should do him a very great kindness. For this same Grandee is a great Lover of Mechanicks, and knows how to mend a Watch that does not go true. Afterwards he caus'd all that remain'd in his hands of mine to be delivered me back: and I thought certainly that he would have made an entire Bargain; but to my great Astonishment he restor'd me all. Then I perceiv'd I had been his Cully, and that he had only drill'd me on in hopes of selling him a great Purchase, to let him have what he chiefly desir'd at a cheaper rate. However I conceal'd my disgust, and my dissatisfaction to be so serv'd; and return'd him a thousand Thanks, with a Countenance as gay, as if I had had my hearts desire. Afterwards I besought him to give me his Letters of Recommendation to his Son: which he promis'd me to do, and invited me to go along with him into the Country, whither he went the next morning. But I excus'd my self, returning him Thanks in the best Language I could. I also requested him to give me the Agreement with Mr. *Azarias*, who was to accompany me to *Tauris*. I will so, answer'd his Lordship, and I will enjoin him to be your *Mehemandar*, or Guide, meaning that honest *Armenian* already mention'd. This done, I again return'd him my humble Thanks for all his Favors; and after I had told him that I would not fail to extol his Kindnesses at Court, I took my leave. I thought it not proper to put him in mind of several other Promises that he had made me; as being assur'd they would produce little, for that according to the Custom of the Country he had made 'em, not with an intention to be as good as his word, but onely to make me the more ready to do what he desir'd.

The 5. the Governor went to the Camp, which he had caus'd to be set up about a League from the City, in a spacious and lovely Meadow, all cover'd with flowers during the fair Season. The two Rivers that encompass *Erivan*, and run along with a winding Course and gentle Stream, make several little Islands in that Place. So that the Governors Quarter, that of the Princess his Wife, and those of the most considerable Persons that accompani'd him, were all separated; while every one had their particular Island; which were joyn'd together by certain little Bridges, that were laid on or tak'n away, as occasion requir'd. The Governor's Tents were very Magnificent; and indeed there were in a little Ground all

all the Conveniencies of a Palace even to the very Bathes and Stoves. His Family consisted of about Five Hundred Men, without reckoning the Women and *Eunuchs*. And it is the Custom of the Grandees of this Kingdom to solace themselves in this manner in the Country in the Spring Time. There they divertize themselves in Hunting, Fishing, Walking and employ themselves in several other Exercises, both a Foot and on Horse-back: There they suck in the fresh Air, and enjoy that Coolness which they so much delight in. This is the Refreshment and Recreation of their Lives; so that if they have no business in the City which requires their Presence there, they continue thus taking their pleasure all the Summer long, in the most delicious parts of the Neighbouring Mountaines. This they call *Yelac*: or a *Country Excursion*.

The 6. The Prince's Treasurer gave me a Dinner, and the Kings Lieutenant of the Fortrefs was at it. He is a Native of *Dag-Estaan*. Which is a Mountainous Country to the North-East of the Caspian Sea, and bordering upon *Muscovie*. So that I took great delight to hear him repeat several particulars of the Customes and Manners of his Country. The King of *Persia* is acknowledg'd there as Sovereign Lord; but he is not absolute Master of it: nor are the People that inhabit it always subject to his Commands. And the Court winks at their Disobediences; it being a difficult thing to reduce 'em, by reason of the Roughness and Height of the Mountaines. They are a Savage sort of People, and the most barbarous of all the East: and I take 'em to be some Remainers of the *Parthians*. The same Evening that Gentleman sent me a Present of Fruit, Wine, and Mutton.

The 7. The Treasurer sent me much such another Present, as the Governor had sent me the day before: and I repay'd 'em in small Returnes for the Favors I had receiv'd from Both. They had been very civil to me at *Erivan*, not so much as offering to take those fees, which men are oblig'd to pay in *Persia* to the Officers of Governors, for all the Money receiv'd out of their Treasuries; for that their Master had forbid 'em to demand any thing of me. And therefore they did me those Kindnesses to oblige me to be the more free of my own accord; well knowing I was not so ignorant of the Customes of the Country, but that I knew that it was not any motion of Generosity, that made 'em so courteous to Strangers.

In the Afternoon I went to the Camp, to take leave of the Governor; who shew'd me a thousand Civilities; and at my departure

departure gave me two Letters of Recommendation to his two Eldest Sons, who are the Kings onely Favourites. They were both much to the same Effect. And this is the Translation of that which was written to the Eldest,

G O D,

I beseech the Sovereign Author of all good Things to preserve in Life and Health the High and Potent Lord Nefr-ali-bec, my most Honour'd and most Happy Son, the Favorite and Confident of his Royal Majesty.

We make most perfect Vows to Heaven for your Happy Grandeur. The motive that induc'd us to write ye this Letter, is upon the Account of our being so much concern'd as we are on the behalf of Mr. Chardin, who arriv'd some time since at this City, and is now going in all hast to the Palace, which is the (a) Refuge of the Universe. You must of necessity fully and exactly (b) inform your self of his designs, and what Petitions he has to make to the most High Court; and when you rightly understand 'em, see that you use your best Endeavour that they may be favourably answer'd. We shall be very desirous to know, what Effect and Success our Recommendation shall have, and after what Manner this Illustrious Friend shall be receiv'd and entertain'd. We also desire you to send us the good Tydings of his Health. We pray to God, that he may have the favour and the happiness to be well receiv'd of our Great King. To whom I wish that (c) all the World may pay Homage, and that he may prosper in all his Undertakings. The Eternal God grant ye long life.

(a) The Persian word which I have translated, the *Refuge of the World*, is *Alempenba*. *Alem* signifies the whole entire World, or Universal Nature. *Penba*, a Retreat, a Haven, a Place of Security, and to which a Man may have recourse.

(b) In the Original it is, *that they inform themselves*. For the Eastern People addressing themselves to Persons of Quality; to denote the Person, make use of the Third Person Plural, and when they mean themselves speak in the Third Person Singular. Which is also the Proper Idiom of the Holy Language.

(c) In the Persian it is, *That all Souls may serve his Name, his Name*. Repetition is a Figure very frequent in the Oriental Languages, and questionless borrow'd from the Sacred Language. Of which there are a Thousand Examples in the Original Bibles, as in the 68. Psalm. v. 13. *They are fled, they are fled.*

fled. That is, They are absolutely fled. And Psalm. 8. 7. v5. The man, the man, That is, the Perfect Man.

Afterwards I went and took leave of the Principal Lords of the Court, and among the Rest of the *General of the Mint*. This Lord, who was call'd *Mahamed Shefi*, perswaded me to go to *Ispahan* by the way of *Ardevil*, assuring me that I should not fail to sell in that City. Thereupon I promis'd him so to do, and took along with me a Letter of Recommendation to the Governor of that City; who was his near Kinsman: Which I thus Translated into *French*.

G O D,

Thrice High and Potent Lord, Glorious Majesty, worthy to be call'd Celestial, Elect of the Governors, Deputy Lieutenants and Happy Men; Fountain of Grace, Honour and Civility; Exemplar of Purity, Model of Generosity and Munificence; Heart Sincere, Real and Faithful. Protector of his Intimate Friends and Kindred, My most Excellent Lord and Master, I beseech the most High God to preserve your Health and prolong your Life.

Having paid you my due Respects and Homage, These are to let you understand, Great Sir, whose Wit is Clear and Glistering like the Sun, That Mr. Chardin the Flower of European Merchants, intending to go through Casbin to the Magnificent Palace, which is the Refuge of the Universe, I who am your Real Friend, perswaded him out of a desire to serve you, to go through the Sacred Ardevil. He carries with him certain Commodities of an Extraordinary value, which he will shew in the presence of your thrice a Noble Person. I am certain you will buy, if you meet with any thing that is worth your having: and I am assur'd your Highness will command your People to take care of this Noble Stranger. I am preparing to go for Tiflis, with God's Assistance, toward the end of the next Month Zilhage. If I can serve your Excellency in that Country, you will do me a great Honour to let me know it. I beseech ye to believe that a richer Present cannot be made me, then to bring me Tydings of your good Health. God, through his favour, preserve your Illustrious Person till the Day of Judgement.

I am the true Friend of the Thrice High, and Thrice Illustrious Lords, Geonbec, Hiaiabec, and Mahamed-bec: I am apt to believe for my own Repose the Continuation of their Health.

The Seal contain'd a Verse, or Sentence, of which this was the Meaning. I have wholly left my Destiny to God, I Mahamed Shefi his Creature.

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Upon

Upon the outside of the Letter, at one Corner was written in a small Character. *God preserve the happy Condition of my Friend.*

While I stay'd at the Camp, there arriv'd a Courier from the King, who brought his Majesties Answer touching the Patriarch's Business. 'And I understood at the Governours, that the Contents were, That the Chief Ministers were of Opinion, that the Treasure at *Ecsmiazin* should be sold with all the Ornaments, and all the Wealth belonging to the Church and Convent: and that the Money that was made of it should go to the payment of the Patriarch's Debts. And that this Resolution had been taken, except Opposition had been made by the *Armenians*, by representing that all that Money would nothing near satisfy the Patriarch's Concerns; and that if they took away from *Ecsmiazin* its Treasure and its Ornaments, they would ruine a place that drew a world of Company into *Persia*, and which yearly paid a very great Rent, occasion'd by the Devotion and Concourse of the Eastern Christians: That upon that the King had decreed, That the Money should be levy'd in *Armenia* upon all the Christian Villages to satisfy the Customer of *Constantinople*, whom there was a necessity to see paid. The Patriarch was over-joy'd at the News, and made a Present to him that brought it; but it displeas'd all the honest People in the City, who were vex'd to the Souls, to see the Prelate so insensible of the Violence they were going to offer to thousands of Poor Christians, to pay for the Expences of his irregular Ambition.

The 8. an hour before day, I parted from *Erivan*, and travell'd four Leagues over the little Hills, and through Valleys, the Country which I cross'd being full of Villages. In one of which that was a very fair and large one I lodg'd, call'd by the name of *Dairvin*.

The 9. we travell'd five Leagues through a Country that was very level and fertile. That which they call the Mountain of *Noah*, lying upon the Right Hand. We directed our Course South-West, and lay at a Village call'd *Kainer*.

The 10. we continu'd the same Road, and travell'd eight Leagues. Upon the left hand, after we got half the way, we left a great Town call'd *Sederec*. Which is as it were the Capital of the Province of *Armenia*, call'd *Charour*. The Sultan of which Province resides in that Town. That Night we had but a very bad Lodging in an old ruin'd Inn, near to a Village call'd *Nouratchin*.

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The 11. We travell'd four Leagues upon the same Road, and through a very fair Country; but not so level, nor smooth, as being stony, and full of little Hills. We also ferry'd over a River call'd *Harpasony*, that waters all the Neighbouring Lands. It separates the Government of that part of *Armenia*, of which *Erivan* is the Capital, from that other part of which *Nacchivan* is the Metropolis.

The 12. we arriv'd at *Nacchivan*, after we had travell'd five Leagues over Plaines very level and Fertile.

Nacchivan is a great City, or rather a vast heap of Ruins, which are repair'd and repeopl'd by degrees. The heart of the City is at present rebuilt and inhabited; having very large *Bazars*, which are a sort of long Galleries, or Streets that are cover'd, full of Shops on both sides; where they sell all Sorts of Merchandizes and Provisions. There are in it five Inns or *Caravanferays*, Baths, Market Places, large Publick Houses, where they sell Tobacco and Coffee; and two Thousand Houses or thereabouts. The *Persian* Histories assure us, that formerly it contain'd above Forty Thousand. They also tell us, that before the *Arabians* conquer'd this Country, there were in it five Cities which had been built by *Behron-Tchoubin* King of *Persia*. Without the City are to be seen the Ruins of a great Castle, and several Forts which *Abas* caus'd to be destroy'd, toward the end of the last Age, not finding himself strong enough to keep 'em: All which he caus'd to be ruin'd, after he had taken *Nacchiavan* from the Turks; and after he had ruin'd and dispeopl'd the City. Which he did to prevent the *Turks* from Fortifying themselves in that Place, and furnishing themselves with Provisions. Most certainly the City is an Object of Pity, considering in what a Condition it now lies.

The Histories of *Persia* would have us believe, that it was one of the Greatest and Fairest Cities of all *Armenia*, as has been already said. But that History, now kept in the Monastery of the *Three Churches*, and which is chiefly spok'n of, declares, that this City was the ancient *Ardashhad*, call'd *Artaxate*, or *Artaxasate* by the Greek Historians. Other *Armenian* Authors make *Nacchivan* to be much more Ancient, and assert that *Noah* began to build it, and made it his Abode after the Deluge. And they make the Etymology of the Name to agree with the Antiquity of the Original: Affirming, that in the old *Armenian* Language *Nacchivan* signifies the first Habitation. *Ptolomy* makes mention of a City in these Parts, which

which he calls *Naxuane*, which might have been the same with *Nacchivan*. I believe that *Artaxate*, or *Artaxajate*, was seated very near it. For *Tacitus* observes, that *Araxes* ran very near that City; and we find it not to be above seven Leagues from *Nacchivan*. The height of the Pole over it's Horizon is mark'd upon the *Persian Astrolobes*, to be 38. deg. 40. min. and the Longitude 81. deg. 34. min. It is govern'd by a *Kan*, and is the Capital of one part of *Armenia*.

Five Leagues from *Nacchivan*, to the North, lies a great village, call'd *Abrener*; which signifies the *Fertile Field*. The inhabitants of that Village, and of seven others near it, are all *Roman Catholicks*. Their Bishops and Curates, are *Dominicans*; and they perform their Church and Service, in the *Armenian* language.

He was an *Italian Dominican of Bologna*, that brought all this Country under Subjection to the Pope, about 350. years ago. And about twenty villages more that lay round acknowledged the same Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. But at length they return'd to their obedience under the *Armenian Patriarch*, and to their first Religion: and as for those that persist in the *Romish Ceremonies*, their Number daily decreases, by reason of the Persecution of the Patriarch, and the Governors of *Nacchivan*. Those poor people, having drawn upon their own heads, the Indignation and violent Usage of those Governors, for having endeavour'd to withdraw themselves from their Jurisdiction & Dependence. To which purpose there arriv'd in *Persia* in the year 1664. an *Italian Dominican*, in the Quality of an Ambassador, from the Pope. From whom, and from several other Potentates of *Europe*, he brought Letters to the King. He made great Presents to his Majesty, and obtain'd effectually, That those *Roman Catholick Villages*, should every year send their Tribute to the Royal Treasure, and whatever they were oblig'd to pay yearly, according to the Rates set down in Writing in the Registers of the Superintendant and Receiver-General of *Media*. Which being done, that Orders should be sent to the Superintendant and Governor of *Nacchivan*, and all other, the Kings Officers, to acknowledge the *Roman Catholicks* to be absolutely independent from their Jurisdiction, and that they should not presume to make any Levies within their Territories. Which Regulation, that did very little good to those villages, was the occasion of many Mischiefs that afterwards befell em; and will one day be the cause of their Ruin. For the Go-

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vernors of *Nacchivan* provok'd at these proceedings, and the complaints that were made of 'em to *Abas*, have lay'd a thousand heavy Impositions, upon those poor People, since the death of that good King; and have made 'em pay three or four times the money which they sent to the Treasure Royal. For which the oppressed people can have no remedy; whether through the Remissness of the Government, or for that their own Party is low and out of Credit. The Treasurer of *Media* has done worse, for he has sent to Court false extracts of the Registers of that Province, by which it appears that those villages were to pay fourteen hundred pounds yearly, which is just as much again as what they pretend to have always paid. Every time they carry their Imposition of Seven Hundred Pounds into the Treasury, the Officers give 'em a Receipt, wherein they put that it is upon Account of what they ought to pay, by which they keep a Door open for Arbitrary Impositions, and Branglings to ruin 'em when they please themselves.

The Governor of *Nacchivan* was not in Town when I arriv'd there. But this Son that was Deputy, had soon notice of my arrival. So that he invited me to Dinner, and desir'd me to shew him some Watches and some Jewels. But I was no way satisfi'd with his manner of dealing with me. For after he had been civil to me, and had giv'n me a dinner, he left me with his officers who forc'd me in a manner, to let him have that for fourty pounds, for which I refus'd fifty at *Erivan*. And without question they had us'd me more uncivilly, but for the King's Pattent and Pass-port which I had about me. And indeed those Thorow-fairs are a sort of Places for the skinning of strangers, who are reputed to be rich. They must alway there pay Passage-money.

The 13. We departed from *Nacchivan*, and travell'd seven Leagues: At the end of the first League passing a River over a very broad Bridge, to which the People of the Country give no other name then that of the River of *Nacchivan*. The Country which we pass'd is dry and Stony, where was nothing to be seen but little Hills of Stones. We lay upon the Banks of the River *Araxes*, which the Orientals call *Aras* and *Ares*. We pass it at *Esqui-julfa*, or *Julfa* the old, a ruin'd City, which some Authors beleive to be that City which the Ancients call'd *Ariammene*. They call'd it *Old* to distinguish it from *Julfa*, that is built over against *Ispahan*. Nor is it without reason so call'd, as being totally ruin'd and demolished. There is no-

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thing farther to be known of it, except the Grandeur, which it once enjoy'd. It was seated upon the descent of a Mountain, by the side of a River, that ran close by it. The Avenues to it, which are naturally very difficult of Access, were defended by several Forts. It contain'd four thousand Houses, as the *Armenians* report ; but if we judge by its Ruines, it never could contain half the number. At present there are nothing but Holes and Caverns, made in the Mountains, fitter for Beasts than Men. I do not believe there is in the world a more barren or hideous Place, then that of *Old Julfa*, where there is neither Tree nor Grass to be seen. True it is, that in the Neighbourhood there are some Places more happy and fertile ; yet on the other side it is as true, that never was any City seated in a Situation more dry and stony. But the Figure of it somewhat recompens'd the Situation, resembling a long Amphitheater. At present there are not above thirty Families in it, which are all *Armenians*.

Abas the Great was the Prince that ruin'd *Julfa*, and all that Art had contributed to its Fortification. Which he did for the same reason that he ruin'd *Nacchivan* and other Places, of *Armenia*, to hinder the *Turkish* Armies from Provisions. For he being a prudent and Politick Captain, finding his Forces inferior to those of his Enemies ; and studious how to prevent their return every year into *Persia*, their winning and preserving their Conquests, resolv'd to make a Desert of all the Country between *Erzerum* & *Tauris*, upon the line of *Eriwan* and *Nacchivan*; which was the road which the *Turks* usually observ'd, and where they fortifi'd themselves, because they found provisions sufficient for the support of their Armies. To that purpose therefore he transplanted all the Inhabitants and Cattel, ruin'd all the Houses and Buildings ; fird all the Country, burnt up all the Turf and the Trees, poyson'd the very Springs, as the History relates ; and they who have read the Story well know, that it had an effect answerable to his wishes.

But to return to our lists ; *Araxes* is that famous River that separates *Armenia* from *Media*. It takes its Rife from the Mountain, where they affirm that *Noah's Ark* rested, and perhaps it may derive its name from that Mountain. From thence it empties its self into the *Caspian Sea*. This River is very Large and very Rapid. In its Course it is augmented by several lesser streams that have no name, as also by several Torrents. Bridges have been built over it several times above
Julfa ;

Julfa; but though they made 'em never so strong and massie, as appears by the Arches which are yet intire, they were not able to withstand the force of the River; It becomes so furious when swell'd by the Thaws of the Snow that falls down melted from the neighbouring Mountains, that no Damms or other Fortifications can withstand it. And in truth the very Noise of the Waters, and the Rapidness of it's Course, astonish both the Ears and Eyes of all that come near it. We ferri'd over it in a large Boat; made to carry twenty Horse and thirty Persons at a time. But I would not suffer any to go along with me at the same time, but my own People and my own Baggage. It had four men to manage it. They row'd up about three hundred paces along the shoar a this side, then let the Barque drive us back with the stream; and so by the help of a long and strong Rudder guided the Boat to the other side. The current carry'd it with an unspeakable Impetuosity, so that we ran five hundred Paces in an instant. And thus it is that the Ferry-men cross the River *Araxes*. They allow themselves two hours to go and come; by reason of the time they must spend in pulling up against the stream. But in the Winter when the Waters are low, you may pass it upon the Camels Backs: the Ford being half a mile from *Julfa*, in a part where the Channel being very broad, the current is much more gentle.

We have said that *Araxes* separates *Armenia* from *Media*. This Country that formerly rul'd all *Asia*, with Imperial Dominion, at present makes but one part of a Province of *Persia* which the *Persians* call *Azerbeyan*, or *Asupaican*. However it is one of the largest in the *Persian* Empire. It borders to the East upon the *Caspian* Sea, and *Hyrcania*; to the South upon the Province of the *Partians*. To the West upon the River *Araxes*, and the upper *Armenia*; to the North upon *Dagestan*, which is that Mountainous Country, that confines upon the *Cossaque* *Muscovites*, and makes a part of Mount *Taurus*. It encloses all the *Eastern Media*, call'd by the ancient Authors *Azarea*, and the *Western* or lesser *Media*, which they likewise call *Atropatia*, or *Atropatene*. *Affyria* is a part of the upper *Armenia*. The *Persians* affirm, that this Place was call'd *Azer-beyan*, that is, the Country of Fire; by reason of the famous Temple of Fire which was there erected, where was kept their Fire, which the *Fire-worshippers*, held to be a God; and because the chief Pontiff of that Religion resided there. The *Guebres*, who are all that are left of the *Fire-worshippers*, shew this place about

about

about two days journey distant from *Shamaki*. They assure us for a certain truth, that the sacred Fire is still there ; that it resembles a Mineral and subterranean Fire ; and that they who repair thither out of Devotion see it in the form of a Flame. Nay they add one particular more, which is a sort of pleasant story, that if you make a hole in the ground, and set a pot over it, that same fire will cause it to seeth, and boyle all that is in the Pot.

To return to the Name of *Azer-beyan*, the *Etymologie* is true : for *Az* is the Article of the Genitive. *Er* or *Ur*, in old *Persian*, as in most part of the Ancient Oriental *Idioms*, signifies *Fire*, and *Beyan* signifies a *Place* or *Country*. I am not ignorant that some people read and pronounce it *Afur-paican*, and affirm that this great Province was so call'd, because it contains *Assyria*; which in the opinion of all Authors, deriv'd its Name from *Assur* ; which is the same thing in my Opinion ; for I am apt to think that the Name of *Assur*, comes from *Az*, *Ur*, that is of *Fire*. *Moses* speaking of *Nimrod*, that Idolatrous Prince, who introduced the Worship of *Fire*, and invaded *Chaldea*, the Share and Patrimony of *Sem*, tells us, that the Sons of that Patriarch retir'd thither, and that *Ashur* was one. Now 'tis very probable, that this *Ashur* was so call'd from his retiring thither, or from the worship of *Fire* ; or from *Chaldea*, which was then call'd the *Country of Fire* ; as appears C. 11. of *Genesis*, and in all the ancient Authors ; who unanimously agree that *Chaldea* was call'd the *Country of Ur*, or the *Country of Fire*. And *Ptolomy* makes mention of a City in that Country which is call'd *Urcoa*, that is to say the place of *Fire* : *ga*, with a long or a double *a*, being a *Persian* word, that signifies a *Place*, or *Part of a Country*. But the Ancient Names have been so corrupted by the negligence or ignorance of Transcribers, or by the differences of Language and Pronuntiation of Authors and Translators, that when we come to compare the Ancients with the modern Name, we must not reject every thing that has not an entire Resemblance. Now what we have already said shews us the Errors of those who have written, that *Azer-beyan* is the Northern Part of *Syria*, and that the word of *Azer-beyan* is deriv'd from *Ardoebigara*, which was the Capital City of the Country. The *Persians* divide it into three parts *Azer-beyan*, *Shirvan*, and *Shamalei*. *Strabo* divides it only into two parts, the greater and the lesser : but as for *Ptolomie* and other modern *Geographers*, they make no division of it at all.

The 14. we travell'd five leagues, through a Country full of
of

of little Hills, following the same course as the days before, that it is to the *North-West*, leaving that spacious Plain upon the left hand, which has been the Stage of so many Bloody Battels, fought in the last ages ; and in the beginning of this between the *Persians* and *Turks*. The people of the Country shew you a great heap of Stones, & affirm it to be the Place where that Battel began, between *Selim* the Son of *Solymon* the Great, and *Ismael* the Great. Our days Journey ended at *Alacou*. The *Persians* assert that this place was so call'd *Alacou*, by that famous *Tartar* Prince who conquer'd a great Part of *Asia*, and there founded a City, ruin'd during the Wars between the *Turks* and *Persians*.

The 15. our Journey was not so long as the day before, but the way through which we travell'd was more smooth and easie. We lodg'd at *Marant* ; which is a good fair Town, consisting of about two thousand five hundred houses, and which has so many Gardens, that they take up as much ground as the Houses. It is seated at the bottom of a little Hill, at the end of a Plain, which is a league broad and five long : and which is one of the most lovely and fairest that may be seen ; a little River call'd *Zelou-lou* running through the middle of it : from which the people of the Country cut several Trenches to water their Grounds and their Gardens. *Marant* is better peopl'd than *Nacchivan*, and a much fairer Town. There grows about it great plenty of Fruits, and the best in all *Media*. But that which is most peculiar to these Parts is this, that they gather *Cocheneel* in the Places adjoyning ; though not in any great quantity, nor for any longer time then only eight days in the Summer, when the Sun is in *Leo*. Before that time the People of the Country assure us, that it does not come to Maturity ; and after that time the Worm from whence they draw the *Cocheneel*, makes a hole in the leaf upon which it grows, and is lost. The *Persians* call *Cocheneel* *Quermis* from *Querm*, which signifies a *Worme*, because it is extracted out of *Worms*.

Marant is seated 37. deg. 50. min. of Lat. and 81. deg. 15. min. of Longit. according to the observation of the *Persians*. Some take it for the City which *Ptolemy* calls *Mandagarana*. I made no Platform of it no more then I did of *Nacchivan* ; because neither their Fame nor their Beauty seem'd to me to be worth any such Pains. The *Armenians* have a Tradition, that *Noah* lies buried there ; and that the Name of the City is deriv'd from an *Armenian* word which signifies to bury. You may

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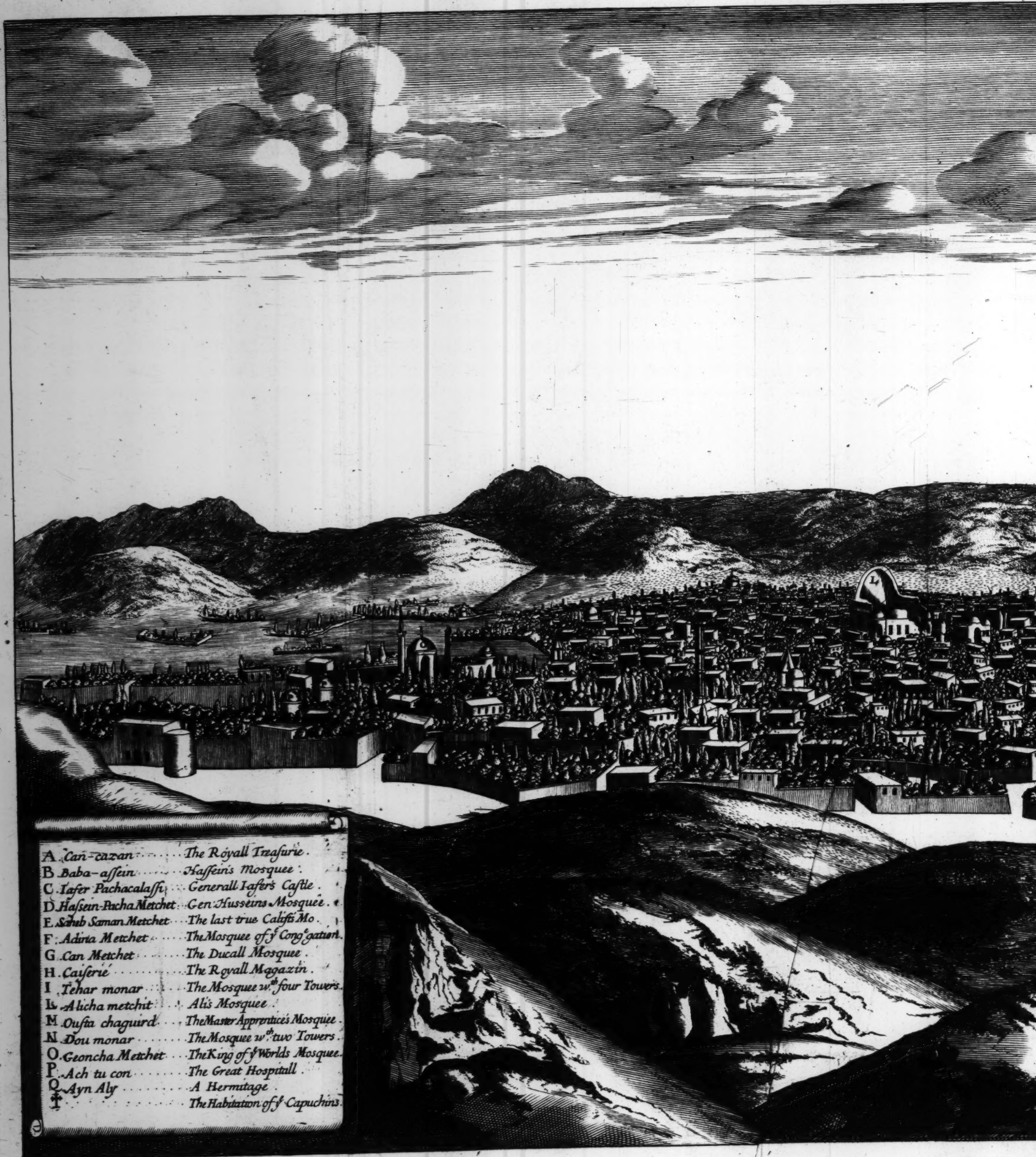
descry from *Marant*, when the Air is clear, the Place where the Ark rested, which sav'd the Patriarch from the Deluge : You may also see the same Mountain from *Tauris*, in a serene Sky, as the People of the Country assure us.

The 16. we travelled four Leagues, turning always among the Mountains, that come very close one to another in several parts, but never joyn. By ten of the Clock in the morning we arriv'd at *Sophian* : a little Village seated in a Plain, full of Rivulets and Gardens; the Soyl of which is fertile to a wonder. Some Authors believe it to be the Ancient *Sophia* of *Media*. Others hold, that it was call'd *Sophian* from the *Sopbi's*, who settled there, when *Ismael* the First left *Ardevil*, and remov'd his Court to *Tauris*.

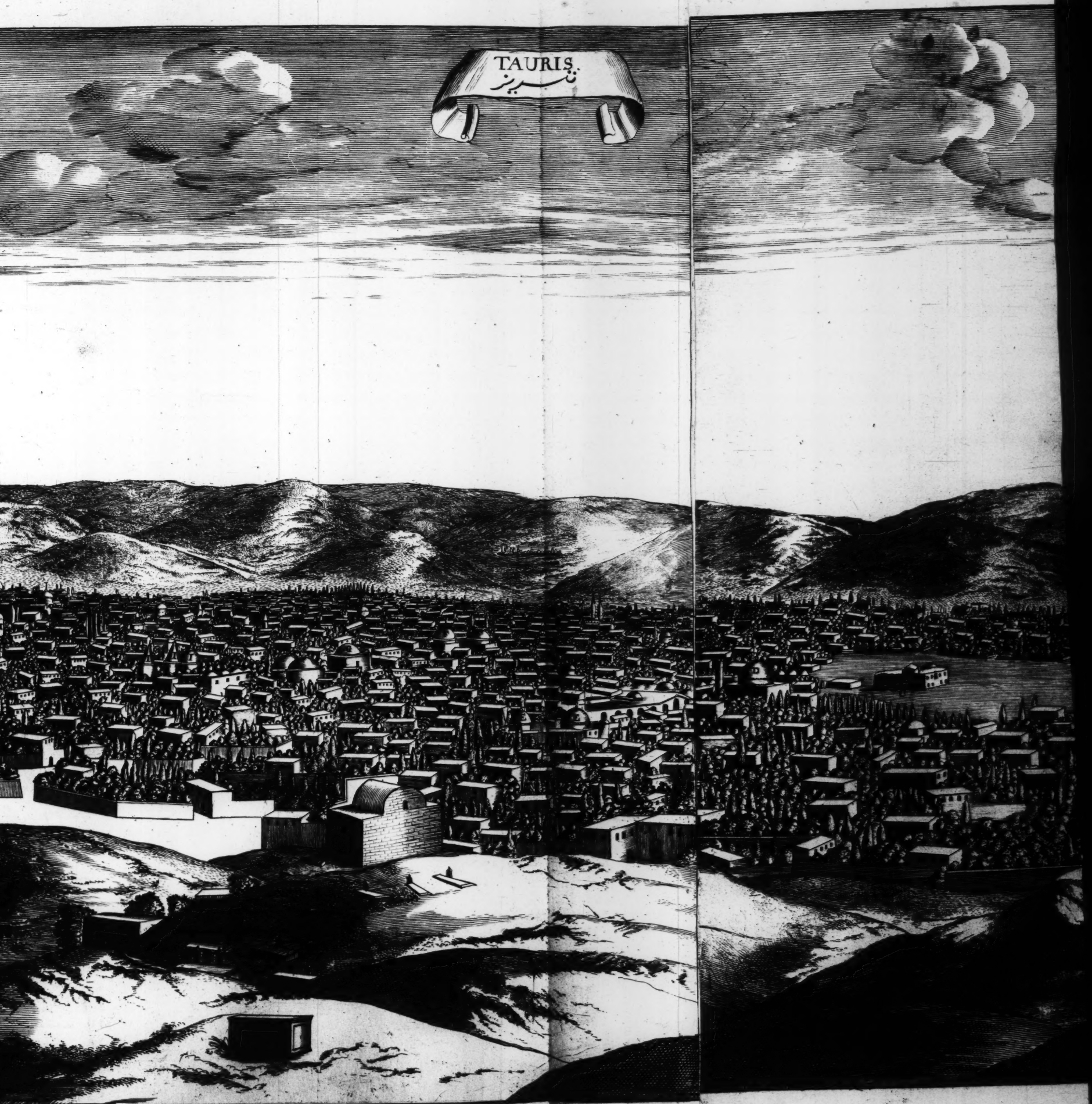
That Evening, Mr. *Azarias*, the honest Armenian, already mention'd, went before with my Passports and Letters of Recommendation from the Governors of *Georgia* and *Armenia*. I ordered him to find out the Toll-gatherer of *Tauris*, and to desire him in my Name, to give order that I might pass with my Retinue : and the next day I found he had discharg'd his Trust, and that care had been taken to leave such orders at the Gates as I desir'd.

That day being the Seventeenth, we arriv'd at *Tauris*, after we had travell'd six Leagues upon the same Road, as the preceding days, through fair and fertile Plains, where all the Lands were till'd, and where we had a Prospect of a great number of Villages. It is fifty three Persian Leagues, every one of which makes five thousand Paces, between *Iriwan* and *Tauris*, which may be easily rid on Horseback in Six days, but the Caravans take double the Time. The Camels seldom travel above four Leagues aday; and carry six or seven Hundred weight : the Horses and Mules seldom carry above two Hundred and Twenty weight with a Man, and travel five or six Leagues a day.

The Figure in the Plate annex'd gives ye a very exact Description of *Tauris*. It is really and truly a very large and Potent City : as being the second in *Persia*, both in Dignity, in Grandeur, in Riches, in Trade, and in number of Inhabitants. It is seated at the end of a Plain, at the bottom of a Mountain, which our Modern Authors will have to be the Mountain *Orontes* or *Barontes*, according to *Polybius*, *Diodorus*, and *Ptolomey*. The Figure of it is irregular and difficult to be nam'd, as is apparent by the Plate; neither is it wall'd or fortify'd; only a little River call'd *Spingtcha* run across it. Which some-



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| A. Can-cazan | The Royall Treasure. |
| B. Baba-assein | Hussein's Mosque. |
| C. Isfer Pachacalassi | Generall Isfers Castle. |
| D. Hussein-Pacha Metchet | Gen Husseins Mosque. |
| E. Sahib Saman Metchet | The last true Califs Mo. |
| F. Adina Metchet | The Mosque of Congregation. |
| G. Can Metchet | The Ducall Mosque. |
| H. Caferie | The Royall Magazin. |
| I. Tehar monar | The Mosque w th four Towers. |
| L. Alichia metchit | Alis Mosque. |
| M. Ousia chaguard | The Master Apprentices Mosque. |
| N. Dou monar | The Mosque w th two Towers. |
| O. Geoncha Metchet | The King of Worlds Mosque. |
| P. Ach tu cori | The Great Hospitall. |
| Q. Ayn Aly | A Hermitage. |
| † | The Habitation of Capuchins. |



No. 17





No. 11

sometimes makes dreadful havock, and carry's away the Houses that are built by the side of it. There is another that runs by the North-side of the City; Which from the Spring till Autumn is not much larger then the *Seine* is at *Paris* in the Winter time. It is call'd *Agi*, or the *Salt River*, by reason of the Torrents that having run through several Salt Marshes empty themselves into it; which is the Reason it breeds no Fish. The City is distinguish'd into Nine Wards or Quarters, and divided, as are almost all the other Cities of *Persia*, into *Haydar*, and *Neamet-Olabi*, which are the names of two Factions, which divided all *Persia* in the Fifteenth Age, like the *Guelphes* and the *Guibellines* in *Italy*. It contains fifteen thousand Houses, and fifteen Thousand Shops. For the Houses in *Persia* are not in the same place with their Shops; which stand for the most part in long and large arched Streets forty or fifty Foot high. Which Streets are call'd *Basar*, or the Market, and make the heart of the City; the Houses being in the out Parts; and have almost all Gardens belonging to 'em. I did not see many Palaces or Magnificent Houses at *Tauris*. But there are the fairest *Basars* that are in any place of *Asia*. And it is a lovely sight to see their vast Extent, their Largeness, their beautiful *Duomo's*, and the Arches over 'em; the number of People that are there all the day long, and the vast quantities of Merchandize with which they are fill'd. The fairest of all, and where they sell their Jewels and Wares of greatest value, is octangular, and very spacious; being call'd the *Kaiserie*, or *Royal Market Place*. It was built about the Year 850 of the *Hegira* by King *Hassen*, who kept his Court at *Tauris*. Their other Publick Buildings are no less Sumptuous, nor less full of People. There are reck'n'd to be in the City three hundred Caravanferais; of which some are spacious enough to lodge three hundred People. Their Cabarets for Coffee, Tobacco and strong Liquors, the Baths and Mosques are answerable to the beauty of the other Buildings.

There are in *Tauris* two hundred and fifty Mosques: of which the Principal are mark'd in the Copper Plate. I shall not say any thing of any one in particular; because they are no otherwise built then the fair Mosques in the Capital City of the Kingdom, of which you will find in the following Volume both Descriptions and Platforms. The Mosquee of *Ali-sha*, is almost totally ruin'd. Only they have repair'd the lower part where the People go to Prayers, and the Tower which is very high, and is the first that discovers its self

self to the Eye, coming from *Erivan*. This *Mosque* was built about 400 years ago, by *Coja Ali-sha*, Grand *Visir* to *Sultan Kazan*, King of *Persia*, who kept his Court at *Tauris*; and was there buried. His sepulchre is still to be seen in a great ruin'd Tower, which they call by his name *Monar can Kazan*. The *Mosque* which they call the *Master Apprentise*, which lyes half in Ruins at present, was built three hundred and twenty years ago by *Emir-sheic-Hassen*. That which is mark'd with the Letter (O) in the Plate, is the fairest in all *Tauris*; all the inside, and some part of the outside, being guilt with Gold. It was built in the year 878 of the *Hegyra*, by a *Persian* King call'd *Geoncha*, or King of the World. That with two Towers is a very small one, but both the Towers are of a Peculiar sort of Workmanship; and shew the curiosity of the Artist. For they are built one over the other; and the uppermost is much higher and larger in the Diameter then that below, which serves for a *Basis* to the other. There are also three Hospitals in the City, very neat and well in repair; however there is no body lodg'd within 'em, only they give Victuals to those that come twice a day. These Hospitals at *Tauris* are call'd *Ach-tucon*, that is, Places where they spend a great deal of Victuals. At the end of the City to the West, upon a little mountain stands a Hermitage, a very neat piece of Workmanship, which they call *Ayn Hali*, or the Eyes of *Haly*. This *Califf*, whom their Prophet made his Son-in-Law, was as the *Persians* report, the most lovely man that was ever seen; so that when they would signifie any thing that is extreamly handsom they say tis *Haly's Eyes*. This Hermitage serves the *Taurisians* for a place of Devotion, and the way to it for a walk of Pleasure.

Without the City of *Tauris* to the East, appears a great Castle almost gon to decay, which they call *Cala-Rashide*. It was built above 400 years ago by *Cojé Reshid*, Grand *Visier* to King *Kazan*. The Story reports, that their King had five Grand *Visirs*, because he did not believe that one could suffice to dispatch all the affairs of so great a Kingdom. *Abas* the Great seeing that Castle ruin'd, and judging it advantageously seated as well to defend the City, as to command it, caus'd it to be repair'd about fifty years since, but his Successors not being of his opinion, let it go to Ruin.

There are also to be seen the Ruins of the Principal Edifices and Fortifications, which the *Turks* built there, during the several times that they were Masters of it. So that there are very

very few Rocks or Poynts, of Mountains joyning to the City where nothing but the Ruins of Ports and Heaps of Rubbish are to be seen. Of which I carefully survey'd a great Part; but I could not discover any thing of Antiquity. There is nothing to be digg'd up but Bricks and Flint Stones. The onely Edifice that remains most entire among the Turkish Buildings is a large Mosque, the inside of which is inlay'd or rather pargetted with transparent Marble; and all the Outside variegated in Mosaic work. But the Persians account the Place desil'd, because it was built by the Turks, whose Faith they abominate. Among the heaps of Rubbish, of which I have spoken, without the City to the South, appear the Ruines of the Palace of the late Kings of Persia. And to the East, those of the Castle where they say Cosroes lodg'd; and where he laid up the Holy Cros for Security, and all those other sacred Spoyles which he brought away from Jerusalem.

The Piazza of Tauris, is the most spacious Piazza that ever I saw in any City of the World, and far surpasses that of Isfahan. The Turks have several times drawn up within it Thirty Thousand Men in Battell. Toward the Evening this Piazza is fill'd with all the meaner sort of People, that repair thither for Sport and Pastime. Where some are for Gaming, some for Tricks of Activity, some for seeing Jack-Puddings and Mountebanks act their Drolleries, some for Wrestling, others for Bull and Ram-fighting, others for repeating Verses, some reciting Stories in Prose; and some to see Wolves dance. The People of Tauris take great delight to see that sort of Sport; insomuch that they bring those Dancing Wolves a hundred Leagues an end, after they are well taught: And such as are best instructed are sold for five hunder'd Crowns a piece: & many times also great Quarrels arise about these Wolves, which are not easily appeas'd. Nor is this Piazza empty in the day time; as being a Market for all sorts of Provisions, and things of small Price. There is also another Piazza at Tauris, which appears in the Plate before the demolish'd Castle, call'd the Castle of Jaser-Pacha. This was a Place for the Rendezvous, and exercise of the Souldiers belonging to the Garrison; now it serves for the Shambles; where they kill and dress all sorts of large Meat, which is sold in all parts of the City.

I have with great diligence endeavour'd to understand the number of the Inhabitants in Tauris, but could never have a just account; but I think I may truly reck'n it to amount to

550 Thousand Persons, yet several Persons in the City would make me believe there could not be less than Eleven hundred Thousand.

The number of Strangers also which are there at all times is very great : for that they resort thither from all parts of *Asia*. Nor do I know of any sort of Merchandize, of which there is not there a Magazine to be found. The City is full of Artists in Cotton, in Silk, and in Gold. The fairest Turbans in *Persia* are there made. And I have heard several of the Principal Merchants of the City affirm, that there are above six thousand Bayles of Silk wrought out in Manufacture every year. The Trade of the City extends all over *Persia* and *Turky* ; into *Muscovy*, *Tartary*, to the *Indies*, and over the *Black-Sea*.

The Air of *Tauris* is cold and dry ; very good and healthy : nor can any man complain that it contributes to any bad disposition of Humors. The Cold continues there a long time, in regard the City is expos'd to the North, for the Snow lies nine months in the year upon the tops of the Mountains that surround it. The Wind blows almost every day, Morning and Evening. It also rains very often, unless it be in the Summer : nor is the Sky but seldom without Clouds any season of the Year. It is seated in 38. deg. of Latitude, and 82 of Longit. It abounds with all things necessary for human Support ; so that a Man may fare there deliciously and very cheap. The *Caspian Sea*, which is not above forty Leagues distant, affords 'em Fish. And some they also take in the River of *Agi* before mention'd ; but that is only when the water is low. The usual price of Bread is three pound for a penny, and of a pound of Flesh Three half pence. In the Summer there is great plenty of Venison and water Fowl. But they kill very little Venison or other wild Beasts. There are also Eagles in the Mountains ; one which I have seen sold by the Country people for a groat.

Persons of Quality let fly the Sparrow-Hawk at the Eagle, which is a Flight full of Curiosity and much to be admir'd. For the Sparrow-Hawk soaring above the Eagle, stoops of a sudden with that swiftness, strikes her Pounces into his sides, and with her wings continually beating upon his head sends him in a short time to the ground : Yet sometimes it happens that both the Eagle and the Sparrow-Hawk come both to the Earth together. In the same manner the Sparrow-Hawks will many times stop the flight of hunted Stags, and render the Chace
much

much more easie to the Pursuers. But if this were so observable, that which I am going to say is no less remarkable: which is, That they assur'd me, that in the parts adjoyning to *Tauris*, there grow no less then threescore sorts of Grapes.

Not far from the City in the neighbouring Parts, are to be seen great Quarries of white Marble, of which there is a sort that is transparent. The People of the Country affirm it to be the water of a Mineral Fountain, congeal'd and hardne'd by degrees: and indeed, there are not far from it two considerable Mines, the one of Gold, and the other of Salt. But there has been no working in the Gold Mine for this long time, because they always found, that the Profit never defray'd the Expences of the Labour. There are also several mineral Waters: Of which the most frequented are those of *Baringe*, half a League from *Tauris*; and those of *Seide-Kent*, another Village, which is six Leagues from the City. These Waters are sulphureous, but there are others that are cold; others boyling hot.

I do not know whether there be any City in the World, concerning the Original and first Name of which, there is a greater Dispute among Modern Authors. We shall produce the Opinion of the most celebrated: only it will not be amiss in the first place to take notice that the *Persians* call the City *Tebris*, and that when we call it *Tauris*, as the People of *Europe* generally do, it is only in compliance with the common Custom; and to the end, I may be the better understood. *Teixera*, *Olearius*, and some other Authors maintain, that *Tauris* is that City which *Ptolomy*, in the fifth Table of *Asia*, calls *Gabris*, the *G.* being put in the stead of *T.* an Alteration frequent in the Greek Language, as they assert. *Leonclavius*, *Jorvius*, and *Aython*, will have it to be that City which the same Ancient Geographer calls *Terva*, instead of *Tevra*, by a transposition of the Letters of the word. But *Terva* being plac'd in *Armenia*, and it being certain that *Tauris* is seated in *Media*, those two Names can never be appropriated to the same City. So that without doubt, the Resemblance of the word deceiv'd those Authors. *Tebris* is a *Persian* word; and was given to the City in the year 165. of the *Hegyra*, as we shall declare more at large. And therefore, in regard it was several years ago since *Ptolomy* wrote, we must believe that *Terva* and *Gabris* are both very different from *Tauris*. *Niger* asserts it to be *Tigranoama*; other Authors take it to be *Tigranocerta*.
Some

Some there are of Opinion that it is the *Susa* of *Media*, so famous in Scripture : tho' others believe it to be the City, which in the Book of *Esdra*s is call'd *Aomatha*, or *Amutha*. Some place it in *Affyria*, as *Ptolomy* and his Interpreter. Others in *Armenia*, as *Niger Cedrenus*, *Aythou*, and *Jovius*. *Marcus Paulus Venetus* places it in the Country of the *Parthians*. *Catechondylus* removes it a little farther, that is to say, into the Province, of which *Persepolis* was formerly the Metropolis. In short, there is a strange Confusion in the Variety of Opinions upon this Subject. But the most rational in my Opinion, is that of *Moles*, who has translated and commented upon *Ptolomy*; of *Ananias*, *Ortelius*, *Goltius*, *Trixera*, *de la Vall*, *Atlas*, and almost all the modern Geographers, that *Tauris* is the Ancient and Celebrated *Ecbatana*, so frequently mention'd in Holy Writ, and in the Ancient Series of *Asia*. *Mindoci*, an Italian Author, if I am not deceiv'd, has set forth a Treatise to prove it. However, give me leave to add this, that there are no Remains to be seen at *Tauris*, either of the Magnificent Palace of *Ecbatana*, where the Monarchs of *Asia* kept their Courts in Summer, nor of that of *Daniel*; which was afterwards the *Mausoleum* for the Kings of *Media*, of which *Josephus* speaks in his tenth Book, and which he assures us stood entire in his time. If then these stately and magnificent Palaces were standing not above sixteen Ages ago, in the Place where *Tauris* now stands, the very Ruins themselves are now not to found. For among all those that are to be seen within the Circuit of that City, there are none but what are of Earth, Brick, or Flint, which were not Materials anciently made use of in *Media* for the building of sumptuous Palaces.

The Persian Historians unanimously agree the Time when the Foundations of *Tauris* were laid, to be in the year 165. of the *Hegyra* : but they do not concur in other particulars. Some ascribe the Foundation of it to the Wife of *Haron-Reshid*, Califf of *Bagdad*, call'd *Zebd-el-Caron*, which signifies the Flower of Ladies. They report, that she being desperately sick, a Median Physician cur'd her in a short time. For which the Princess not knowing what Reward to give him, bid him make choice of his Recompence ; where upon the Physician desir'd that she would build a City in his Country to the Honor of his Memory. Which after she had perform'd with great Care and Diligence, he call'd the City *Tebis* ; as a Memorial that it ow'd its Original to *Physick*. For that *Teb* signi-

signifies *Physic*, and *Ris* is the Participle of *Risten*, to power forth, scatter abroad, or give a Largeess. This is what some relate; to which there are others that tell a Story not much unlike. For they say, that *Halaconcan*, General to *Haron Rêshid*, having been two years sick of a Tertian Ague, of which he never expected to be cur'd, was strangely deliver'd from his Distemper by an Herb, which he found in the same place where *Tauris* now stands. And that to perpetuate the Memory of such a fortunate Cure, he built this City, and call'd it *Tebrist*; the Ague is gone. For *Teb* signifies also an Ague, and *rist* comes from the Verb *Resten*, to go away. But that afterwards, either by Corruption, or because it runs smoother upon the Tongue, it was call'd *Tebris* instead of *Tebrist*.

Mirzathaer, one of the most Learned Persons of Quality that are in *Persia*, the Son of *Mirza Ibrahim*, Treasurer of the Province, gave me another Reason of the Etymology: that is to say, that at the Time when this City was built, the Air was extremely wholesom and preservative against Agues: Which extraordinary Quality drew a world of People to it; and that therefore it was call'd *Tebris*, as if man should say, the Expeller of Agues. The same Lord also further assur'd me, that there are in the Kings Treasury at *Isfahan*, certain Medals with the Inscription of that *Zebd-el-Caton*, which were found at *Marant*, a city near to *Tauris*, with a great number of others both of Gold and Silver, being the Coyons of the Ancient Kings of *Media*. And that he had observ'd others, with Greek Figures and Inscriptions, wherein he remembred the word *Dakianous*. And then he ask'd me if I knew who that *Dakianous* was! To which I answer'd, that I did not understand the name, but that it might be very probably the Name of *Darius*.

In the 69. year after the Foundation of *Tauris*, the City was almost ruin'd by an Earth-quake. But *Montervekel*, Califf of *Bagdad*, of the Race of the *Abas's* who then Reigned, not only repair'd but enlarg'd it. A hundred fourscore and ten years after that, the 14 of the Month *Sefer*, another Earth-quake, more violent than the former, utterly ruin'd it in one night. The Persian Geography relates, how that at the same time there resided in the City, a Learned Astrologer of *Shiras*, call'd *Aboutaher*, or Just Father, who foretold that the said Earth-quake should happen upon the Sun's entrance into *Scorpio*, in the year 235. of the *Hegyra*; which answers to the year 849. of the Christian *Epoche*; and should over-

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throw

throw the whole City : To which, when he found the People would give no Credit, he went and was importunat with the Governor, to force the People out of the City. The Governor, who was also the *Califf's* Lieutenant, over all the Province, being always a great Admirer of judicial Astrology, gave way to his Importunity, and did all he could to send away the People into the Country : But finding that they still lookt upon the Prediction of the Earth-quake to be a meer *Chimera*, and suspected some mischievous Design in the Governor, he could not perswade above one half of the People to stir ; which fell out to their Destruction. For the Earth-quake happen'd exactly at the Hour mention'd in the Prediction, to the overwhelming of forty thousand Persons. The next year *Emir Diuerveron* the Son of *Mahamed-Rondain-Aredi*, Vice-Roy of *Persia*, receiv'd Orders from the Calif, to rebuild it larger and fairer than it was before, and to know of that famous Astrologer *Aboutaker*, under what Ascendant he should begin to work : Who bid 'em begin when the Sun was in *Scorpio*, and assur'd 'em the new City should never be troubled more with any Earth-quakes : but that it was threatned with great Inundations of Water. To which the History adds, that the Event has in all respects verifi'd the Truth of the Prediction. After this new Restoration, *Tauris* came to be wonderfully enlarg'd, famous and flourishing. They assure us, that in the Reign of *Sultan Cazan*, which is about 400 years ago, it extended in breadth, North and South, from the little Mountain of *Ain Ali*, to the opposite Mountain, call'd *Tchurandog*, and in length from the River *Agi* to the Village *Baninge*, which is two Leagues beyond the City. The same History also observes, for a Proof of the multitude of the Inhabitants where-with that City was peopl'd, that the Pestilence happening among 'em, there dy'd 40 thousand in one quarter, before they were miss'd.

In the year 896. of the *Hegira*, and 1490. of Christ, the Princes of the Race of *Sheith-Sephi* having invaded *Persia*, remov'd the Seat of the Empire from *Ardevil*, which was their own Country, to this City. In the year 1514. *Selim* took it upon Composition, two years after the King of *Persia*, who thought himself not safe there, retir'd from thence, and seated himself at *Casbin*. *Selim* stay'd not long at *Tauris*, but he carry'd away with him a wealthy Booty, and three thousand Families of Artificers, the most part *Armenians*, whom he settled in *Constantinople*. Soon after his Departure, the Inhabitants

habitants of *Tauris* rebell'd, and falling unexpectedly upon the Turks, made a most famous havock of the Enemy, and became Masters of the City. But *Ibraim Basha*, General to *Soliman* the Magnificent, severely reveng'd this Rebellion in the Year 955. of the *Hegyra*, and Year of our Lord 1548. For he took the City by Assault, and gave the Plunder of it to his Army; who committed therein all manner of Inhumanity, even to an Excess unheard of before. In a word, all that could be call'd Cruelty, Fire and Sword was there put in Execution. The Palace of King *Tahmas*, and all the most considerable Structures were destroy'd, and levell'd with the Earth. Yet notwithstanding all these Calamities, the City lifted up her head again at the beginning of *Amuraths* Reign, and with the Assistance of some few Persian Troops, put to the Sword all the Turkish Garrison, consisting of Ten thousand men. *Amurath* dismay'd at the Courage of the *Taurisians*, sent a powerful Army under the leading of *Osman*, his *Grand Visir*, utterly to destroy, and wholly to subdue the Inhabitants. This Army enter'd the City and pillag'd it, in the Year 994. by the Mahometan Accompt, and the Year of our Lord 1585. at what time the *Visir* caus'd all the Fortifications which the Turks had rais'd before to be repair'd. But eighteen years after this Expedition, in the Year 1603. *Abas* the Great retook *Tauris* from the Turks with a small Force, but with that Policy, Diligence and Bravery, which is hardly to be credited. He divided the stoutest of his Soldiers into several small Bodies, who surpriz'd the *Corps du Guard*, and cut their Throats in such a moment of time, that they had no notice of it in the Town. These Troops were follow'd by a Body of five hundred Men, disguiz'd like Merchants, who enter'd the City with a plausible Story, that they had left the *Caravan* a days journey behind. Which the Turks readily believ'd, because it is the Custom of the *Caravans*, that upon their Approach near to Great Cities, the Merchants go before; besides that, the Turks never dreamt but that they had been examin'd by the *Corps du Guard*. *Abas* follow'd close, and seeing his men were enter'd, flew into the City at the head of six thousand Men; while two of his Generals did the same on two other sides of the Town. So that the Turks, finding themselves surpris'd, surrender'd only upon condition of sparing their Lives. And the History farther observes, that in this Expedition it was, that that same Potent Prince first order'd one Brigade of his Army to carry Musquets, and finding the good

good Effect of 'em, order'd a mixture of fire-Arms among all his Forces. Whereas before the Persians never made use of Guns in any of their Wars.

Now that we may not omit any thing in the History of *Tauris*, that is worthy Observation, it behoves us also to let ye know, what the *Armenian* Authors have wrote concerning it. They report that this City is one of the most Ancient in all *Asia*, and that it was formerly call'd *Sha-Hasten*, or the *Royal Place*, for that the *Persian* Monarchs there kept their Court: and that afterwards a King of *Armenia*, who was call'd *Cosroes*, chang'd the Name of it from *Sha-Hasten* into *Tauris*, which in the *Armenian* Language signifies a *Place of Revenge*, for that he there defeated the King of *Persia*; who had murder'd his Brother. The Government of the Province of *Tauris*, is the Chiefest in all the Empire, and annex'to the Dignity of the Captain General-ship. It brings him in thirty thousand *Tomans* Yearly, which amount to much above a Million sterling, besides Casualties, which are very considerable in the Asiatic Governments. The Governor bears the Title of *Beclerbec*. He maintains three thousand Horse; and has under him the Governors or *Kan's* of *Cars*, *Oroumi*, *Maraga*, *Ardevil*, and Twenty *Sultans*, who altogether maintain eleven Thousand Horse more.

I lodg'd at the *Capuchins* Inn, who were arriv'd before me. They were no more then two, whom I desir'd to keep my Arrival private, for about fifteen days. Which I did to put my self into an Equipage, and my Things in the same Order, as they were before my misfortunes in *Mingrelia*; as also to methodize those things which I had brought for the King, to the end I might shew 'em to the best advantage at Court. But my arrival could not be concealed. For *Mirzathaer*, Son of the Treasurer, and Receiver-General of the Province, and admitted by way of Survivor-ship, understood that there were Strangers at the *Capuchins* Inn. And therefore he sent the 22^d to tell the Superior, that he wonder'd at his neglect in not coming to give him notice of the Arrival and Quality of the *Europeans*, which he entertain'd in his House. To whom the Father excus'd himself, and farther told the Messenger, that for my part, I had not fail'd to wait upon him; had I not been ill disposed; but in a few days I would attend and pay him my Respects.

The 23. the same Lord, whom I had the honour to know in my first Travels, made me a Visit, together with the Son of the Can of *Guenjé*, and shew'd me great Civilities. He sate

two

two hours in my Chamber, while I gave him an account of the affairs of Europe, particularly concerning Arts and Sciences. After which he was so kind as to tell me the good fortune that had befall'n his Family, and his Brothers Employments. He was the eldest of three young Lords, all in good Credit, and advanc'd to Places both of Honour and Profit. His Father is Treasurer, as I said before, and Receiver-General of all the Kings Demeans, over all the Province of *Azerbeyan*. This is that *Mirza Ibrahim* of whom so many Accidents are related in the Story of *Soleiman's* Coronation. He was not then at *Tauris*, in regard his Employments kept him at *Shirvan*, a City near the *Caspian Sea*: whose place this *Mirzathaer* suppli'd in his absence. He is very well read in the *Arabick*, *Persian* and *Turkish* Languages: and besides a *Capuchin* taught him for several years the Philosophy of the Schools, and all our Sciences. He is a very Learned Personage, a Man of ripe Wit, and extreamly civil. After two hours discourse he press'd me to shew him some Jewels and Watches. To which I had no desire, as not being then in a Condition for the Reasons already mention'd. But he importun'd me so earnestly, and with an affability so becoming, that I could not refuse him. So that I shew'd him several Jewels which I had of a low value, of which he carry'd away several along with him.

In the Evening *Tahmas-Bec*, who supplies the place of Governor of *Azerbeyan* in the stead of *Mansour Can* his Father, who is always at Court, sent his Goldsmith to me, to tell me, I should oblige him, by coming to him the next Morning, and bringing along with me some Jewels and Rarities of small value: To which I answer'd that I would not fail him, and accordingly I went the same day, and to *Mirzathaer* also.

The 25. we heard while we stay'd with those Lords, the Confirmation, and full Relation of a Robbery reported a month before, and committed the *December* preceding upon the Great *Caravan* that goes from *Ispahan* to the *Indies* by land. This *Caravan* sets out once a Year in *August*, and goes through *Candabar* which is in *Bactriana*. The Robbery was very considerable, as well for the Number of Persons, for the vast wealth that was in the *Caravan*, as also for the Consequences that ensu'd. It was committed three days journey from the Frontiers of *India*, by the *Agvan*, a sort of People much like the *Tartars*, but tributary to the *Persian*. They had intelligence which way the *Caravan* march'd, and surpriz'd it in a very ad-

vantageous place for such a design. They were in all five hundred Men, all well Mounted and well Resolv'd. The *Caravan* had a Convoy of about two hundred, and consisted of about two thousand Persons, for the most part *Indians*. The Convoy made no Resistance, but betook themselves to Flight: and the most part of the *Caravan*, following the Example of those that should have defended 'em, shifted every one for themselves. So that there were but eleven kill'd, so small was the Resistance made. Nor was it a thing to be wonder'd at. For the *Caravan's*, and particularly those of the *Indians*, are compos'd of *Armenians* and *Indians*, people that for the most part will be Scar'd with a stick. And they that had any Courage were left alone and abandon'd by those that should have assisted 'em; So that every Man strove to save one, and happy he that could shift for himself. The Robbery was valu'd at several hundred thousands of Pounds: but the true and just account could never be known, the Merchants upon such occasions usually disguising the Truth, some because they are afraid of loosing their Credit, others for fear it should be discover'd, that they conceal a part of what they send to save Customs and Toll. The Inventory which was given into the King, sign'd by above sixty Persons concern'd, amounted to no less than three hundred thousand *Toman's*, or a million four hundred thousand Pound sterling; yet we were assur'd it was but the half of the Loss. The Governor of *Candabar* was accus'd to have been accessory to the Robbery. The King therefore sent for to have him apprehended and brought to *Isfahan* upon a Camel chain'd about the Neck, with one Servant which he had the Liberty to make choice of. It was affirm'd that they who comitted the Robbery themselves, were a sort of People so ignorant, that they understood not what belong'd either to Gold or Precious Stones. They divided the Coynd Money one among another, Gold and Silver intermix'd together by weight, without any distinction of Mettal, and jumbled the true Pearls with the false ones, without making any Difference. I must confess I could hardly believe this, nor had I reported it, if it had not been universally and constantly avow'd by all the People I discours'd with upon this occasion.

The first of May the Deputy-Governor sent to the Superior of the *Capuchins*, to know if he had no news of the Arrival of the Patriarch of *Armenia*, and where he had conceal'd himself. 'Tis true we all knew well enough, but we had no mind to tell, knowing wherefore they sought for him; which

was

was for no other reason then to apprehend him; and carry him Prisoner to *Eri-van*. He had made his escape six days before, vex'd to the very Soul to find, that while the Governor pretended to take so much care to pay his debts, he minded nothing more then how to squeeze a good Sum of Money for himself. For the Governor according to the foremention'd Order from the Court, had sent to several Persons about *Irivan*, to Levy the money for payment of the Patriarch's debts upon the *Armenian Villages*. But the Officers entrusted to raise the Money had so far out-stretch'd their Commission, in the outrages and violences which they committed, as to demand and levy double the sum which was impos'd. All which the Patriarch well knew: but conniv'd at it, for the advantage he was to receive thereby. And he would fain have been handling the first Money that was brought to *Eri-van*; but the Governor was so far from suffering him to meddle, that he would not pay above half to the Customer of *Constantinople's* Trustees. So that of three thousand five hundred pounds which were rais'd for his Satisfaction, he would not part with above two thousand for the payment of the debts. The Patriarch complain'd of this Injustice, but could have no Remedy. All the Governor said to him was this, that if the Customer of *Constantinople* were paid in time 'twas as much as he could require, and that it did not belong to him to take Cognizance what was levy'd for that purpose. But perhaps he could not chuse but be disturb'd with the Cryes and Curses of his own Nation: for they were bitterly enrag'd against him, and his Proceedings. And therefore he resolv'd to appease 'em & withdraw himself from the oppression of the Governor of *Armenia*, which made him make his escape, with a design to make his Complaints to the Court. The Governor on the other side, having notice of his flight, sent away to the neighbouring Governors to stop him; and he happen'd to be at *Tauris*, when the Express arriv'd there. But the *Armenian* Inhabitants of the City preserv'd him, not so much by concealing him in any private absconding Place, as by their Presents to the Grandees, and for that the Injustice that was done him in his private affairs, was so publickly notorious, that it was no more then what was reasonable for them, to let him have his Liberty to go to *Ispahan* for Redress.

The 6. *Rustan-Bec* Muster-Master General of the Army sent to give me notice of his being come to Town. For he understood

understood at the Governors house where he lodg'd, that I was arriv'd at *Tauris*. So that I went to visit him the same day, and to renew the friendship which I had contracted with him in my first Travels. He is a Personage the most eminent for his Witt and Valour of any other in the whole Kingdom. He is Brother to the Governor of *Candabar*, who was accus'd for being Accessory to the Robbing of the *Indian Caravan*. His Father was Governor of *Armenia*; and *Abas* had a great affection for this *Rustan-Bec*, for the sake of his Learning, his Courage, and his Gracefull Aspect. Nor was it above a year before, that the King had given him a Commission to go into the Province of *Azer-beyan*, to take a review of the Forces and Ammunitions there; and now his Commission was out, by which as I understood, he had gotten above ten thousand pounds. His Company and Discourse extremely pleas'd me; for he shew'd me several Mapps of the Province which he had newly made of which he promis'd me copies; and reaching down a Plain-Sphere, which had been lately printed in *Europe*, he shew'd me several Faults in it: I also supp'd with him, nor would he let me go til midnight.

The 7. he did me the Honnor to give me a Visit, and to spend all the Afternoon in my Chamber.

The 8, and the three days following, I made it my business to fetch away such parcels of Goods from *Tahmas-Bec*, and *Mirza-thaer*, which they refus'd to buy, after I had bargain'd with 'em for what they made choice of; tho' all that I sold to both came but to a thousand Crowns, and that without Profit. So that I had much ado to agree with 'em; however I was paid when we all concluded. The one pretended in abatement of my price, his Fathers being a Favourite at Court; the other the great Credit which his Brothers and his Uncle *Mirza-Sadec*, being Lord High Chancellor, had with the King; and forc'd me to take Letters of Recommendation, which they freely offer'd to compensate the Profit which I should have got by my goods. For a man would hardly believe the Caresses, the Flattery, the engaging and familiar Behaviour, which the *Persians* Grandees will condescend to, for their own Interests, how slight soever. And they behave themselves with such an Appearance of Sincerity, that a Traveller must very well understand the *Genius* of the Country and the Court, to avoid being cully'd by their kindnesses.

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The 13. I went to take my leave of Rustan-bee, whose occasions call'd him to Ardebil two days after. He did me the favour to permit me a long discourse upon the best way to manage my affairs at Ispahan, and how to come off with most advantage and success. To which purpose he gave me very good advice, and Letters of Recommendation to his Kindred and for Cofrou-Can, Collonell of the Musketeers who was one of the most powerful and considerable Lords at Court. Of which the Translation follows word for word.

G O D.

We send to the most illustrious Lord of the Earth, and we give his most noble and generous heart, to understand, that Mr. Chardin a French Merchant the Flower of the Christians, who had been sent into Europe by the deceased King, who has now his (a) Habitation in Heaven, to fetch from thence several costly Pieces of Jewellers work, is now returned, and lately arriv'd at this Royal City of Tauris. The Friendship and Confidence which we had formerly contracted together induc'd him to impart his business to me: and he requested of me, since the great King who sent him into Europe, was flown away to the Kingdom of Spirits, and become a Citizen of Paradise, that I who am his Intimate Friend, would (b) recommend him to a Person considerable for the Prudence of his Conduct, and the Grandeur of his Dignity, and who perfectly knew how to do kind offices; to the end he might make use of him as a Conveyance to bring him into the presence of the noble, most high, and most Holy King. He has been also particularly inform'd by me, who am your Intimate Friend, of the Great and Royal Qualities which you possess, and being charm'd by the Recitals which I made of em, he discover'd to me his extream desire to have the (c) Honour to be recommended to the Favour of the (d) Slaves of your Highness. I therefore who am his Real Friend, recommend him to your Glorious Cares, and whatever shall concern his Affairs and Interests. He relies very much upon your Royal Favour, and assures himself, that your Highness understanding his Business by this Letter from my self your Servant, will use your endeavour that the Costly Jewels that he has brought shall come to the Blessed hands of the most noble King. A Favour so generous will fill this Illustrious Christian with large hopes, and all other Merchants of his Nation, whom Trade and Commerce draws to this Kingdom.

(a) The word which I have translated Habitation, signifies properly an Eagles Airy. And the Persians speaking of their

deceased Kings usually make use of the words *Krel-coldachion*, that is to say, *whose nest is in Heaven*.

(b) It is in the *Persian*, that *I would send to the Service*. Which is a Phrase in the *Persian Language* to send a Man to the service of a great Personage, signifying to recommend him so earnestly, that the other should take that care of his Business as if he were his Domestic servant.

(c) The *Persians* instead of saying to have the Honour, use the word to be *ennobl'd*.

(d) We have already spok'n of this Rhetorical Figure, whereby the *Persians* mean the *Lord himself*, when they say, the Slaves of the Lord.

The 18. I took my leave of the Deputy Governor and *Mirzathaer*; being at that time both together; and both the one and the other offer'd me the favour of a Guide; for which I return'd 'em my humble thanks, and told 'em withall, that if they thought it requisite for my security, that I desir'd they would be so kind as to let me have a Guide. They answered that the King's Passports which I had were a sufficient Convoy, in regard that upon shewing 'em I might command as many men as I pleas'd when or where ever I should have occasion: that I was in a Country where there was no danger; and that the offer which they made me was only to shew, how ready they were to assist me in my Journey: So that being also inform'd by several Persons of Quality at the same time, that I had no need of any company, I only requested *Mirzathaer* to grant me a Passport to the Officers of the Toll from Himself, that I might not be always troubled to pull out the King's. Which he caus'd to be forthwith dispatch'd in the most civil terms that could be, as may appear by the following translation.

G O D.

This Day being the second day of the Month Sefer the victorious, in the year 1084 Monsieur Chardin Merchant, the Flower of Merchants and of Europeans sets forward for the Court. He carrys along with him a wonderful quantity of Costly Jewels and other Rareties worthy the Lord of the World, which he had Order to buy in his own Country and to bring to the feet of the Throne, which is the true Seat of (a) Gods Vicar. We therefore give notice to all Inferior Officers, Regents, Kings, Lieutenants, Judges both Civil and Criminal, Provosts of Cities and High wayes, Receivers of Duties and Tools, to the end they

they may know, that this Person, is a Person of High Quality, and that in pursuance of an Order which he has in his Hand, that they are to furnish him where ever he goes with all things requisite, and give him all reasonable succour and assistance which he shall demand, and take care that he arrive not only without any misfortune or disgust, but also with all satisfaction and Honour at the Palace of the most High. They are likewise to take care they give him no occasion to perceive in any manner whatever, that they have any pretence to exact any Duties or Tolls from him; and they shall be certain to give an account, and be answerable as well for his Person, and for what he carries, as for the least disgusts, and provocations they shall offer him.

The Seal was fix'd to the Margin, the Inscription of which was a Passage out of the *Alcoran*, signifying, My confession of Faith is in the name of God, who is my Refuge, and of Mahomed the Apostle of God.

(a) The word which I have translated *Vicar*, is *Calife*, and properly signifies a Successor. Nor had the first successors of Mahomet any other Title; and now because the People that follow'd his Laws always believ'd, that God had establish'd him Universal King and Prophet, had created him his *Vicar* and Lieutenant, and had giv'n him a Right to govern all the World both in Spirituals and Temporals, his Successors have constantly retain'd these pompous Titles; and made people believe that they belong to 'em by right of Succession. Now in regard the Race of the Kings of *Persia*, that have reign'd for these 250. years, pretend to derive their descent from *Ali*, Mahomet's successor and Son in Law, they attribute to themselves all his vain both Qualities and Prerogatives: which is the reason the *Persians* give to their Kings, that Epithet of *God's Vicar*.

The 20 *Mirzathaer* sent me one of his Domestics to know of me, whether I intended to set forward the next day with my own Servants; and withal to advise me to stay for more Company; that there was danger in going alone, especially being a stranger and having such a great Charge about me; because now the Season was come, that the *Curds*, *Sara-neshin* and *Turcomans*, and other Shepherds that live in the Fields in Tents, and who are most part great Thieves, quit the Plains by reason of the great Heat of the Sun; and with their Herds and their Houses retire to the Mountains for Shade and Pasture. True it is, that I resolv'd to have set forward the next day, but reflecting upon this good Advice, I thought it not worth

worth my while to run so great a hazard for the gaining of eight or ten days time. I had also a kind of Surmise the Lord was unwilling to run himself into any premunire, and thereby seem'd to intimate that since he had caution'd me, he would not be answerable for any misfortune that should befall me. And besides some other fears possess'd my mind, which ma dame put off my Journey.

The 26. he sent me word, that the Brother of the Provost of Merchants would set out in two days; that he was a very honest Gentleman, and that if I pleas'd to have his Company, he would cordially recommend me to his Acquaintance. I returned him a thousand Thanks for his Care and Affection, and told him wishal; that he could not do me a greater Kindness then to put me into such safe hands. And in the Evening I understood, that he had bin to the full as good as his word. And I was the more glad of his diligent care, because it rid me of the trouble of those Reflections I had made upon what he sent me but two days before.

The 28. I set forward from Tauris with the Provost of Merchants Brother. He was one of the Kings Slaves, of whom we have spoken already; attended by ten Servants with fourteen Horses. We travel'd through a lovely and even Country between Mountains, directing our Course Southward. We lodg'd at *Vaspinge*, a great Borough, consisting of Six hundred Houses; water'd with a great number of pleasant Rivulet's, that with their winding Streams enfeebiliz'd the neighbouring parts on every side. It is surrounded with Gardens, and groves of *Poplers* and *Tylets*, which they plant to serve 'em for building their Houses.

The 29. we travell'd five leagues; crossing over a little Hill at first; but afterwards over Plains that were wonderful pleasant, fertil and cover'd with Villages; that where we lodg'd being call'd *Agi-agach*. These Plains are the best Pasture-Grounds in *Media*, if I may not presume to say in the world. The Choicest Horses in the whole Province are there put to Grass, to the number of about three thousand. For it is the custom in *Persia* to put their Horses to grass for thirty five or forty days together, from *April* to *June*. Which both purges, and refreshes, fattens, and strengthens 'em: And they feed 'em thus with Grass, as well in the Stable as in the Field; but all the rest of the Summer they mingle Straw cut very small with the Grass. When I beheld those lovely Pasturages I ask'd the young Lord, with whom I travel'd, whether there

were

were any better in Media or whither any other Plains so large and so delightful. Who answered me, that he had seen as rich plains as those towards Derbent (which is Media Atropatiens) but none so large and spacious. So that we may with good grounds believe; that those Plains are the *Hypopothon* of which the Ancient Authors write, and of which they say that the Kings of Media kept there in a Breed of fifty thousand Horses; and here it is that we must search for the Plains of *Nysa*, so famous for the *Nysain* Horses. And Stephen the Geographer asserts that *Nysa* was in Media. By the way I told the Gentleman my fellow Traveller, what Histories related concerning these Horses and particularly what *Favorinus* reports, that all the *Nysain* Horses were *Isabella* colour'd; who answer'd that it was more then he ever read or heard of. I made the same Enquiry all along as I travell'd of severall persons, both of Learning and Quality, but never could learn that there was any part in Media, nor in all Persia, where all the Horses were foal'd of an *Isabella* colour.

The 30. we travell'd a Road that was even enough; but winding among Hills. After two hours travel we pass'd by the Ruins of a great City, which they said had flourish'd there in former times; but being almost ruin'd was utterly destroy'd by *Abas*. Upon the left hand of the Road are to be seen large Circles of Hew'n Stone; which the Persians affirm to be a great sign, that the *Caous* making war in Media, held a Counsel in that place: it being the Custom of those People, that every Officer that came to the Council brought with him a Stone to serve him instead of a Chair. And these *Caous* were a sort of Gyants. *Herodotus* also reports something like to this, of a Persian Army that went against the *Scythians*; for he tells you that the Army being in Thrace, *Darius* shew'd them a place, and commanded that every one should lay a Stone therein as he pass'd along. But that which is most to be admir'd, after observation of these Stones, is this, that they are so big that eight Men can hardly move one, and yet there is no place from whence they can be imagin'd to have been fetch'd, but from the next Mountains, that are six Leagues off. We met upon the Road, with three large and fair Inns, and lodg'd at a Village call'd *Caratchiman*, seated at the Foot of a little Hill: it was not so big as *Vaspinger*, but altogether as pleasant.

The 31. we travel'd four Leagues over Hills and Dales, all fertil and delightful to admiration. In the mid-way we

pass'd through a Village full of Popler Groves and Gardens, and well water'd. It was call'd *Turcman*, because that in the Fields that environ it, there are a great number of Shepherds with their Flocks that are call'd by that Name. We stopp'd at *Pervare*, another Village, as handsome and as large as *Turcman*, seated also in a bottom at the foot of a Hill, all along by the Banks of a little River.

The 1. of June We travell'd two Leagues in a level Country, as even as that we had cross'd the day before ; and four Leagues among the Mountains where the way was rugged and very uneasy. A little River but very rapid passes through the Midst of it ; and by reason of it's winding course oblig'd us to pass it several times, to shorten our way. We alighted at *Miana*. This is a Town seated in the middle of a fair and large Plain encompassed with Mountains , which upon that Road separates *Media* from the Countrey of the *Parthians*. Which is the reason that the Village carries that Name, for that *Miane* properly signifies, the parting of several Countries. To this Town there belongs a kind of Custom-House, where the Officers are said to be very tyrannical in their exactions upon the meaner sort of People that travel that way. But they understood who the Gentleman was who travel'd with me, and who I was ; So that they durst not so much as shew themselves ; for there is that good order tak'n in *Persia*, and almost all over the East ; that the Receivers of all Sorts of Tolls and Duties, have no permission or Authority to demand any thing of any eminent Person, of any Officer of the Kings, how inconsiderable soever his office may be, nor of any Stranger of Quality. For should they be so bold, as to examin what they carry'd, the offence would be punish'd with Bastinadoes.

The 2. we spent so much time in fording the River of *Miana*, and found the Mountain beyond it, that we were to cross, to be so rugged, that we could not travel above three Leagues. We were two hours before we could find the Ford, and get our Sumpters over, which at length we got over safe without any Damage, thanks be to God ; and five hours crossing the Mountain which was very high, and very steep, being the Bounds between *Media* and *Parthia*. These two spacious Provinces are parted by a Ridge of Mountains, which are a Branch of Mount *Taurus*, that extends it self from *Europe* to *China*, crossing, as has been said, *Circassia*, *Mingrelia*, *Georgia*, the Country of the *Parthians*, *Bactriana*, the

the Province of *Candabar*, and the *Indies*. At the top of the Mountain upon the point of a Rock, we spy'd a large ruin'd Castle, which the *Persians* call the *Virgins Castle*, alledging that *Artaxerxes* caus'd it to be built to imprison therein a Princess of the Blood. But *Abas* the Great caus'd it to be utterly demolished, as serving only for a Retreat to a number of Robbers that made themselves as it were sovereign Lords of the Mountain. On both sides of the Mountain are large Causeys, which that great Prince caus'd to be made, for the ease of Travellers in the Winter. Towards the end of our journey we pass'd a large River, call'd *Kesil-beuse* over a fair Bridge, and lay at *Semelé*. Which is an Inn or *Caravanseray* built near the Bridge to lodge Travellers that can reach no farther.

The River *Kesil-beuse* is much larger and more rapid than that of *Miana*, and serves to bound *Media* from the Country of the Parthians. And now no sooner have you pass'd this River, but you may easily perceive the change of the Air. For whereas the Temperature of *Media* is somewhat moyst and cloudy, which is the reason of high Winds and much Rain, and that the Soil is fruitful of it self, whatever ancient Authors have wrote to the contrary, the Parthian Air is dry to the extremest degree; insomuch that for six Months together you shall neither see any Rain or any Clouds: but the Soil is sandy, and Nature produces nothing without good Husbandry and Pains.

The Country of the Parthians, which was so long the Seat of the Empire of *Asia*, is the largest and principal Province of the Persian Monarchy. It is all the proper demeans of the King, nor has it any Governor, as the most part of the rest of the Provinces. The *Persians* bound it to the East, by the Province of *Corassan*, or *Caromitrens*; to the South, by that of *Fars*; which is properly *Persia*; to the West, by *Azerbeyan* or *Media*; to the North, by *Guilan*, and *Mazanderaan*, which compose the Province of *Hyrcania*. This Province extends it self at least two hundred Leagues in length, and an hundred and fifty Leagues in breadth. The Air is very dry, and and the most healthy for the most part of any in the world, It is more mountainous then level. The Mountains are also very bare, and to speak in general terms, produce nothing but Thistles and Briers: but the Plains are very fertile and pleasant, where there is any Water: otherwise the Soyl is very barren. This large Province contains above forty Cities, which is very much in *Persia*, as not being an Empire peopl'd proportionably to its Extent. The

The *Oriental*s call the Country of *Parthia Arac-agem*; that is to say, *Persian Arack*. They call it likewise *Balad-el-Gebel*, or the Country of the Mountains, for the reason's already recited. My Opinion is, that the *Scythians*, from whom, as ancient Authors hold, the *Parthians* deriv'd their Original, were the *lesser Tartars*, that inhabit to the North of *Persia*, now call'd *Yuzbecs*, and formerly *Bactrians*; and that that same *Arfaces*, who founded the Empire of the *Parthians*, was a Native of the same Country with *Tamerlan*, *Halacou* and those other Tartar Princes, that made such great and famous Conquests in the Ages last past.

The 3^d. we travell'd four Leagues keeping on to the South, as when we first set out of *Tauris*: the Road was very good, only we had Mountains very near us upon the right and left hand. We lay at *Sirsham*; which is a large Inn, adjoyning to three or four small Villages, but seated in a sandy and dry Soyl; and there the Officers that gather the Duties upon Goods transported out of the Kingdom keep their Post.

The 4th. we travell'd seven Leagues, through bushy Plains and Sands; and we were forc'd to make several windings and turnings, by reason of several Mole-Hills and little Sand-Hills in our way. Nevertheless both on one the side and t'other, at a distance we could see a Champian Country, very delightful and fertile, and Villages here and there, which yielded a very delightful Prospect; the River *Zenjan* wat'ring those Villages. We lay at a large *Caravanseray* call'd *Nichè*, built between five spacious Villages.

The 5th. we travell'd six Leagues through a Road more pleasant and less crooked, and observing the same Course as the day before; and lodg'd at *Zerigan*, a little City, that contains not above two thousand Houses. It is seated in a very narrow Plain between two Mountains that enclose it, not above half a League one from the other. The Soyl of *Zerigan* is fertile and pleasant, and the Air wholesome and cool in the Summer. The City without is surrounded with Gardens, that yield both Pleasure and Profit, but within the Town there is nothing remarkable but the great Ruins.

The History of *Persia* records this City to have been founded in the Reign of *Ardechir-babexon*, several Ages before Christ; and farther adds, that it consisted of twenty thousand Houses, which is very probable, for that heaps of Rubbish, and Ruins are to be seen for a mile together round about

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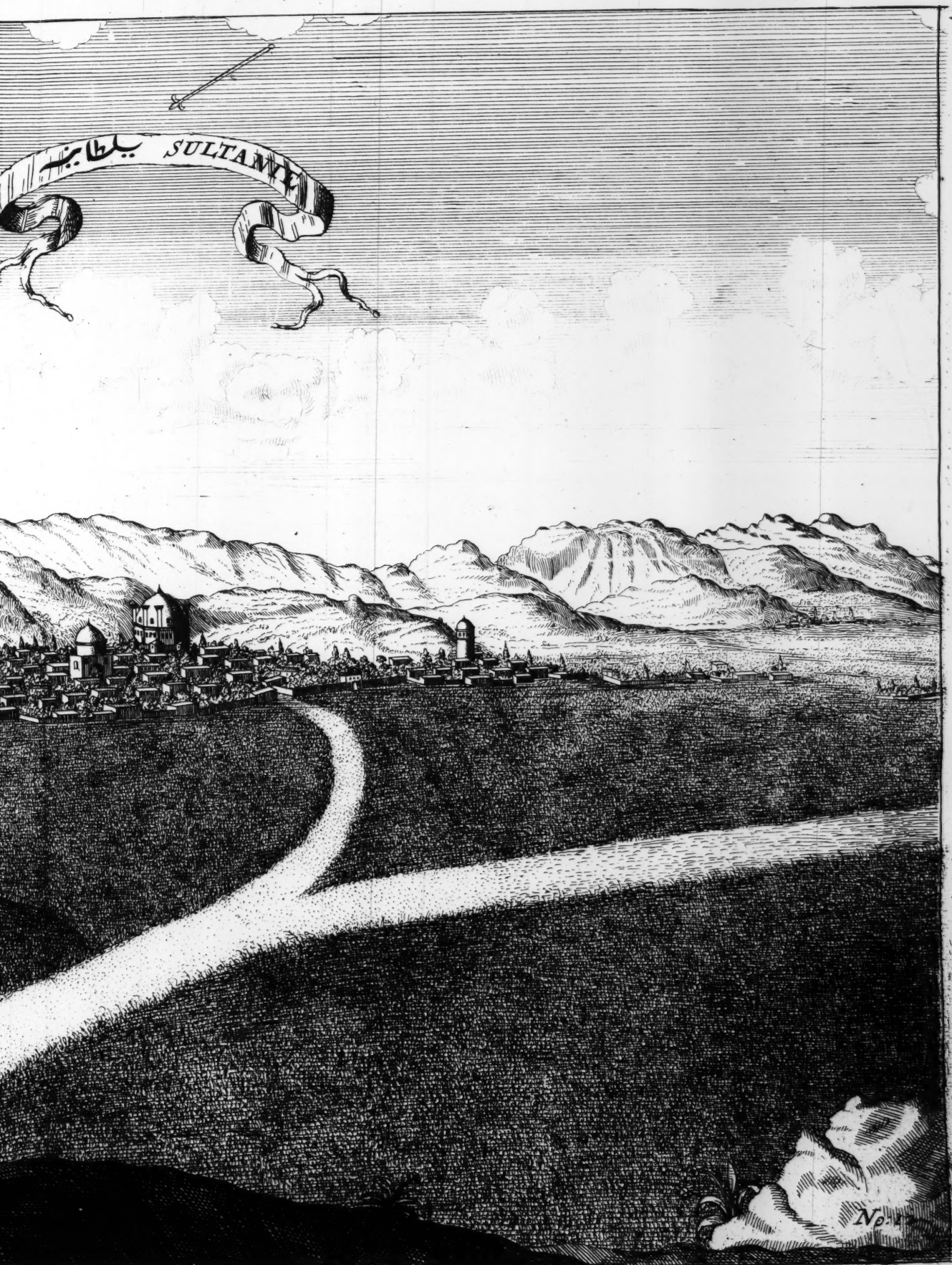
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it. *Tamerlan* the first time he pass'd through it, utterly demolish'd it : but the second time, that is to say, in his Return out of Turkey, he order'd a part of it to be rebuilt, understanding that it had been for a time a flourishing Nursery of Arts and Sciences ; and had produced several learned and famous Men. For which reason it is much celebrated among the Eastern Authors. The *Turks* and *Tartars* that ravag'd *Persia*, since *Tama* sack'd and destroy'd it several times, and it is no longer ago then since the beginning of this last Age, that they began to rebuild it.

The 6th. Our road lay through a Country, the most lovely delightful that every Eye beheld, through a fair Plain where the road was level and very straight. Several pleasant Streams glide through it, that render the Soyl very fertil. The whole Plain is so strow'd with Villages, that they are hardly to be number'd, with so many Groves and Gardens, that for me the most pleasant Land-skips, and charming Prospects in the World. We alighted after a journey of five Leagues at a *Caravan* serai call'd *Queurk-boulag*, over against and within a good Canons shot of *Sultanie*.

This City is seated at the foot of a Mountain, as you may see by the Draught which I have made of it. It seems a far off very neat and well built, and inflames a Man with a Curiosity to see it : but when you approach near it, it ceases to be the same thing, and appears less beautiful then when ye are within it. Yet there are some publick Buildings very remarkable, as well for the Structure as the Architecture, together with about three thousand Habitations. The people of the Country affirm, that this City took up formerly half a League of Ground more to the West then it does, and that the ruin'd Churches, Mosques and Towers, which are to be seen at that distance on that side, stood in the heart of the City. Which probably may be true, seeing that Histories assure us that it was once the Metropolis and biggest City of the Kingdom : nor are there many Cities in the world, where there are vaster Ruins to be seen. Provision also is there very plentiful and very cheap. The Air is likewise very wholesome, but subject to change. For in all the Seasons it changes almost every hour. The Evenings, Nights and Mornings being cold, but all the day long very hot ; from one Extreme to another. *Sultany* lies in 36. deg. 18. min. of Latitude. and 48. deg. 5. min. of Longitude, and is govern'd by a *Sultan*.

Some Histories of *Persia* relate, that this City is one of the most ancient in all the Country of the *Parthians* ; but that it

is not known who was the Founder. Others on the other side affirm, that the foundations of it were laid when the Sun was in *Leo*, by the order, and in the Reign of *Ergon-Can*, the Son of *Abkei-Can*, and Grand-child of *Halacon-Can*; and that because it could not be finish'd in his days, his Son *Jangou-Sultan* compleated the work and call'd it *Sultania*, or the *Royal City*. For *Sultan* properly signifies a King: from whence comes *Seltenet*, the usual Persian word for a *Kingdom* or *Monarchy*. And the Monarchs of *Asia*, who reign'd since the seventh Age, assum'd to themselves the Titles of *Souldans*, from whence came the Title of *Soldan* given to the last King's of *Egypt*; and that of the Emperors of *Turkey*, who call themselves *Sultans*. Nevertheless I have heard some learned Men say, that this City was never call'd *Sultanié* or *Royal*, till the time that the last Kings of *Persia*, who also assum'd the title of *Sultans*, came to keep their Courts in this Place. On the other side, if this City were built out of the Ruins of *Tigranocerta*, as several Modern *European* Authors maintain, it may be said that the name which now it bears, was form'd out of that Ancient Name. For *Certa* in old *Prsian*, signifies a City, so that *Tigranoterta* signifies no more then the City of *Tigranes*, who was King of *Armenia*, as is well known to every ordinary Reader. However I cannot tell, how it is possible for us to take *Sultanié* for *Tigranocerta*; since *Tacitus* tells us that *Tigranocerta* was but thirty seven Miles from *Nisibis*, a City which every one knows to be seated in *Mesopotamia*, upon the River *Tigris*, 25 Leagues from *Nineve*. And therefore I must say, as I said before, the Geography of the Ancients is the most confus'd thing in the world; the Writers were misinform'd, and it is impossible to bring 'em to agree together. I should not assert this so confidently, did I not see, that other Modern Relators commit also very great Errors in what they publish, either upon the observations or report of others: so that there is not not any one from whom I might not produce examples sufficient to confirm this Truth.

This City has been several times laid in heaps: First, *Cotza Reshid* King of *Persia* whom other Historians call *Giausar*; for that it had rebell'd, and tak'n up Arms against him. After that, by *Tamerlan*: and after him by several other both *Turkish* and *Tartarian* Princes. The Predecessors of *Ishmael Sophi* kept their Court there for some time; and it is said that some Ages before, the last Kings of *Armenia* resided there; at which time it contain'd above four hundred Churches. And it is very true

true, that there are a great number in it which are ruin'd, but not one that is entire, nor doe there inhabit in it any Christians.

The 7th we travell'd six Leagues in a Country more lovely then that already describ'd, where we came to a Village at the end of every thousand paces : and we could see at a distance an infinite number of others, surrounded with Groves of Willows and Poplers : and environ'd which delightful Meadows. We lay at *Hibié*, a very fair and fair and large Village ; and seated near to a Town that is wall'd and well peopl'd, which is call'd *San-cala* : which word being abbreviated signifies the *Castle of Hasan*.

The 8th. Our Horses were so tir'd that we could get no farther then *Ebber*, which is no more then two leagues from *Hibié*; though we travell'd all the way over most of those delightful and pleasant Plains already mention'd, directing our Course still to the South. Now that which makes those places so delightful is the great Number of Rivulets, with which they are water'd, and the good Husbandry of the Inhabitants. For as I have already said, the soyl of the *Parthians* is dry and barren of it self; nevertheless wherever it can be water'd, it produces whatever the Manurer pleases to have it, fair and good in its Kind.

Ebber is but a small City, counting only the buildings; for it contains not above two thousand five hundred Houses; but to those Houses belong so many Gardens, and those so large, that it is good riding for a Horse-man to cross it in half an hour. A small River, that bears the name of the City, runs through the middle of it, from one end to the other. It is said to be the same City which the Ancients call'd *Barontha*. The situation of it is jolly and delightful, the Air very wholsom, and the Soyl produces plenty of Fruit and other Provisions. The buildings are tolerably handsom; and the Inns, the Taverns and other publick Structures very well, considering the Place. It contains three spacious Mosques; and in the middle of the City are to be seen the Ruins of a Castle built of Earth. It lies distant from the *Equator* 36 deg. 45. min. and from the fortunate Islands, 48. deg. 30. min. Which Longitude, and all others that I observe, are tak'n from the new *Persian* Tables. It is govern'd by a *Darogué*, or *Mayor*; and the *Mirtshecar-bashi*, or *Chief Huntsman*, has his Assignations of Money charg'd upon the Revenue of this City. Which assignation is call'd *Tabvil*. Of the signification of which word we shall speak more at large in another Place.

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The Persian Geographers assert that *Ebber* was built by *Kei-Cofrou* the Son of *Sia-bouch*, that *Darab-Keihoni*, or *Darius*, began to build the Castle, that *Skender-roumy*, that is *Alexander the Great*, finish'd it, and that the City has been ruin'd and sack'd as often as the rest which are near it. However she has so well recover'd her self, that, at present, there is but little appearance of those former havocks. The same Geographers observe, that it is one of the most Ancient Cities of that Province; and perhaps it may be either *Vologoo-certa*, or *Messabetha*, or *Artacana*, of which there is so frequent mention made in the Ancient Stories of *Persia*.

At *Ebber* they begin to speak *Persian*, both in the Cities and Country : whereas all the way before the Vulgar Language is Turkish, not altogether as they speak it in Turkey, but with some little difference. From *Ebber* to the Indies they speak *Persian*, more or less neat, as the people are more or less at a distance from *Shiras*, where the purity of the Persian Language is spoken : So that at *Ebber*, and in the parts thereabouts, 'tis but a rude and clownish sort of Dialect which the people make use of.

The 9th we travell'd nine Leagues over Plains delightful ev'n unto Admiration : and indeed more lovely Vales are nowhere to be seen. After we had rode three Leagues, we pass'd through a large Town, almost as big as *Ebber*, call'd *Parfac* ; and a little farther we left *Casbin* upon the left hand, five Leagues distant from us : of which I made the following description in the year 1674. during a residence of four Months that I stay'd at Court.

Casbin is a great City seated in a delightful Plain, three Leagues from Mount *Alou-vent* : which is one of the highest and most famous Mountains in all *Persia*, and a Branch of Mount *Taurus*, that crosses the Northern Parts of *Parthia*, as has bin already said, and separates it from *Hyrcania*. The length of this City is from North to South. In former times it was surrounded with Walls, of which the Ruins are still to be seen, but at present it lies open on every side. It is 6 miles in circumference, containing twelve thousand Houses, and a hundred thousand Inhabitants ; among which there are forty families of Christians, and a hunder'd of Jews, all very poor. One of the fairest places that is to be seen in this City, is the *Hippodrome*, which they call *Maydan-sha*, or the Royal Piazza, 700 paces in length, and 250 in breadth, and made after the Model of *Ispahan*. To the Royal Palace belong seven Gates, of which

which the chief is call'd *Ali-capi*, or the High-Gate; on which there is an Inscription in Letters of Gold, to this effect. *May this Gate always be open to good Fortune: by that confession which we make, that there is no God but God.* The Gardens belonging to the Palace are very beautiful, kept in good order, and planted Checquer-wise. King *Tabmas*, built this Palace, at first a small thing, according to a draught given him by a *Turkish* Architect. *Abas* the Great quite alter'd and enlarg'd it. There are but few Mosques at *Casbin*; The chiefest of which by them call'd *Metshid-guima*, or the Mosque of the Congregation, was founded by *Haron-Reshid*, Califf of *Bagdat*, in the year of the *Hegyra* 170. The Royal Mosque call'd *Metshid-sha* is one of the largest and fairest in all *Persia*, being seated at the end of a spacious Street, planted with fair Trees, which begins from one of the Gates of the Palace Royal. This Mosque was almost all built at the expences of *Tabmas*, and in his Life time: his Father *Ishmael* having laid the Foundations, but dying before they came to be even with the street. There are also several handsome buildings among the *Caravanserai's* or Publick Inns. That which they call the Royal Inn, contains 250 Channels, has a large Fountaine planted with Trees, in the middle of the Court, and two Gates, which the lead in the Court from two streets full of shops where the most costly sort of Merchandises are sold. But chiefest Grace, and Ornament of *Casbin* consists neither in Inns, nor Baths, nor in *Bazars*, nor in Markets, Tobacco, Coffee, or strong-water Houses, where the Persians debauch themselves; but in the great number of Palaces of the *Persian* Grandees, which they keep in their possession from Father to Son, by reason of the long residence of the Court at *Casbin* from time to time. But there are not so many Gardens in *Casbin*, as in most part of the other City of that Province, because the soyl is Sandy and dry for want of water, there being only a little River which is no more then an Arm of the River *Charoud*, not sufficient to to supply the Grounds about it. So that they are forc'd to bring their water from the Mountain in Subterranean Channels, which they call *Kerises*, that empty themselves into Vaults thirty foot deep; which though it be cool, is nevertheless heavy and insipid. Which want of water is also the reason that the Air of *Casbin* is heavy, thick and not very healthful, especially in Summer; by reason that the City not having a running stream, has neither any sinks to carry away the filth of the Town. Yet notwithstanding this same scarcity of

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water, the City abounds in Meat and all manner of Provisions, for that the Plains that lie round about it are so well water'd, that they feed a world of Cattel, and produce a prodigious plenty of Corn and Fruits. Among the rest the fairest Grape in *Persia*, which they call *Shahoni*, or the Royal Grape, being of a Gold Colour, transparent and as big as a small Olive. These Grapes are dry'd and transported all over the Kingdom. They also make the strongest Wine in the World, and the most luscious, but very thick, as all strong and sweet wines usually are. This incomparable Grape grows only upon the young Branches, which they never water. So that for five months together they grow in the Heat of Summer, and under a scorching Sun; without receiving a drop of water either from the skie or otherwise. When the Vintage is over, they let in their Cattel to browse in the Vineyards; afterwards they cut off all the great Wood, and leave only the young stocks about three foot high, which need no propping up with Poles, as in other places, and therefore they never make use of any such supporters. There is also great Plenty of Pistachio's in those parts, where the Air is very hot in the Summer all the day long, by reason of the high Mountain that lies to the North. But on the other side the Nights are so cold, that if a Man expose himself never so little to the air, after he is undrest, he is sure to fall sick. *Casbin* lies in 85. deg. and 5. min. of Long. and in 36. deg. and 35. min. of Latitude.

The most part of our *European* Chorographers who have discours'd of the Cities of *Persia*, affirm *Casbin* to be the ancient *Arfacia*, and that before it was call'd *Europa* till the *Parthians* gave it that name from *Arfaces*, the first of their Emperors; that is it the same with that City, which the Greeks call'd *Rages*, and the holy Scripture *Rages of Media*. Some are of opinion, that it was that same *Casbira* of which *Strabo* makes mention, but the Persian Histories will not allow it to be so ancient. The History entitl'd *Elbeijon*, or the *Explication*, relates, That this was founded by *Shapour* the Son of *Ardesbir-babecon*, and that he gave it the name of *Shaepour*, as much as to say, the City of the Kings Son. For *Shae*, signifies a King; and *Pour* in the ancient *Persian*, a Son. Whence the name of *Sha-pour*, which the ancient Greeks call *Sapores*. The History entitl'd *Tednine*, affirms, that the City which was call'd *Shaepour* was not *Casbin*, and that it was not built on the same place where *Casbin* now stands; but at least three Leagues above, toward the West, at the Concourse
of

of two Rivers, the one named *Haroud*, already mention'd, which springs from the Mountain *Alou-vent*, and the other call'd *Ebher-roud*, or the River of *Ebher*.

I have heard several Persons of Quality affirm, that there are in that place vast heaps of Ruins to be seen; and all Authors agree that the two Towns, call'd *Sartshé*, not far from thence, were built in the Reign of *Ardeshir-babecon*. Another Persian History, compos'd by an Author call'd by the name of *Amirdalla*, relates that *Casbin* had its first Rise from a Castle which the King last mention'd caus'd to be built, to stop the Inroads of the *Deilemites*, that came down from Mount *Alouvent*, and ravag'd all the Territory. That this Castle was seated in the middle of the City, where is now the Royal *Piazza* of *Casbin*, and that it was ruin'd by the *Arabians* in the time of *Osman*, one of *Mahomet's* first successors. And indeed almost all their Histories make mention of this Castle, and say, that after it was demolish'd it was rebuilt again much larger then before, and a great Town rais'd round about it. *Mou-sael-badibilla*, the Son of *Mahomet-mebdy*, Califf of *Bagdat*, caus'd it to be surrounded with walls in the 170. year of the *Hegyra*, and about a thousand paces from it built a little City, which he call'd by his own name *Medina-Moussi*, which name one large Ward or Quarter of *Casbin* carries to this day. *Moubarec-suzbee* one of the *Califfs* free'd Servants, who had the Government of the Province, and to whom the work was recommended, built another City, at an equal distance, and call'd it *Moubarekié*, for the preservation of his name, which the *Persians* some time after call'd *Moubarec-abad*. *Moubarec* signifying blessed, *abada* habitation.

Haron-Reshid Brother and Successor to *Moufa-elhadi*, joyn'd these three little Cities into one, by filling up the void space with a great number of buildings; and then order'd the whole to be encompass'd with Walls and Fortifications. Which work was begun in the 190 year of the *Hegyra*. *Haron* also had a design to have made it a Bull-wark against the Incurfions of the *Hircanians* and *Deilamites*, and a Magazine for the war which he was intending against *Iberia*, and withal a place of Trade: but dying not long after, the work remain'd imperfect. In the year 245, in the Reign of *Muktadis-billa-Moufi*, *Nufa's* son, who had shaken off the Yoak of that Pontiff, and usurp'd the Royal Authority in *Persia*, finish'd the Walls and Fortifications, and gave to the City, the name of *Casbin*, or *Casvin*, for the word is sometimes pronounc'd with a *b*, and sometimes with a *v*, from a word that signifies Punishment

or

or pain, because he imprison'd in that Castle all his *Grandeess* which he design'd to punish. There is also another reason giv'n for the Denomination, that is to say, because this City was once a place of Exilement. Tho' *Acemberg*, an *Armenian* Author, is of a different opinion; for he believes that the City of *Casbin* was so call'd by King *Casbin*, after his own name.

In the year 364. a part of the Wall being fall'n down, *Saheb Califf Ishmael*, chief minister of state to *Alié-secre-deulet*, King of *Persia*, caus'd the Ruins to be repair'd, and being almost utterly destroy'd in the Civil Wars, *Emir sherif-abouali Jaffer*, took care of its Restauration, and in the year, 411. caus'd the work to be follow'd so close, that within two Years, there was no signe of any Ruins. The History of *Casbin* makes mention of two other fatal disasters that befall it, occasion'd by Earth-quakes. The first in the year 460. that overturn'd all the walls and a third part of the Buildings: And the second which did not so much mischief as the first, in the year 562. at what time *Mahomet*, the Son of *Abdalla-elmegare*, who reign'd in the Country of the *Parthians*, remov'd his Court near *Casbin*, to view the Ruins, and take care of the Reparations. And because that the walls which were then only of Earth did not seem sufficiently beautiful nor strong enough for so great a City, he caus'd that which the Earth-quake had left standing, to be pull'd down, and rais'd up other Walls of red Brick. The Walls were a hundred thousand and three hundred paces in compass, and at the end of every five hundred paces fortifi'd with Towers. The *Tartars* and *Turks* utterly ruin'd these Towers and Walls at several Times, and those that were rebuilt in their Room, after the destructions of every new invasion. The Ruins of which are still to be seen, as I have said already.

After all *Casbin* was restor'd and rebuilt as you see, it has enjoy'd for above these three hundred years both peace and plenty, by the Advantage of its situation, which renders it so convenient for the Trade of *Iberia*, *Hyrkania*, and *Media*, with the Southern Provinces of the Kingdom. In the 955. year of the *Hegyra*, King *Tahmas*, despairing to defend *Tauris* against *Solyman*, retir'd to *Casbin*, and made that City the *Metropolis* of his Kingdom: finding it convenient for all Seasons in the Year. There he spent the Winter; in the Summer he retir'd three or four Leagues into the Country, and liv'd in Tents, at the foot of Mount *Alouvent*, in a place abounding with cool Springs and

and pleasant Shades. His Successors liv'd after the same Rate, till *Abas* the Great, who the first year of his Reign remov'd his Court to *Ispahan*. And there are several Reasons alledg'd for this Change. Some attributed it to the Air of *Casbin*, which the King did not find so healthful : Others affirm that he was frighted by the *Astrologers*, who told him, that the Stars threat'ned him with several Misfortunes if he staid at *Casbin*. But others assert, it was only the better to accomplish the design of building a new City, as being over perswaded, that it was the surer way to Eternize his Memory then all his great Actions. But the most probable Reason was one which I heard from a great Lord, who was highly esteem'd by that Potent Prince, That when he had laid the design of those Conquests which he made with so much Renown, as well to the East as to the South, he forsook *Casbin* and remov'd to *Ispahan*, that he might be nearer the Country which he intended to Conquer.

However it were, the City is much decay'd, since the Removal of the Royal Residence, and that it has lost all those Perquisites that set forth the Pomp and Grandeur of a sumptuous Court. The Successors of *Abas* have resided there for one or two years together, and the deceas'd King was upon his way thither when he dy'd. For the City had earnestly importun'd him by Presents and Requests, and were so overjoy'd to understand his Majesty was coming, that they presented the Messenger that brought the news with a Present of three hundred *Tomans*, which amounts to about one thousand Guines.

Now the chief advantage which accrews to the City from the Court's residing there, is the consumption of a vast quantity of Provision which the Country produces, and which they cannot export, in regard the Countries round about have no need of supplies.

Now besides all that has been said, that renders *Casbin* a famous City, we must not forget that it has been a place celebrated for the Birth of several great men : among the rest *Locman*, highly esteem'd for the Fables which he so well compos'd in imitation of *Esope*, that some learned Men uphold it to be the same Book.

The City is govern'd by a *Darogué*, or *Mayor*, who is chosen every Year, and in that Year makes his office worth him six hundred *Tomans* ; or two thousand pounds. In their Judicial Acts and Records, they give to this City the addi-

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onal name of *Daral-Seltenet*, or the Seat of Royalty ; because the Kings of Persia who reign'd in the 15. and 16. Ages there kept their Court as has been said.

We ended our days Journey at *Kiaré*, a large Village consisting of five hundred Houses ; in the midst of which upon a rising Ground stands a Castle of Earth half ruin'd. The Remainder of several strong Places in this Country demolish'd in the 13. Age : Before which time Invasions were so frequent, and so sudden, and the Civill Warrs so redious and so furiously carry'd on, that they were forc'd to fortify themselves every where, and defend themselves from all sorts of Persons : for such like Castles are to be seen in all the Villages, and great Towns, that are under the Jurisdiction of *Casbin*.

The 10. we travell'd four Leagues in a plain and pleasant Country, as in the preceding days ; still directing Course to the South. And our manner of travelling all the way, particularly from *Miané*, which is upon the Confines in the Evening an hour or two before Sun set, rode a Journey, of five or six Leagues by Midnight, or thereabouts. Longer Journeys of eight or nine Leagues held us almost all night long which is the general way of travelling over all the East in Summertime, to avoi'd the heat of the Sun, which would melt both Man and Beast in the day time. In the night we travell'd a greater pace and more at ease : the Servants walk a foot with less trouble ; and the Masters themselves are glad to walk sometimes, when they find themselves sleepy, and to shake off those little shiverings caus'd by the Coolness of the Air ; besides that it is a great ease to the Horses. When you get to your Inn, you go to Bed, and fetch up that sleep in the day, which you lost in the night. Another advantage of travelling by night is this, that the Beasts of Carriage, rest all the time that the Heat and the Flies molest 'em, and are better lookt after, while the Servants dress 'em by day-light ; besides that in the day time Provisions both for Horse and Man are more ready to be had. And then again the Hosts of the *Caravanferay*, having slept almost all the day for want of Employment, are then up and ready at all Commands.

The first thing which the Grooms do, at the first coming into the Inn, is to walk the Horses, then they cloath them and loosen their Girts. About an hour or two after, they give 'em to eat, and then the Grooms go to sleep : about nine or ten a Clock every body rises, and eats a light Breakfast ;
after

after that the Grooms dress their Horses, and the Cooks get ready their Viſuals. In the mean time the Maſter betakes himſelf again to his Reſt, or elſe otherwiſe employs himſelf. About four a Clock they meat their Horses with Barley (for they never give 'em Oats in the Eaſt) and then put on the Saddle : at which time Supper is ſerv'd in. While the Maſter Sups, the Cook cleanſes the Kitchin Furniture, and the *Valet de Chambre* puts up the *Maſſa's*, which is a kind of Portmantle where the Bed and Bed-cloaths are put up, with as much Convenience as in a Cheſt, of which one Horſe will carry two. Then the Servants go to Supper, while the Maſter gets himſelf ready and puts on his Boots. When the Servants have ſupp'd, which is ſoon done among the Aſiatics : the Cook puts up his Utenſils, and the Groom bridles and girts up the Horses, and the reſt fold up the Carpets, or do what elſe belong to their Duties : laſtly, they load and ſo depart. They that have not ſeen the Faſhions of the Eaſt, will hardly believe with what Convenience Men travel in thoſe Parts. However it is very great, though a man may be ſaid to carry a whole Houſe a long with him : and the reaſon is, becauſe every Servant knowing what he has to do, every thing is diſpatch'd in an Inſtant.

We lodg'd at *Segsabad*, which ſignifies the Habitation of Dogs; being a Town as large as *Kiave*; ſeated in a fair Plain, where there are a great number of Villages. There are no Inns at either of thoſe two places, but in each fifteen or twenty great Houſes, which the Owners keep open for the Entertainment of Travellers, and which are kept much more cleanly than the *Caravanſerais*. There is alſo much better Accommodation, but at a dearer rate : For the Hoſt not daring to demand either for his Lodging or his Trouble, which is not the Cuſtom, he pays himſelf by the Provender and Proviſions which he ſells his Gueſts at his own price, whereas in the *Caravanſerais* every thing is tax'd.

The 11. we travell'd eight Leagues : the firſt two over Mole-hills and little hills, where the way was ſomewhat rugged; the reſt over a fair champaign Ground full of Villages, and for the moſt part well manur'd. It is ſaid to be the place where the Battel was fought between *Lucullus* and *Mithridates*, and which the defeat of *Cræſſus* render'd yet more famous in the Roman Hiſtory.

We alighted at an Inn call'd *Koskeiron*, one of the faireſt and largeſt that ever was built in *Perſia*. There are belong-
ing

ing to it two Gardens, two Cisterns, a Bath, and a small Canal : being altogether the Gifts of the Chief Wife of *Abas* the Great. She founded this place, and settled a Revenue of Fourscore Pounds to pay four Servants that were to lodge in the Inn, meerly to keep it clean, and to wait upon Travellers. But the fourscore Pounds have bin since converted to other uses, through the Covetousness of the Trustees. Which is the reason that the *Caravanferai* lies very nasty every where, and runs to ruin for want of good keeping. It cost four Thousand *Tomans* the Building, which comes to eighteen thousand Pounds. There are also in *Persia* other Inns, besides Bridges, Causeys, and Hospitals, remaining Monuments of the Charity of that Princess ; which have render'd her Name famous, and if we may believe public Report, she expended in Pious Works, no less than a hundred thousand *Tomans*, which make about four hundred thousand Pounds Sterling.

The 12. we travell'd eight Leagues, three over the pleasant Plains where stands *Koskeirou* ; and five in a deep Country, where the Road is somewhat crooked and rough. Two hours before day we arriv'd at *Sava*, and lodg'd in the Suburbs that lie upon the high Road.

Sava is a great City seated in a sandy and barren Plain, within sight of Mount *Alouvent*. It is two miles in Circuit, and girt with walls, but thinly peopl'd : for unless it be the Heart of the City, the rest runs to ruin for want of Inhabitants. The Walls are also in a bad condition, nor is there any thing remarkable round about it ; tho formerly it has been a fair City, as the ruins of several great Structures demonstrate. There runs a small River through, and a good number of Canals. The Soyl is dry and sandy ; producing nothing without Art and Industry ; yet it is beautify'd with a great number of Gardens. The Air is there very hot, and unhealthy. It lies 35. deg. 50. min. of Lat. 85. deg. of Longitude ; and is govern'd by a *Derogue* or Mayor.

The Histories of *Persia* unanimously consent, that the whole Plain of *Sava*, was formerly a Salt Marsh or Lake, like to that Lake which is call'd the *Salt-Sea*, not above twenty Leagues from this City to the East, and which is cross'd over a Causey thirty Leagues in length, as ye travel from *Ispahan* into *Hyrkania* ; but those Histories do not agree upon the time that this Marsh was dry'd up. Some fabulously report that it was the same night that *Mahomet* was born. Others that it was *Haly*, his Son-in-Law, who drain'd away the waters by

by a Miracle. And the same Histories report, that he wrought that Miracle, onely by the pronuntiation of one word; and that he did it in favour to the Inhabitants of *Com*, who took his part against the Father-in-Law of *Mahomet*. They also add, that those People, to preserve the Memory of so great an Accident, built a City in the midst of that same drain'd Fenn, and laid the first Stone upon the Sun's entring into *Gemini*. The northern People ruin'd it in the fourth Age of *Mahumetism*. But *Coja-Sehid-el-din* the Son of *Melec-Sheref-el-din-Savegi* rebuilt it forty years after that, much more stately than it was before its Destruction, wall'd it, and pav'd it with red Bricks. Sometime after that *Coja-Sehid-el-din* enlarg'd it to the North, and brought the water to it through ten Channels, and built a spacious Mosque in the Eastern part of it, upon the same Foundation where *Suyed-Eshac*, the Son of *Imam-Moufa-Cazem* had built one several Ages before. Close adjoyning to that Mosque stands the sumptuous Tomb of *Bercordar-bec* Grand Master of the Ordnance of *Persia*, who dy'd of a Dropsie in that City about ten years ago.

Just over against *Sava*, to the East, at the distance of four Leagues, stands a place of Pilgrimage, the most famous for the Devotion of the *Persians*. They call it *Ech-mouil*, that is to say, *Samuel*; for they believe that Prophet was there interr'd; over his Tomb there is built a most sumptuous *Mausoleum* in the midst of a magnificent *Mosque*. Opposite to this, that is Westward, nine miles from the City, under the same Parallel, are to be seen some footsteps here and there of that famous City of *Rey*, the biggest City in *Asia*. The Wonders that are recounted of it are incredible, nevertheless they are generally ascertain'd by all Historians; and by some as if they had been Eye-witnesses. The Persian Histories report, that in the Time of *Calife Medybillah-abon-Mahamed-Darvanich*, who liv'd in the ninth Age of Christianity, the City of *Rey* was divided into 96 Quarters, of which every one contain'd 46 Streets, and every Street 400 Houses and ten Mosques. That there were moreover in the City 6400 Colleges, 16600 Baths, 15000 Towers of Mosques; 12000 Mills, 1700 Channels, and 13000 Inns. I dare not insert the number of Houses, because I cannot believe there were half so many people: Nevertheless our Geography is in that particular asserted, and justifi'd by all the Oriental Authors. The Arabian Writers affirm in like manner, that in the third Age of *Mahumetism*, which is exactly at the same time, that *Rey* was

the best peopl'd City in *Asia*; and next to *Babylon* there never was any City so considerable, either for the Number, Wealth, or Trade of her Inhabitants. And hence it was, that those pompous Titles were given her in Histories, *The first of Cities, the Spouse of the World, the Gate of the Gates of the Earth, and the Market of the Universe*. Nor is the Original of *Reyle's* remarkable. The Chronicle of the *Magi* makes *Chus*, the Grand-Child of *Noah*, to be the Founder of it, and adds that he laid the first Stone when the Sun was in *Scorpio*. But the Vulgar Opinion is, that it was founded by *Housheing-Pishdadi*, or Chief Justiciary. The Orientals give this Title to all the Kings of *Persia* of the first Race, as being the first Governors and Legislators that came to their Knowledge. *Housheing* was the second King of that Race. *Manousher*, the first King after *Housheing*, greatly enlarg'd it: and it continu'd in its Splendor till the Conquest of the first Mahumetans that destroy'd it. *Mehdi billa*, surnam'd *Mansour*, or the Victorious, the third Califfe of *Babylon*, rais'd it to be greater and more populous then before; and under his Successors it was, that it arriv'd to that degree of Grandeur which we have related. The last destruction that beset it happen'd in the Time of the Civil Wars, at what time the Tartars extended their Incurfions into the Country of the Parthians. The Religion of the Mahumetans was then divided into Sects, as at this day: so that the Sect of *Shia*, which was that which the Persians stuck to, and that of the *Sunnis* which the Turks follow'd, divided the whole Country. These two Factions were at War for sixty years together, and the Sect of *Shia* being born down, by the the Assistance of the petty Tartars, who are *Sunnis*, the victorious Sect sub-divided themselves into two other Opinions, which they call from the Name of their first Broachers, *Shafai* and *Hanifai*, which flourish to this day among the Mahumetan *Sunnis*. These Wars, together with the Incurfions of the Tartars, destroy'd the Potent *Rey*, and reduc'd it to nothing before the end of the sixth Age of the Mahumetan *Epoche*. Threescore years after that *Facre-Eddin* Prince of *Parthia*, having made a Peace with *Gazan-Can* King of *Persia*, of the Race of the Tartars, endeavour'd to rebuild this unfortunate City, but could not accomplish his Design. *Protony* calls this City *Raquaja*, and the rest of the greek Authors call it by such Names, as seem to be form'd from the word *Rey*. It lies in 35. deg. and 35. min. of Latitude, and 76. deg. 20. min. of Longitude. The Soil is fertile and pleasant; and produces plenty

plenty of good Fruits. The Air is unhealthy, makes the Skin look yellow, and breeds Agues; nevertheless it is said the People liv'd there as long as in other places, which is a wonder, and occasion'd that Persian Distick.

*Dreaming I saw, and naked in his Shirt
The Angel of the Dead;
Who of the City Rey, by break of day
Th' unwholsome Vapors fled.*

This City has produc'd a great many Learned Men, and hoarded within its own bosom for several Ages, the chiefest part of the Riches of the East. It is reported that during its Splendor, the smaller Mosques had no less then a hundred Branches of all sorts of Metal, furnish'd with burning Tapers, and the larger Mosques five hundred, that were kept lighted all night long.

The 13. we travell'd six Leagues through a plain and level Country: but the Road was full of turnings and windings, by reason of the turning and winding of the River, and the several Canals in several parts of the Plain that water the Grounds. We pass'd over one large Bridge, and several small ones, and lodg'd at a great Inn built upon a flat piece of Ground, near to four others which are not so big. It is call'd *Jaser-abad*; or the Habitation of *Jaser*, from the name of a great Persian Lord, who caus'd the first Inns to be built that ever were built in this place.

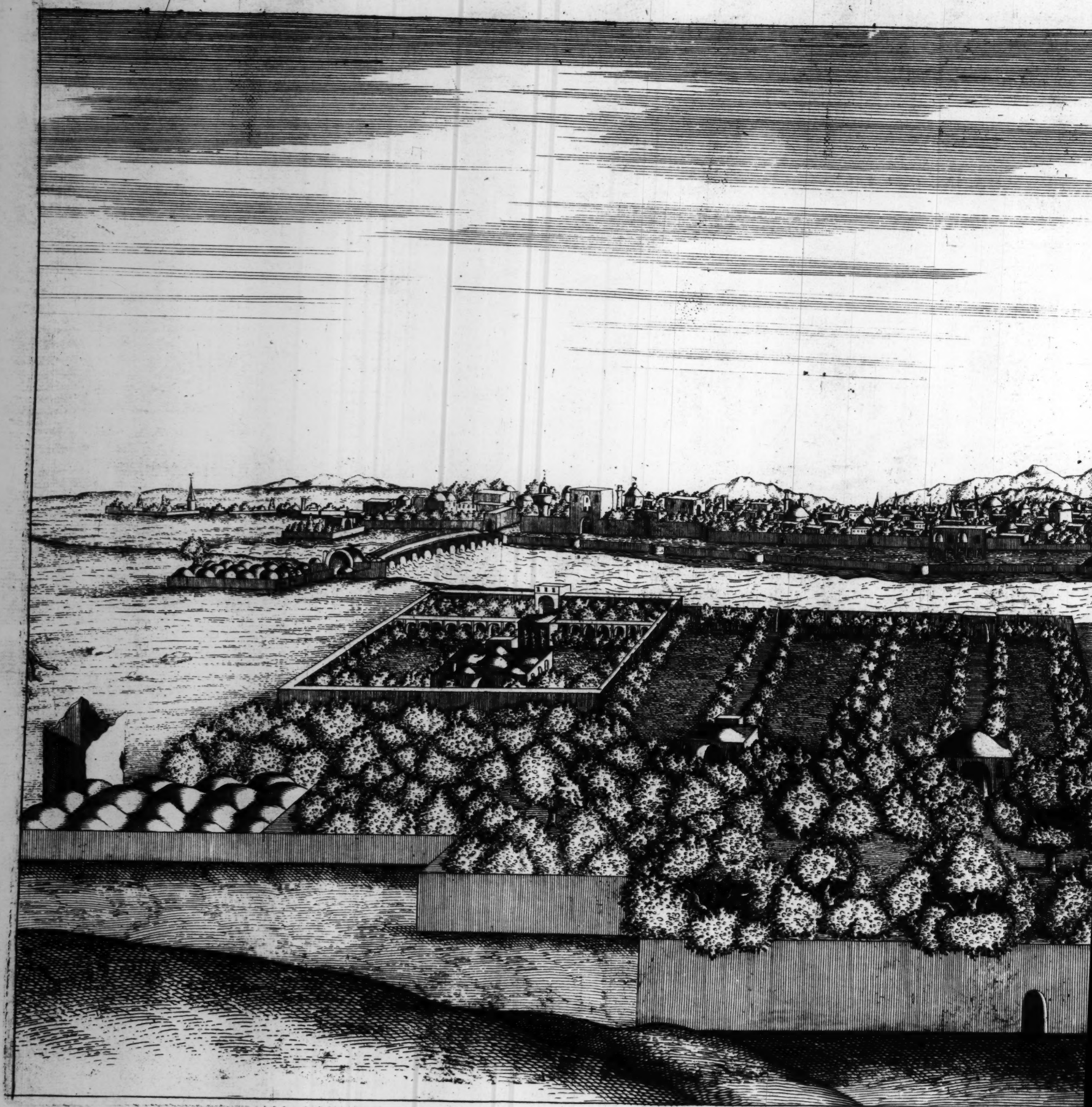
The 14. we travell'd five Leagues over the same Plain. When we came about half way, we rode along by the side of a little Hill call'd *Coub-Telisme*; *Coub* signifying a Mountain, and *Telisme* that which we call *Talisman*, or Hieroglyphic. This Mountain has one thing remarkably peculiar to it, which I never could believe till now; Which is this, That still as you approach nearer and nearer to it, it shews a different form, and varies both in its bigness and figure. The Top or Point of it is always in sight, and you would think, that it turn'd that side which way soever you stood to look upon it: which I have experienc'd to be true, as having beheld this Mountain from all the points of the Compass. Which natural Inchantment may proceed in my Opinion, from the variety of the Optick Mediums through which that little Mountain is beheld, Nature having there sported something that resembles those Ingenious Pictures, that vary the Object by turning the Po-
sture

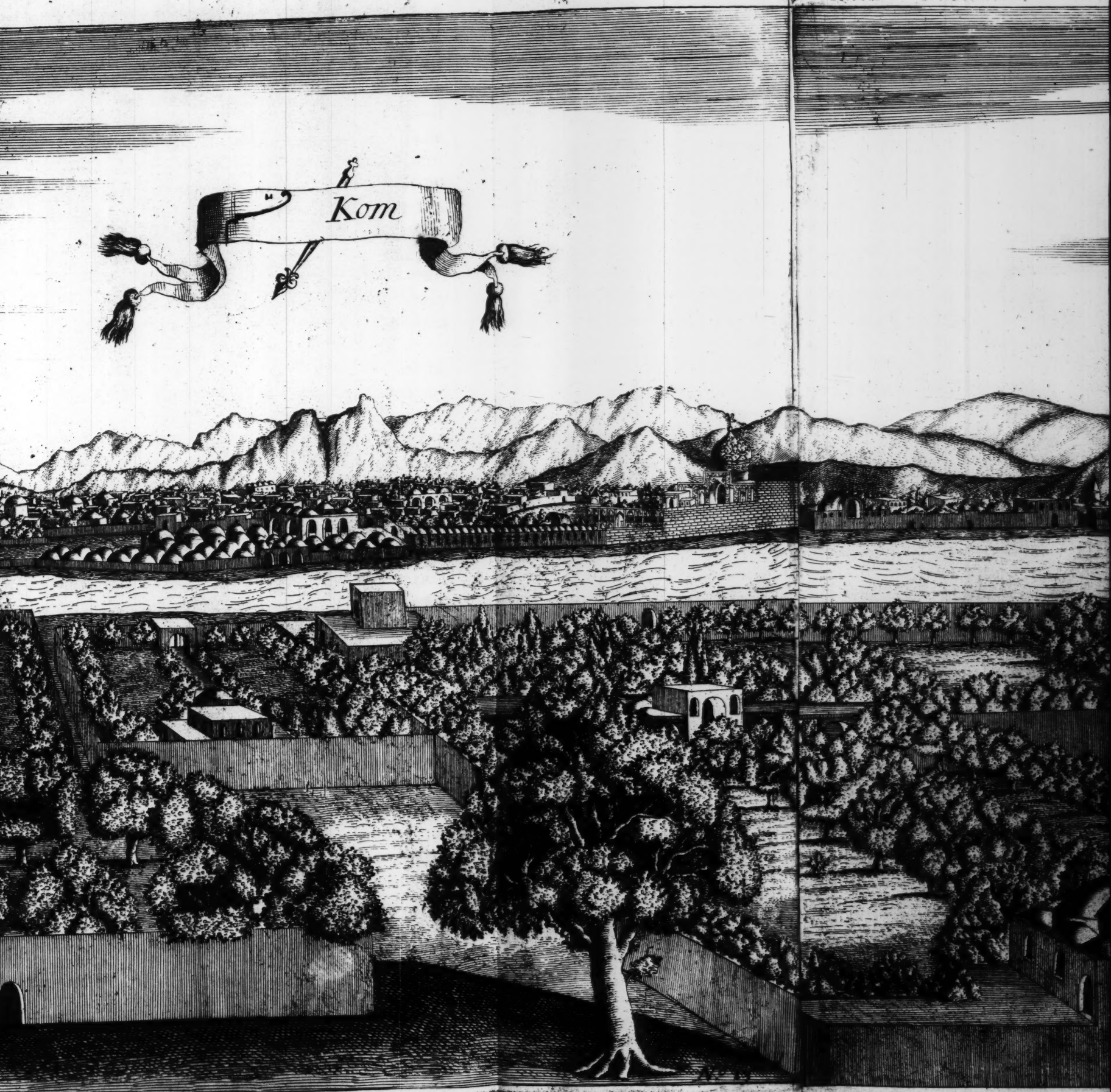
sture of the Picture this or that way to the Eye. It consists of a black Earth, that crumbles like the burnt Mould at the foot of Mountains that vomit fire : and it is full of Caves and blind Corners, that seem to have been made of purpose. This made me enquire of the People of the Country, whether that Mountain was wont to cast forth fire ; but I could, meet with no body that ever saw or heard of any such thing. But this is a publick Caution to all men : For they tell ye, that they who desire to ascend that Mountain never come back ; and it is reported that *Abas* the Great one day sent a Foot-Boy up with a Cresset Light upon his Shoulders, but that the Light presently went out and the Fellow never appear'd more. This Mountain lies upon the left hand as you go to *Com*.

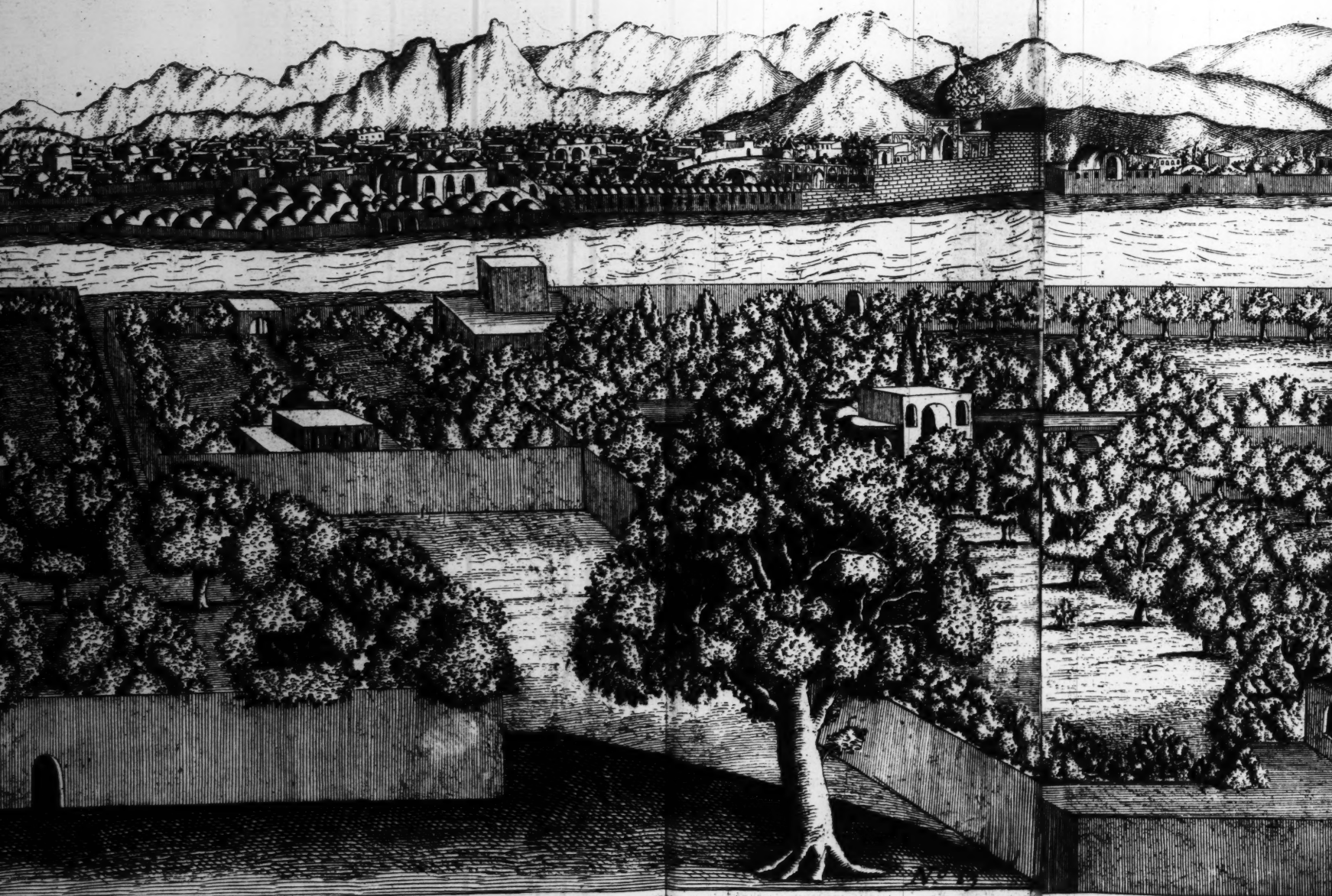
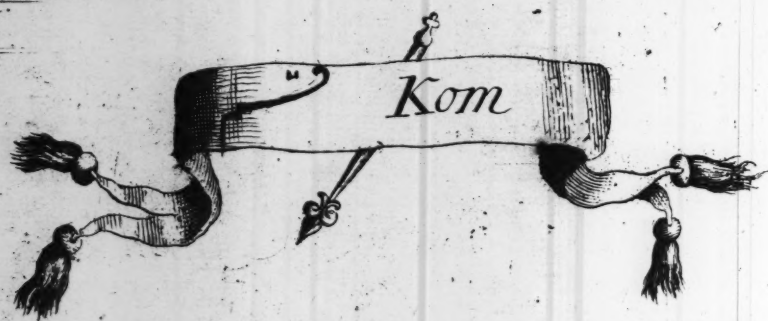
To which City as we drew near, we saw on every side the little *Mausoleums* and Mosques, where the Grand-Children and Descendants of *Aly* lie interr'd. The Persians call the first Descendants from this *Califfe*, *Yman Zade*, or Sons of the *Apostles* ; and these are the Persian Saints, of which there are an infinite number buried in this Kingdom ; for they reckon four hundred Sepulchers about *Com*. We made this City the end of our Journey at ten a Clock at night : and I was afraid I should have ended my Life there too by an Accident altogether unexpected. For I alighted at the Door of the *Caravan-seray*, and held my Horse by the Bridle, expecting my Groom to come and take him, and what time another led Horse perceiving me at his Tail, up with his hind Legs, and with all his force yerk'd with his Heels at my Breast ; so that had I been never so little farther from him, he had broken my Bones. I confess I did not fall ; for I was supported by my Horses head, but for a quarter of an hour I was almost stiff'd, not being able to fetch my Breath. God in his Mercy took Compassion of me, so that I escap'd the fury of the Blow ; tho I felt it six weeks afterwards ; yet not so, but that I could go about my Business as I was wont.

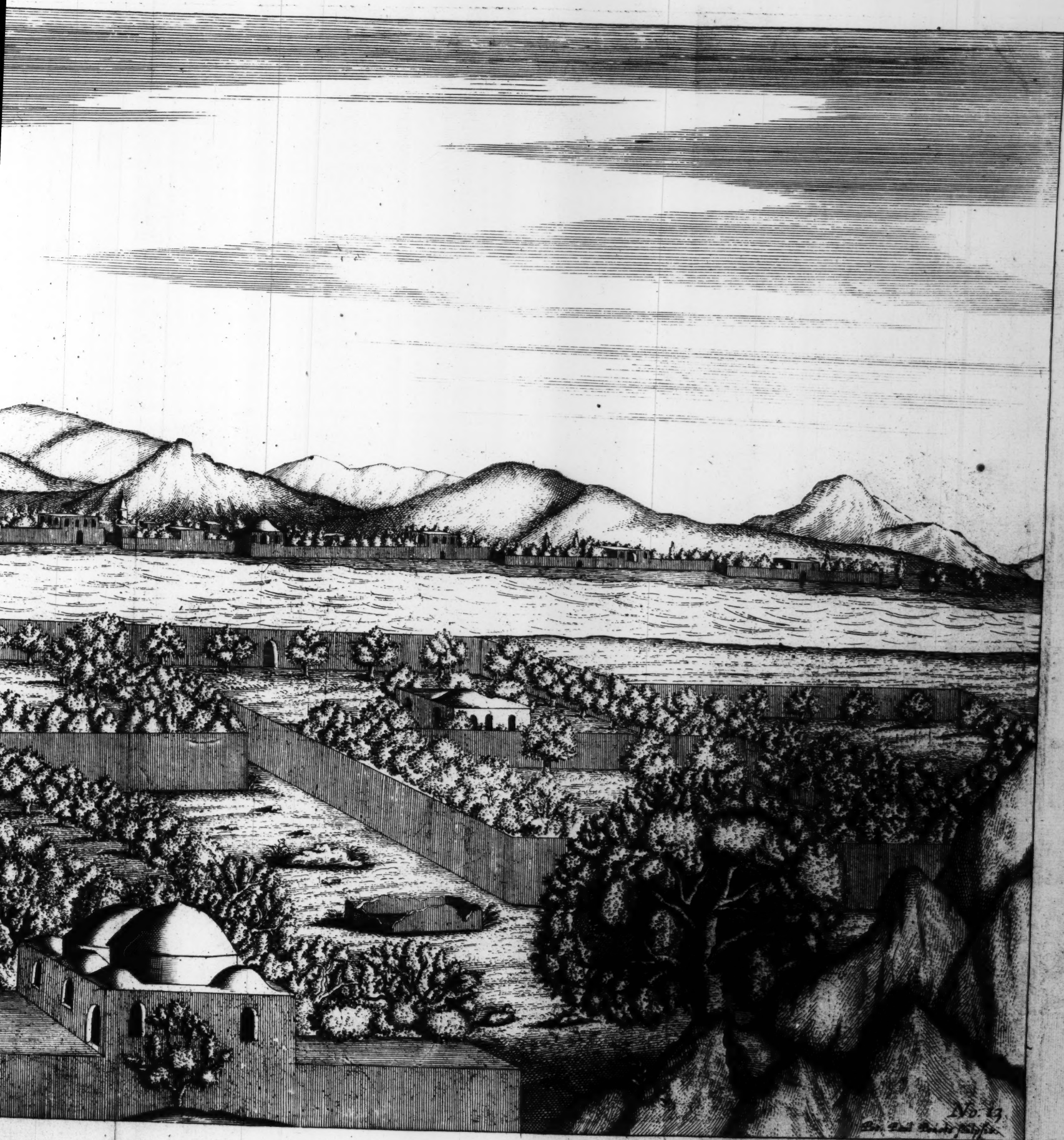
Com is a large City seated in a Plain by a River side, half a League from a very high Mountain. The Figure of it resembles a long Square, taking its length from East to West, as may be seen in the Draught. It contains fifteen thousand Houses, as the People say : It is surrounded with a Moat and Wall flank'd with Towers half ruin'd ; and encompass'd with Gardens ; of which there are some very large on that side of the water. In one of the fairest of which Grounds the *Mausoleum* of *Rustan-Can*, a Prince of the Race of the last Kings of

Georgia,

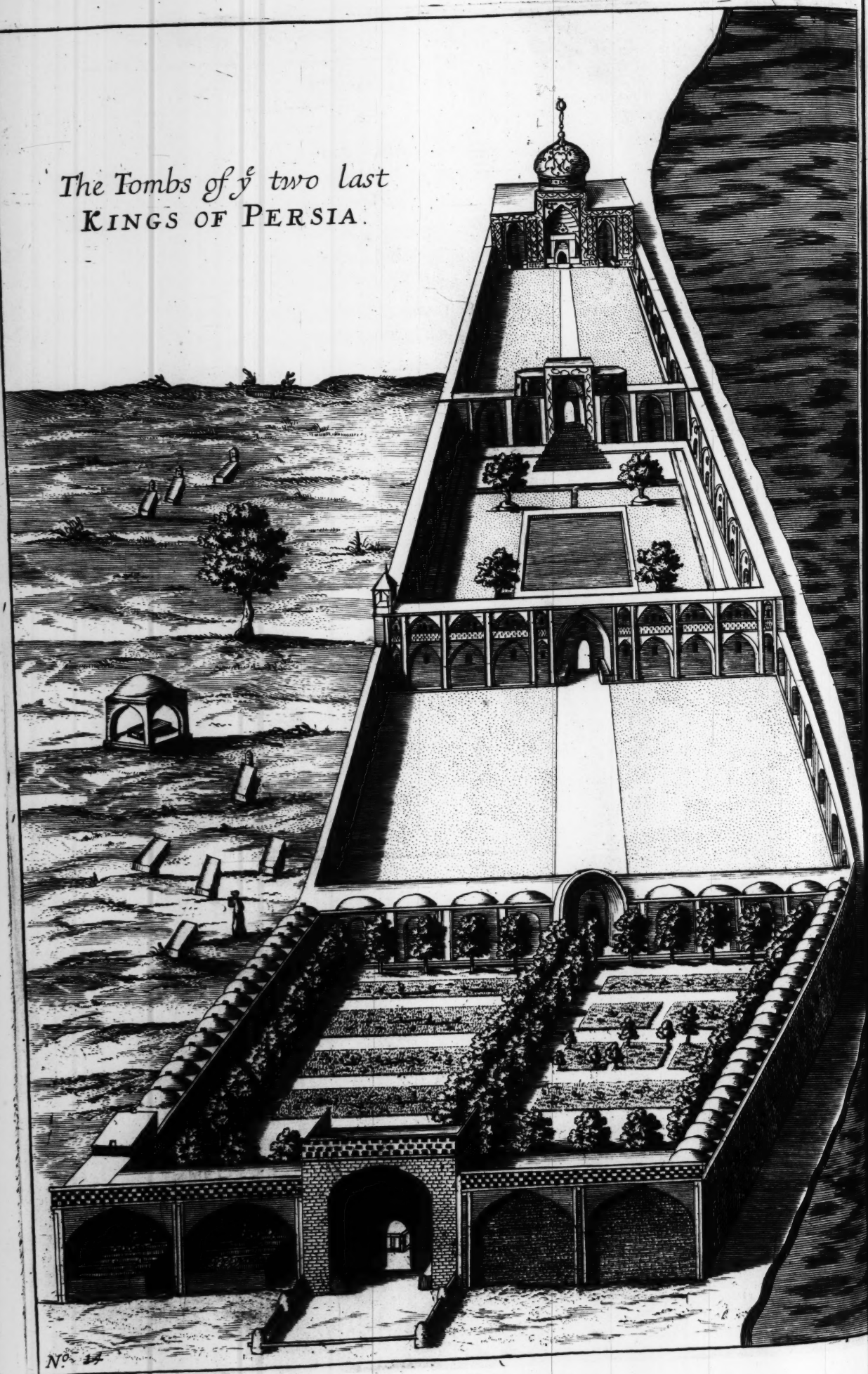








*The Tombs of y^e two last
KINGS OF PERSIA.*



Georgia, who embrac'd the Mahometan Religion, to obtain the Government of that Kingdom : and in this Garden it is that the common people of *Com* most usually take their Recreation. There are also two fair Keys all along the River, the whole length of the City ; and at the East end a fair Bridge. It contains also very large and beautiful *Bazars*, where the Markets are kept both for Whole-Sale and Retail. Nevertheless *Com* is no place of great Trade : they export from thence vast Quantities of Fruit dry'd and raw, especially *Pomegranates*, great store of Sope, Sword Blades, and Earthen Ware both white and varnish'd. And this is peculiar to the white Ware, which is thence transported, that in the Summer it cools the water wonderfully and very suddenly, by reason of continual Transpiration. So that they who desire to drink cool and deliciously, never drink in the same Pot above five or six days at most. They wash it with Rose-Water the first time,, to take away the ill smell of the Earth ; and they hang it in the Air full of water, wrapt up in a moist linnen Cloth. A fourth part of the water transpires in six hours the first time, after that still less from day to day, till at last the Pores are clos'd up, by the thick matter contain'd in the water, which stops in the Pores. But so soon as the Pores are stopp'd, the water stinks in the Pots, and you must take new ones. There are in this City a vast number of deep Cellars, out of which the People draw water to drink : to the greatest part of which Cellars, you must go down a descent of forty or fifty Steps, that are very steep to boot. But the water which they fetch from thence is as cool as any Ice ; coming from Fountains that are stop't with Cocks : So that this Water is a most delicious Refreshment in the Summer, which is furiously hot at *Com*, and all the adjacent Parts. This City also contains a great number of fair Inns and *Mosques*, of which the fairest is that wherein the two last deceased Kings of *Persia* lie enterr'd.

And here I shall give you the Platform of that Celebrated *Mosque*, so much talk'd of over all the East. It has four Courts belonging to it, as you may perceive by the Draught. The first is planted with Trees and Flowers like a Garden : being a long Square, having an Alley in the middle which is separated from the Beds and Plots by a Balustrade. There are also two Terrasses an each side, running the full length of the Garden, three foot high. Upon each side of which there are twenty Chambers vaulted, nine foot square,

one Chimney and a Portico. At the Entrance into this Court, upon the left hand, there's one of these deep Cellars, and upon the right hand an Aviary. It is a place design'd for Recreation. For it is moreover encompass'd with a Canall of clear water, that runs out of one Fountain at the Entrance, and empties it self into another at the end. Ten Disticks in Letters of Gold, over the Top of the Portal, compose the Inscription of this Mausoleum; of which the Translation is as follows.

The Date of the Portal of the Tomb of the most Venerable and Pure Virgin of Com, upon whom be Salvation.

In the time of the happy Reign of Abas the Second, the Support of the World, to whom increase of days, This Gate was open'd in the face of the People. Whoever casts up his Eyes, looseth the Idea of Paradise.

Who has ever cross'd her Courts, whose Aspect rejoyces Hearts, has not pass'd 'em swiftly like the wind.

The Word
signifies desire.

Maloom Vicar to the Great Pontiff, whose sage Counsels teach the Sun to govern his Motion, caus'd this Portal to be made by one of his Substitutes Aga Mourad, the Height and Excellency of which surpasses the Celestial Throne.

This is the Entrance into the Palace Royal of the thrice Venerable pure Virgin, descended from the House of the Prophet.

Happy and Glorious that faithful Person that shall prostrate his head upon the Threshold of this Gate, in Imitation of the Sun and Moon. Whatever he shall demand with Faith from above, this Gate shall be like an Arrow that hits the Mark, that is to say, shall answer his Desires.

Certainly Fortune shall never molest the Enterprises of him, who for the Love of God rais'd this Portal in the Face of the People.

O thou Faithful, if thou demand'st in what Year this Portal was built, I answer thee, from above the Portal, from Desire demand thy Desires.

To understand this last Distich, you must understand, that whereas in our Alphabet, there are but seven Numeral Letters, or which serve instead of a Cipher, as V. for five, X. for ten; L. for fifty, &c. The Alphabet in the Oriental Languages, stands for Arithmetical Numbers: and so for a knack of Wit, which indeed requires a quick Fancy, they denote the Year of any thing by words that have some resemblance to the Thing done, and are compos'd of Letters, which according to their arithmetical Value, make up just the Year of their Epoche: and the Letters of this word make 1061. Year. Of which I shall produce another Example.

The

The deceas'd King of *Persia* caus'd a Tent to be made that cost one hundred and fifty Thousand Pounds. It was call'd the House of Gold; because there was nothing but Gold that glister'd in every part of it. I shall give you the Description of it in another place. It may be easily conjectur'd that it was a sumptuous and costly Piece, as well by the Price that it cost, as by the number of Camels which were requir'd to carry it, that were in all 280. The Anti-chamber was made of Velvet with a Ground of Gold. Of which the Cornish was embellish'd with Verses that concluded in this manner, *If thou demandest at what time the Throne of this Second Salomon was built, I will tell thee, Behold the Throne of the Second Salomon; where the Letters of the last words being tak'n for Ciphers make 1057. Years.* Which is look'd upon as meer Gibbrish in our Language, but among the Orientals passes for Wit and Ornament.

The second Court is not so beautiful as the first; but the third is nothing inferiour to it. It is surrounded with Apartments, every one containing two Stories, a Terrass, a Portico, and a Canal, in like manner as the former. Four large Trees stand at each Corner, and cover it with their Boughs. Out of this third Court you enter into the fourth, by a Marble Alcant consisting of twelve Steps. The Portal which is at the Top, is a most magnificent Piece. It is cover'd below with white Marble, transparent like to Porphyry or Aggat. The top of it which is a large half *Duomo* is painted with *Moresco* Work of Or and Azure laid on very thick. In this fourth Court are also Chambers both at the lower end, and on both sides, with Terrasses and Portico's, like the other three. Those are the Lodgings for the Priests, the Governors and Students, that live upon the Revenues of that sacred Place.

Fronting these Courts stands the Body of the Structure, consisting of three great Chappels upon a Line. To the middlemost belongs an Entrance eighteen Foot deep, every way magnificent, the Portal being of the same white Marble already mention'd. The Top, which is also a large half *Duomo*, is over-laid without, with large square Tiles of Cheney, painted with *Moresco* Work, and within embellish'd with Gold and Azure. The Door which is twelve foot high, and six broad, is all of transparent Marble. The folding Doors are plated with Silver, embellish'd with Vermillion gilt, carv'd Work and polish'd, which make a Mosaic altogether costly and full of Curiosity. The Chappel is Octogonal, cover'd with a high *Duomo*; the lower part of which Chappel is cover'd with

with large Tiles of Porphyry wav'd, and painted with Flowers in Gold and Colours, so lively and full of Lustre that they dazle the Eye. The upper part is of *Moreſco* Work, of lively and glittering Gold and Azure, and the Bottom of the *Duomo* is all of the same. This *Duomo* is very large and wonderfully beautiful, being overlaid without like the Portal. From the top of all arises a Spire, with a Crescent fixt at the top, the ends of which are reverse, as you see in the Figure. This Pinnacle, which is of a remarkable Bigness, is compos'd of several Bowls of several Proportions, set one upon another, and appears as you stand below to be about twenty foot high with the Crescent, the whole of fine Gold. The Persians affirm it to be all Massy: which if it be true, the Pinnacle is worth Millions; but let it be what it will, 'tis a noble Ornament, of which the Value cannot but amount to a large Summ.

In the midst of that Chappel stands the Tomb of *Fatima*, the Daughter of *Mouſa Caſem*, one of the twelve *Califfs*, which the Persians believe to have been the lawful Successors of *Mahomet*, after the Death of *Ali* his Son-in-Law. It contains eight feet in length, five in breadth, and six in height. Over-laid with Tiles of *China*, painted *alamoresca*, and over-spread with Cloth of Gold that hangs down to the ground on every side. It is enclos'd with a Grate of Massy Silver, ten foot high, distant half a foot from the Tomb; and at each Corner crown'd as it were with large Apples of fine Gold. Which is done to the end the People should not sully the Tomb with their kissing and handling it: for the Tomb is lookt upon as a sacred Piece. Several breadths of Velvet hung about the inside of the Grate, hide it from the view of the People: so that only Favor or Money can procure a sight of it. The Floor likewise is cover'd with a Carpet of very fine Woollen: over which at great Festival Times, are spread others of Silk and Gold. Over the Tomb, about ten foot in height, hang several Silver Vessels which they call *Candil*; being a sort of Lamp, of which there are some that weigh sixty Marks: and are otherwise fashion'd then the Church Branches, as may be seen in the Figures. But they never light up any fire therein, which they are not made to hold, nor any sort of Liquor, as not having any Bottom.

Upon the Grate hang several Inscriptions in Letters of Gold upon thick Velloms, as large as a large sheet of Paper. Which Inscriptions contain the Elegies of the Saint and her Family. The Inscription upon the Front of the Entrance contains the

the Prayer which they all generally say, that come in the Pilgrimage to the Sepulcher. The Pilgrim, when he enters, kisses the Threshold and the Grate three times; and standing upright with his Face towards the Tomb, one of the *Molla's*, that attend there day and night, comes to him, who causes him to say the Prayer word for word. After the Prayer so said, the Pilgrim again kisses the Grate, and the foot of the Door; then giving the Priest four or five pence, more or less, according to his ability, he retires. If he desires a Certificate of his Pilgrimage, they write him one in due form; the dispatch of which costs him half a Pistole, or eight or nine shillings. All the money which the Pilgrims and other Votaries give, is put into a little iron Chest, like the Trunk of a Tree, that stands at the entrance into the Chappel, which is open'd every *Friday*, and what is found therein is distributed among the people that belong to the *Mosque*, and do Duty in that consecrated place. It would be too long, and perhaps to irksome, to insert all the Inscriptions I have mention'd: and therefore I shall only give you the Translation of the two Principal Prayers, which the Pilgrims are bound to say.

In the name of God clement and merciful.

I Visit my Lady and Mistress Fatima, the daughter of Moufa, the son of Dgafar, upon whom be all Salvation and Peace eternally. And out of my zeal to approach to God by her Intercession, I invoke her for my self, my Father and Mother, and all the truly Faithful.

In the name of God sovereignly pitiful, I wish thee Health eternal, O Apostle of God. I wish thee Health eternal, O Elect of God. I wish thee Health eternal, O the best and most perfect of all men, Mahamed the son of Abdalla. God grant thee his Mercy, his Grace and his Benedictions, and to all thy Family. I wish thee eternal Health, O Prince of the Faithful, O Lord and Chief of the true Vicars of God. I wish thee eternal Health, O thou that art the Truth it self. I wish thee Health eternal, and the Mercy and Benedictions of God ô Ali who art the true Balsom, for the wounds of sin. I wish the Health eternal, O virgin most Pure, most Just, and most Immaculate, glorious Fatima, the daughter of Mahammed the Elect, the best beloved Wife of Ali, the Mother of twelve true Vicars of God, of Illustrious Birth, and I also wish the Mercy of God, and his Benedictions, to thy Mother the most precious, the most pure, and high-born Khadidge. I wish the mercy of God and his Benedictions to Hasan and Heusseï, true Di-

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rectors

rectors of the way of Truth, Celestial Flambeaux's of the dark Night of the World, Great Standards of true Piety, unreprouchable Testimonies of God against the World, Lords of all the young Men who are in the Glory of Paradise. I wish thee Eternal Health O Fatima, the Daughter of Mousa, Virgin Holy, Vertuous, Just, Directrix of the Truth, Pious, Sanctifi'd, worthy of all our Praises, who Sovereignly lovest the Faithful, and who art Sovereignly belov'd: Virgin without blemish, and exempt from all Impurity. May God take his Greatest Delight in thee, look upon thee as pleasing to Him, and Establish thee in Paradise, which is thy Eternal Habitation and Refuge. I am come to seek thee, O Mistress and Lady of my Soul, in hopes that I may approach the most High God by this Act of Piety, and of his Apostle and his Holy Children. The Mercy of God be upon him and them Eternally. I Abhor and I Detest my Sins, of which I have made me an unhappy Burthen, that sinks me to the Earth; and I do my Endeavour to break the Yoke of Hell: Vouchsafe me thy Intercession, O most Holy Virgin, at the Day when the Good shall be separated from the Wicked. Be then a propitiation in my behalf, for thou art descended from a Race and Genealogy of Parents, that will not suffer those that love 'em to fall into Misfortune; that never refuse any thing to whoever they be that call upon 'em in Prayer; who divert all evil from those that tenderly cherish 'em; but whose Enemies on the other side shall never prosper. O God most High, the Holy Doctors of the Race of the Prophet, upon all whom be eternal Mercy, thy Peace, and thy Salvation, have truly declar'd and taught that whoever shall devoutly visit Fatima of Com, shall have Paradise for his Portion. I am the Man, O my God, who come to visit her in this manner, perswaded and convinc'd, as I am, of her Grandeur and her Excellency, and of that of her glorious Ancestors, pure and clean from all Sin, upon all whom be Mercy and Peace. O God, be favourable to Mahamed and the Family of Mahamed. Render profitable to my Salvation the Visit which I make to this Holy Virgin, and confirm me in the favor of her Love. Suffer me not to be depriv'd of the favor of her Intercession, and crown me with the Glory of Paradise, as thou hast promis'd to do, for that in thee is Sovereign Power.

I visit my Lady and Mistress Fatima, the Daughter of Mousa, the Son of Dgafar. Peace be upon 'em, and let it be wish'd 'em eternally by all the Faithful Believers, whose Devotion inclines 'em to approach to God by her Intercession.

In the Name of God Clement and Merciful, Peace be upon Adam, the Elect of God. Salvation be upon Noah, the Prophet of God. Salvation be upon Abraham, the intimate Friend of God. Salvation upon Moses, the mouth of God. Salvation upon thee Mahomet, the

the seal and last of the Prophets. Salvation upon thee, the Prince and Director of the Faithful, Aly the Son of Abitaleb, Vicar of the Apostles of the Lord of human Creatures. Salvation upon thee Fatima, the Lady of the Women of the world. Salvation upon both you, the Grand Children of the Prophet of Mercy, and Lord of the young men that inhabit Paradise. Salvation be upon thee Ali the Son of Heusein, the Lord of pious Men, and Joy of the Eyes of the glorified Saints. Salvation upon thee Dgafar the Son of Mahomed the Just. Salvation upon thee Mousa the Son of Dgafar the Pure. Salvation upon thee Ali the Son of Mousa, whom we all agree to. Salvation upon thee Mahomet, the Son of Ali, the tenderly cherish'd. Salvation upon thee Ali the Son of Mahomet the Faithful Counsellor. Salvation upon thee Hasan the Son of Hali. Salvation upon thee, the Light and Sun of the World, the last Apostle, and upon the Friend of thy Friends, and upon the Vicar of thy Vicars. Salvation upon thee, the Daughter of the Apostle of God. Salvation upon thee the Daughter of Fatima and of Khadidgeh. Salvation upon thee the Daughter of the Director of the Faithful, and the Friend of God. Salvation upon thee the Daughter of the Race of Hassan and Heusein. Salvation upon thee the Daughter of the Friend of God. Salvation be to thee the Aunt of the Friend of God. Salvation be to thee the Daughter of Mousa the Son of Dgafar. The Mercy of God, his Benedictions and his Salvation be upon ye all. God grant that ye may all know one another in Paradise. God grant that we may be assembled together in your Company, that we may drink out of our Prophets Fountain, and that you may drink out of the Cup of your Grandfather, from the hand of Hali the Son of Abitaleb. The Blessings of God be upon all us. I pray to God that he may fill us with Gladness and Joy, that he may assemble us into the company of your Grandfather Mahomet, upon whom be the Mercy and Peace of God, and may he never deprive us of your Knowledge; for he is a most Powerful Protector. I approach to God under the shadow of your Favor, detesting your Enemies; I make him the Offering of myself, devoting myself for a victim without Ignominy or Pride; and I confess with all my heart, that whatever Mahomet preach'd is Truth, and I submit thereto. Therefore it is, that we implore thy Assistance, O Lord our God, thy Compassion, and the glory of the day of Judgment. O Fatima, intercede for me, for thou art in high Esteem with God, and thou hast power in Heaven. O God I pray thee, that thou wilt grant me to make a happy end, nor take away from me any thing that I enjoy. There is most certainly neither power nor strength, but by the Favor of the most puissant and great God. Hear me O God, and accept my Pilgrimage, through thy Liberality, thy Favor, thy Mercy, and thy Clemency.

mency. Be favourable to Mahamed and his Family, and grant 'em Salvation and Peace, O sovereignly-merciful Being.

To conclude, this *Fathma's* Tomb was rebuilt three times. Her Father carry'd her to *Com*, by reason of the great Persecution, wherewith the *Califfs* of *Bagdat* molested his Family, and all those that took *Aly's* part, and held him and his Offspring for the true Successors of *Mahomet*. She erected several fair Structures in that City, and there at last ended her days. The People believe that God carry'd her to Heaven, and that there is nothing in the Temple, but only a Representation of her Body.

In the two Chappels on each side, stand the Tombs of the two last Kings of *Persia*: the Portals of which are not so large, as the Portal of *Fatima's* Monument: but the folding-Doors are over-laid in the same manner with Plates of Silver. They are of an equal Diameter, both the one and the other, at the end of a Gallery twelve foot broad and thirty five in length. At the entrance there is also a kind of Vestry, where the Ornaments and Moveables are kept. The Chapel, where *Abas* lies enterr'd, is an irregular Twelve-Angle: the other where *Sephi* is buried, is an irregular Square. The Vestries, Galleries and Chappels are hung with rich Tapestries: those wherewith the Chappels are hung, are of Gold and Silk woven together. And indeed there can be seen nothing more beautiful, nor more magnificent then these *Mausoleums*. The lower part is over-laid with large Tiles of Porphyry, painted with Gold and Azure: the Roofs are a most ingenious and delicate Piece of Architecture, all painted with rich *Moresco* Work in lively Colours, that even dazzle the Eye. For the Gold and Azure is laid on so thick, that you would swear it was all Massy in its Substance. The *Domo* opens toward the lower part, with a double row of four and twenty Windows; and there is one very large one equal with the Ground, that looks into the Garden, with another opposite to it, which looks into the great Chappel. The Glasing Work consists of Panes of Chrystal, painted with Gold and Azure, and fasten'd in massy Silver. But I remit the Reader to the Draughts, to take a more perfect view of these sumptuous Monuments, contenting my self to relate what they cannot exprefs. *Abas's* is four foot high, four in breadth, and eight foot long. The three Lamps that hang over it are of pure massy Gold, of which the biggest is worth four and twenty Marks, the rest twelve apiece; and they hang by rods
of

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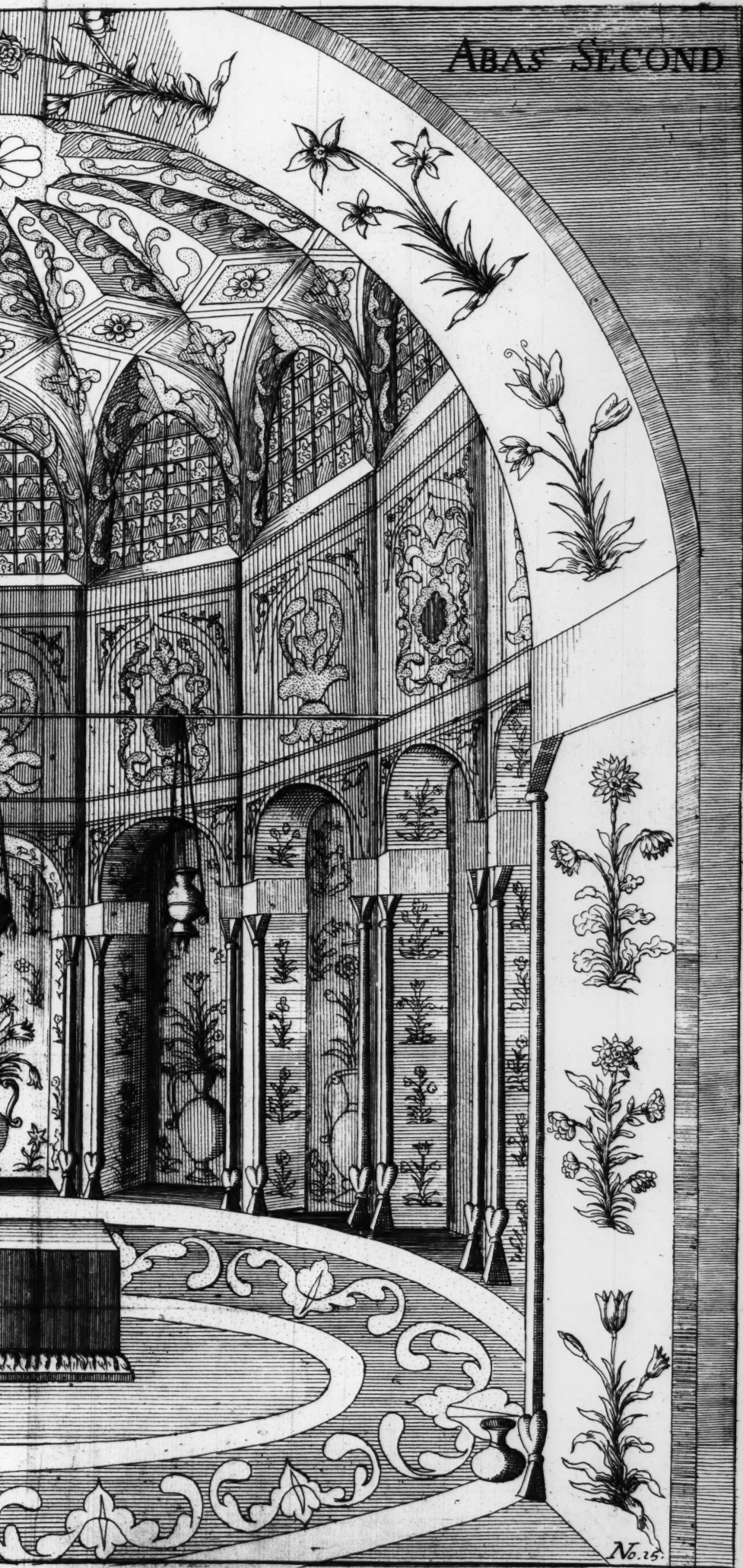
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of

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ABAS SECOND







Arch. East. Arch. July.

of Silver, that descend from the bottom of the *Duomo*. The Tomb is pav'd with Tiles of Cheney, and cover'd with Rich Persian Cloth of Gold, that costs between sixty and seventy Pounds Sterling an Ell, the most gorgeous imaginable, with a Scarlet Counter-Poynt over that, and over head a Canopy of Gold. The Counter-poynts are tack'd below to the Carpets under foot, with a small Silk string, that runs through Rings of massy Gold. And the Clasps and Hooks at the Corners are of the same Metal.

Round the Gallery of *Abas's* Tomb, runs a *Frize*, divided equally into Cartridges of Azure, wherein are written in large Characters of Gold, the Elegies of the Famous, *Haly*, the Great Saint and Idol of the Persians, made by the Learned *Hasan-Caza*. Of which I shall insert the Translation, as being a Piece of Eloquence, wherein may be seen not only the *Genius* of the Persian Poetry, but the Transports of Mahumetan Devotion. The whole is divided into seven Songs in Distichs, of which the first runs all upon Mahomet, and the other six all upon *Haly*.

The first Song.

I Salute the glorious Creaturè, of whom the Sun is but the shadow. Master-piece of the Lord of Human Creatures, Great Star of Justice and Religion.

Infallible Expounder of the (1) four Books, Conductor of the eight (2) Mobiles; Governor of the (3) seven Parts. Chief of the Faithful.

(4) Doctor of that Knowledge which is infus'd into the Prophets. Royal Hero, (5) celebrated by twelve Successors, though the Veil should be taken away, yet would not my Belief be increas'd. Light of God. Illuminating Soul of Prophecie; Guide of true Believers.

The first Object of God, when he bethought himself of sending his Orders to Earth, and Embassador, Center of divine Secrets, concerning what is past and to come, who has caus'd the Acknowledgment of God to shine forth out of the darkness of Errors; as the Morning goes before the Sun, before he mounts the Horison, thwart an obscure Night.

(1) *The Pentateuch, the Psalter, the Gospel, and the Alcoran.* The Mahometans believing that these Books ever were and always shall be the Rule of their Faith.

(2) *The Heavens of the Planets of the Primum Mobile.*

(3) *The seven Climates which was the Ancient Division of the Earth.*

(4) *It is in the Original, Doctor in the Knowledge of the Prophets, who knew not their A, B, C. For the Mahometans affirm, that Mahomet was so ignorant in human Learning, that he could not read. To the end they might the better from thence conclude, that his Knowledge was supernatural.*

(5) *The twelve Heirs and Successors of Mahomet, the last of which was carry'd to Heaven; and shall return to confound the Reign of the unfaithful.*

Principal Type of things created. Instrument of the Creation of the World, the highest of the Race of Adam. Soul of the great Apostles and Messengers.

Thou art that Lord, through whom, one Verse in the Alcoran promises the fulfilling of our desires. Thou art that Sun, through whom another Verse tells the Sovereign Beauty shall be seen. Light of Eyes! Crown of Prophecie. Idol of the Angel Gabriel!

Thou art in the world, a world of vertue and dignity. Thou art upon the Earth a Sun of Majesty and Grandeur.

The Sea is not rich and liberal, but by the gifts of thy munificent Hands. The Angel Treasurer of Heaven reapes his Harvest in the Fertile Gardens of the purity of thy Nature.

Moses, who divided the Sea, is the Porter of the Throne of thy Justice. Jesus, the Monarch of the Fourth Heaven, keeps guard before the Veil of the Throne of thy Glory.

That incomprehensible Painter, who drew the Mole at one stroke of his Pencil (a) koun-fikoun never made so fair a Portraiture as the globe of thy Visage.

(a) Let it be so,
and it was so.
Gen. 1.

The Mahometans hold that every man has two inspecting Angels; the one who writes down the good, the other the evil which he does.

From thy descent into the Cradle to the last day of thy Life, the Angels who Register Words, never heard thee speak a word which did not ravish God himself with Joy.

No man in whatsoever condition he is, can resemble God so much as thou dost. But if there could be an Image to represent God as he is, it could be no other than thy self; that Ambassador whom out of his extraordinary Clemency he sent to the Earth.

Happy and holy is the man who believes all that God has spok'n in the Alcoran, according to the sense which his Prophet has observ'd in the Book of his sentences. If he should be compar'd with any other exalted Being, there could not be found a more perfect exemplar than Mahomet.

The second Song.

O unexpressible man! who hast no Equal but Mahomet the Elect Prophet. God has assign'd upon thy (7) Love the Dowry of the Ladies of Paradise.

(7) The Persians affirm, that *Aly* was the handsomest Person that ever was: and that his Beauty was unconceivable. For which reason the Painters usually cover his Face with a Veil, and will not let it be seen. But what the Poet here speaks of *Haly* signifies that the Blessed in Heaven account it their chiefest felicity to be belov'd by him.

The Primum Mobile, would never dart the Ball of the Sun through the Trunk of Heaven, were it not to serve the morning out of the extreme Love she has for thee.

What is the power of the Stars and Destiny, in comparison of thine? and what is the Light of the Sun, compar'd with that of thy Understanding?

ing? Destiny does but execute thy Commands. The Sun is enlightened by the beams of thy Knowledge.

When the numerous Train of thy Majesty goes in its Pomp, we see the (8) Sphear bound to the hand of the Captain that guides it, like a little Bell at the neck of a Mule.

Let not Hercules vaunt any more the Force of his Courage. For who would endre a Fly to brave it upon the wings of the great Phœnix of the East.

Had Hercules seen the Valour of thy Arm in one Action, assuredly the Bird of his Soul would have brok'n the Cage of his Body, and fled for fear.

The immense Sea of thy merit, tosses up surges above the Heavens, and upon this Sea of Vertue the Tempests of Adversity cause no more disorder then Rushes in the Water.

If thy Glory be weigh'd in the Balance of exalted Sence, the highest mountains weigh'd against it, would appear no more then the Seed of Lentils.

In the great Career of Happiness, where the (Transparts of those who run the Race, makes 'em like Horses, that get the Bit in their Teeth and throw their Riders.

And causes 'em with the force of their Spurs to prick an Artery, at what time the Angel of Death comes like a fatal Physitian to take 'em by the Arm of the Soul)

Thou shalt escape this rude Career, as the Sun passes on from the East. They shall carry before thee the honourable Standard of the Supreme Majesty; and behind thee, the Spoils, as marks of the Victory.

And in this Race, were all the Inhabitants of the world as brave as Hercules, the most undaunted of 'em all would not have the Courage to stand a moment before thee.

God shall create a Body of (9) Air, that shall cry with a loud voice on his behalf, Victory, Victory. There is none so stout as (10) Sulfagar, that Hero's Sword with two Poynts.

(8) Or Fortune, The sence is, thou knowest how to turn the world at thy pleasure, as a Mule turns the little Bell that hangs at his neck.

(9) Renown or Fame.
(10) Sulfagar is the name of Haly's sword which the Mahometans say divides it self at the end with two points.

The third Song.

Thou from whose purity the Heav'n of Unsinfulness draws its Lustre. The Sun is made a Crown of Glory of the shadow of thy Umbrello.

Jesses

Jesus the great Chymist made use of the Earth of the Portal of thy Prudence, for red Sulphur ; of which he compos'd the Takfir, and the (11) Stone Phale, by means whereof he understood all things, and heal'd all men.

(11) Stones of Divination. The Mahometans say: that when Jesus Christ was living Physick flourish'd in its highest degree of Excellency ; and that God gave him so many secrets of that Art, that he rais'd the Dead, and penetrated the very thoughts of Men.

The eternal Painter painted a great many Images, and brought to light a great many Ideas, with a design to form thy lovely Countenance ; but he found none that came near thy Beauty.

The Faulcon of thy Umbrello having extended his wings, has

found the (12) Birds of the seventh Heaven nestling under the large Feather of thy left wing.

(12) That is to say the greatest Prophet.

(13) A figure taken from the Custom of the Persians, to seal their Mines with the King's Seal, and of his Officers, because all Mines belong to the King.

Who ever has (13) seal'd his Heart with thy Love, has found that his Heart is become a Mine of precious Stones.

The most powerful Creature of all things, admir'd upon the sixth day of the Creation, that Superiority of Excellency, which thou hast above all his other Creatures.

Upon the memorable day of thy Victory, the Sweat of thy hands was to thy Enemies a profound Deluge that swallow'd 'em up like the Sea.

Thou Vulture of the heav'nly Constellation didst fly upon the Blood as a Dog upon the water.

Inspid Poet, who comparest to the Sea the sweat of the hand of thy Hero. Thou art astonish'd at the Thought that comes into thy Head, that the Sea which resembles that Sweat is the (14) blew Sea.

(14) The Heaven.

Who ever has lifted up the band of Necessity toward the Portal of thy Beneficence, he has it always return'd back full of what he desir'd.

O divine and Sacred Host! who givest the Saints to drink out of the Bason of Paradise. To speak something in thy Praise, we must needs say, that Nature is only adorn'd and enrich'd by thee.

A thousand and a thousand Years together the heavens, considering the high Price of thy pure Essence, beheld the water of the Fountain of Paradise muddy, in comparison of that.

As well God as Mahomet has always found thy Opinion the most just. The one gave thee a Sword with two poynts, the other a most incomparable Virgin.

Had not thy perfect Being been in the Idea of the Creator, Eve had been eternally a Vrgin, and Adam a Batchelor.

The fourth Song.

Great Saint, who art the true Mansion of God, as the Prophet teaches in the Book of his Sentences. Thou art also the
(16) Kebleh of the World and of Religion, the Soul of the World of Mahamed.

(17) The place toward which they are obliged to turn when they say their Prayers. Thus Jerusalem was the Kebleh of the Jews, and Mecca of the Mahometans.

Thy Mouth is the Treasure of sublimest Sense, thou hast placed thy Mouth upon the Fountain of understanding and knowledge, which is the
(17) Mouth of Mahamed.

(17) An allusion to the Kiss which the Mahometans say that Mahomet gave Haly, when he publicly appointed him his Heir and Successor, and is a prophane imitation of the manner of Christs giving his Holy Spirit to his Apostles.

Thou art the Pontiff, who art only found worthy to enter into the Sanctuary of the Great Prophet, and only Capable to stand upon the Foot-pace of Mahomet.

The hearts which thy victorious Sword continually leads to the true Religion, are the Flowers with which the Vapors of the Ocean of thy Puissance cover the Garden of Mahomet.

Since the Sphere of the Law has been illuminated by several Stars, the Moon never appear'd so clear and bright, till thou took'st upon thee the Empire of the Heaven of Mahomet.

The Angel Gabriel, Messenger of Truth, everp day kisses the Groundsil of thy Gate, as being the only way that leads to the Throne of Mahomet.

Thy Grandeur above all human Possibility is an impossible Comparison, but if any thing may compare with it, it must be the Power and Authority of Mahomet.

O sovereign King, if in the celebrating thy Praises, I should study upon what once the Wise Hassan did in the time of Mahomet.

I should not dare to presume to praise thy Majesty, since God himself has spoken thy Elogy by the Mouth of Mahomet.

The explication of thy Being cannot proceed from the Tongue of mortal men; unless we except what has been spok'n of thee by Mahomet.

But it is not the same thing with the unfolding of our own wants; for that is needless with thee. Thou knowest what they are, and thou knowest also that I am the devoted Slave of thy House, and of the Family of Mahomet.

My soul desires to fly to thee, press'd by the Obligations which I have to men; do me some Favor that may deliver me from my Obligations to Men, I conjure thee by the Soul of Mahomet.

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Turn not away thy compassionate and favourable Looks from my Countenance. O love of my Heart, cast a tender glance upon me, O heart of the Heart of Mahomet!

The fifth Song.

Minister especial elected of God for the Master of the Faithful. Thou art the Soul of the Prophet of God. We ought not to give thee any other name, O Master of the Faithful!

Thy always victorious Arm has brought under the Yoke the Heads of the most haughty Hero's of the Age, O Master of the Faithful!

The Treasures which Nature hides, and those with which it covers the Universe, are without Lustre and Price, to what thou liberally bestowest upon us, O master of the Faithful!

The sparkling Rubies cover themselves with Earth in the hollow of the Mine, ashamed of their not being bright enough to be put into thy Treasures, O master of the Faithful!

I will not say what was the difference between the Gentle Zephyrus, and the Breath of thy Mouth, which refreshes the Soul and the Heart, O master of the Faithful!

All that Jesus did with his Breath was an Emblem, but afterwards this is all. That was an Emblem which signifi'd what miracles were to be wrought by the words of thy mouth, O master of the Faithful!

How can an understanding, so short and confus'd as mine, represent the Excellency and Price of thy Majesty? O master of the Faithful!

The Universal Spirit, with its sublime Knowledge, cannot arrive at the Portal of thy wondrous Essence, O master of the Faithful!

Were there a place more exalted than the most high Throne of God, I would affirm it to be thy Place; O master of the Faithful!

That we may give thee Praises worthy of thy self, it behoves us to depaint thy wonderful Essence; but for that reason alone it is impossible to praise thee according to thy Merit, O Father of the Faithful!

Thou art all that thou deservedst to be; but who can comprehend thy merit unless it be thy God. O master of the Faithful!

We beg all as poor Beggars at the Gate of thy Beneficence, and the Kings of the world are in the number of those Beggars, O master of the Faithful!

The price of thy Favors surpasses the Capacity of human Understanding. The weight of thy Majesty and thy Glory is too heavy for the shoulders of human Understanding.

The sixth Song.

Being of an unconceivable Puissance, the Commands of Providence are executed by thy Orders. Thou canst turn with thy hand alone the vast celestial Sphere.

The Sun, under whose shadow and auspicious Omens Nature rolls, is but a glittering Beam of the Clasp of thy Girdle.

The Eternal Fountain of which the visible Ocean is not so much as a single drop, is it self but a drop to the Sea of thy Bounty.

Human Wit that divided the World into four parts, is no more with thee then an Atome of Dust. He divides his Knowledge into ten degrees: But how many degrees are requir'd to be a Canton of thy Knowledge?

(18) The Superior of the College of the Creation, Gabriel, with all his Art and Knowledge, is but a meer Scholar to thee.

The Verses of the Alcoran, which assure men of the Favor and Mercy of God, were sent from Heaven for thy sake.

'Tis too small a Praise of thy ineffable Power, to call it the Zenith of Power, since the Zenith is no more then the Nadir of the Power of thy Porter.

These two Stars which are the Eyes of the world, are two Globes, which not having been thought beautiful enough to make a part of the Structure of thy Mansion, were plac'd at the Avenues.

The Famous Bird, which is plac'd over the Roof of thy Palace, raises from the Earth the nine Vaults of Heaven like a Grain of Wheat.

Whatever the Gulph of Predestination encloses, its Wonders and its Prodigies came not to light, nor were made manifest but by thy Commandment.

The humble Slave of thy Grandeur, poor Hassen employs himself day and night every year, every month in the Country of Amul to sing thy Praises.

Devoutly he prostrates his Face to the Earth at the Gate of thy glorious Palace: He exposes to thy Eyes a sick Heart, of which he implores from thee the Cure.

Can a man conceal his Distemper from a wholsom Remedy? Certainly it is no piece of Wisdom, for a man to conceal his Distemper from an infallible and sovereign Cure.

(18) In the Elogy of the Mahumetans, it is said, that God created the World by the Ministry of Angels, which is drawn from the Theology of the Jews.

The seventh Song.

Glorious City of Nedgef, since thou art become the Mansion of the Son of the Faith, thy Territory is become more honourable then the Country of (19) Zemzen and Mecca the Holy.

(19) Abraham's Wells, of which mention is made in *Genesis*; and with whose Water the Pilgrims of Mecca are oblig'd to purify themselves, a certain number of times.

(20) The house of Abraham, to which the Alcoran commands Pilgrimage once in a man's life.

Nedgef is the true (20) Kabeh for people that seek the Truth; because the Adamant of Religion has there his Habitation.

Which is also the Son of pure Belief, the master of the Faithful; the Governor of the Kingdom of the Love of God, the Chief of the Citizens of the Heavenly Babylon.

O destroyer of Heresie! Thou art the Secretary of the Commandments of divine Inspiration: the Judge of things commanded or forbidden.

If the Idea of thee, the most noble in divine Sence were not in the world, the world would be but an imperfect and senceless Figure.

Supreme Majesty, who hast augmented the Lustre of the Supreme Throne, all Creatures incessantly praise thy Name.

The Sun is less then an Atome in the heav'n of Assemblies where thou art honour'd. And the Atomes are greater then the Sun, upon those places of the Earth where thou hast wrought thy Miracles.

(21) The ancient Kings of Persia of the first Race and Monarchs of the East.

The Crown of (21) Gerašhid is cloudy and tarnish'd before the Heron Tuft of thy Turban. The Throne of Fereydon is a wooden Bench in comparison of thy Seat.

The Glory of Salomon, who was the Glory of the Earth, was a small thing in comparison of thee, because it was only borrow'd of the durable Glory of thy servant Selmon.

The Infallibility of Predestination depends only upon thy Conduct. She is so modest as never to set her Foot before thine.

'Tis a sin to compare thee with man: for how can a lump of Earth pretend to compare with a Diamond of the clearest water?

Human Wit cannot find a man equal to thee; but by turning toward Mahomet. This is our firm and clear Faith, and I say no more.

They cry with a loud Voice upon the Gates of Paradise to those that come to visit thy Highness. You that have repented and are become good People, receive your Salary entering there for ever.

The Tomb of Sephy the first is no less Sumptuous then that of Abas. The Lamp that hangs over it is of pure Massie Gold. The Tomb which is of the same Form, of the same Bigness with that of Abas, is a piece of rare and wonderful

derful Workmanship. The Materials of which are Ivory, Ebony, Brasile, Camphir, Lignum Aloes, and other Sweet Woods.

The Workmanship is of several peices of rapport-work after the Mosaic manner, upon a bottom of Tissue in a Feild Or. The Pieces that compose the Workmanship are thin, and fasten'd together with Rivetings and Clenchings of Fine Gold. The Enchasements, Hooks, Pins, Hinges, Clasps, and in a word, whatever joynes the Pieces one to another, (for the whole Work may be taken to pieces) are all of pure Massie Gold. The Basis that supports the Tomb, is surrounded with a List in the Middle of two Frizes, upon which are written in Golden Characters of Rapport-work the 62. Chapter of the *Alcoran*; of which this is the Translation.

In the name of God clement and merciful.

Whatever is in the Heavens, and upon the Earth, celebrates the Grandeur of the most Holy and Wise God who is without compare, (in Puissance.) He has sent to his People of Mecca, a Prophet chosen from among 'em, to reveal his Testimonies to 'em. (The Verses of the Alcoran) to purifie 'em, and teach 'em the true Faith and the true Knowledge; for that assuredly before that time they wander'd in manifest Errors. Other men have not been favour'd with the same Graces. But God, who is without compare for Power and Wisdom, causes his infinite Abundance to descend where he pleases himself. The Example of those who carry'd the Old Testament in their Hands, but never in their Works, like to an Ass that carrys a Burden of Books, is a fatal Example to all Impostors, that have falsifi'd the Ancient Testimonies of God (the Old and New Testament) and they are to understand, that God ne're takes upon him the Conduct of Impostors. Tell 'em, O you that are become Jews! if you believe your selves to be more the Sons of God then other Men, wish for death, wish for it if you are real (in your words.) But they have no mind to wish for it, because of what their Hands have committed. Now God knows the unjust. Tell 'em, that Death which you flee, shall overtake ye; then shall ye return to him, that knows as well what is conceal'd, as what is discover'd. He shall set before ye all your Actions. Oh you true Believers! when they call ye to Friday Prayers, run to Celebrate the Praises of God, and let alone your private Affairs. In this it is, that reall Good consists, if you have the Wit to know it. When prayers are ended, go where you please, but never hope for the Relief of your Necessities, but in the Abundance of God; and al-

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ways have God in your Minds, perhaps you may (thereby) become happy. As for those who, drawn away in hopes of Gain or Divertisement, have left thee to enjoy their Pleasures, tell 'em, That which is with God is far better than Gain and Pleasure, and that God most assuredly is the best Provider for our Necessities.

The Tomb of *Sephy*, like that of *Abas* is cover'd with a Pall of the rich Tyssue of *Persia*, the richest that is made in any part of the world; and another over it of fine Scarlet, with a Gold Fringe round about. And the second Covering was fast'ned to the Carpet below with a string, that runs through Rings of Gold, as in *Abas's* Tomb. The Lecterns, or Desks, which are over-against it, and are made to fold one upon another are of all sweet Wood: near to which in several Niches are a great number of Books of the Law, put up in Bags of Tissue. So that a man can hardly see any thing more Beautiful and Magnificent. There is such a Neatness and Gravity mixt together with Pomp and Riches, that I never saw any thing in *Persia* that better pleased me.

All the Vessels that belong to the Chappels are of Gold and Silver. It consists in large Flambeau Branches of four and five hundred Ounces apiece in flat Dishes, wherein they serve the Poor with Victuals; in Pots to spit in, in Chafing-Dishes, Fire-shovels and perfuming Pans, and in Boxes for Grease and sweet Odors. But they never make use of the Gold Plate, unless it be upon Festivals. In the Evening they light up several Flambeaus in the Tombs and Galleries, that burn till day-light; which is also done in the middlemost Chappel, and at the Entrance. They also light up two very large ones, which they set up upon so many Stands. And eight Priests are paid and entertain'd, to read the Alcoran by turns day and night. Twelve more likewise perform the same Duty in *Sephy's* Tomb, and twenty five more in the Monument of *Abas*.

Behind the Chappels, and upon each side, are very neat Gardens, with Apartments very well furnish'd and kept in good Repair, with little Gardens belonging to every one, extremely pleasant and delightful: upon the left hand is a large Church-Yard, fifteen hundred Paces square. In which Church-Yard they bring Bodies to be bury'd from all parts of *Persia*; where it is in great Request, and every where lookt upon to be Sacred Ground. On the right side of the Structure, there is nothing but a high Brick Wall, very broad and very thick; and

and serves for a Damm against the Inundations of the River of *Com*, that runs at the foot of it.

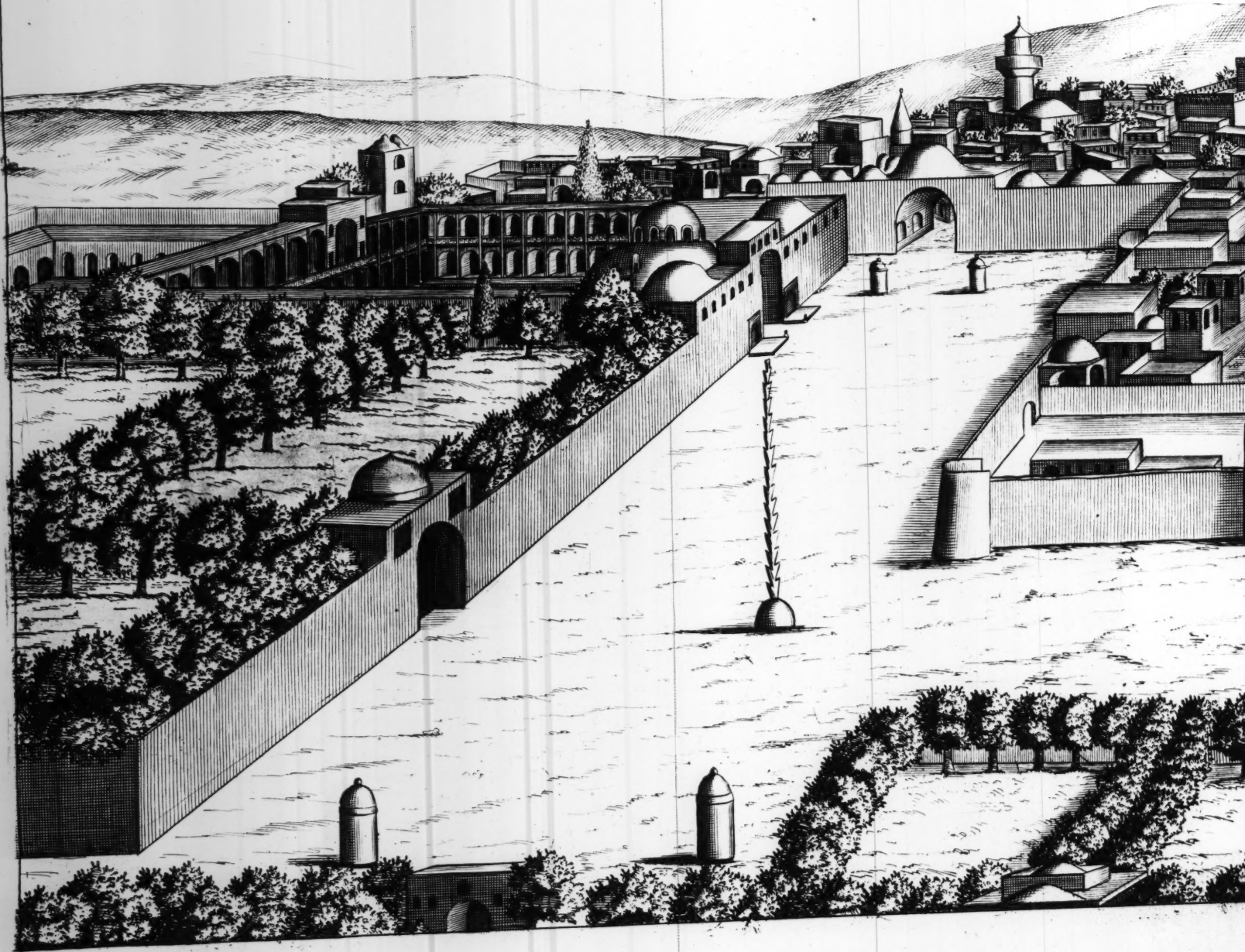
The Persians call this famous place *Massouma*, that is, *Imocent* or *Pure*, by reason of the pretended Saint that lies there enterr'd, and to whom they likewise give the same Epithet. For this word *Massouma* in the Persian Theology, signifies a Person that has acquir'd a Sanctity so habitual as never to sin more. There belongs to it a Revenue of three Thousand four Hundred Tomans, which make eleven Thousand Pounds Sterling, that is to say, fifteen Hundred Tomans for *Abas's Tomb*, a Thousand for *Sephy's*, and seven hundred for *Fathma's*. This Revenue is employ'd to keep the Places clean and neat, to repair the Decays of time, in the Building and Moveables, for the buying of Lights, and maintaining several Churchmen, and a great number of Regents and Governors, of Students and poor People. They distribute Victuals every day to all that come, and to people that are hir'd. And of all these Legacies and Revenues, three Great Lords of *Persia* have the Superintendency; every one being appointed his Chappel. He that at present takes Care of the she-Saints Chappel, is an illustrious Ancient Person, who has been *Courtshe Bash*, or Collonel of the Courtches, which is a great Body of the Militia, consisting of thirty Thousand Men. And the same Person is also Governor of *Com*.

This City contains also several other Edifices, very beautiful and sumptuous. It is a very pleasant Place, but for the Heat which is very excessive. In the Summer the River that passes by it is no bigger then a small Rivulet, but the Winter Thaws swell it to that degree with the Water that falls from the Mountains, that it not only fills its own Channel, which is as broad as the *Seine* at *Paris*, but overflows a great part of the City. They call it generally the River of *Com*; but the true Name of it is *Joubad-gan*. This City lies in 85. deg. 48. min. of Longitude, and 34. deg. 30. min. of Latitude. The Air is wholsom, but extremely hot, as I said before: for it scalds in the Summer, there being no place in all *Persia* where the Sun scorches more violently. It abounds in all manner of Victuals and Fruits, particularly in *Pistachios*. The people also are very courteous and civil.

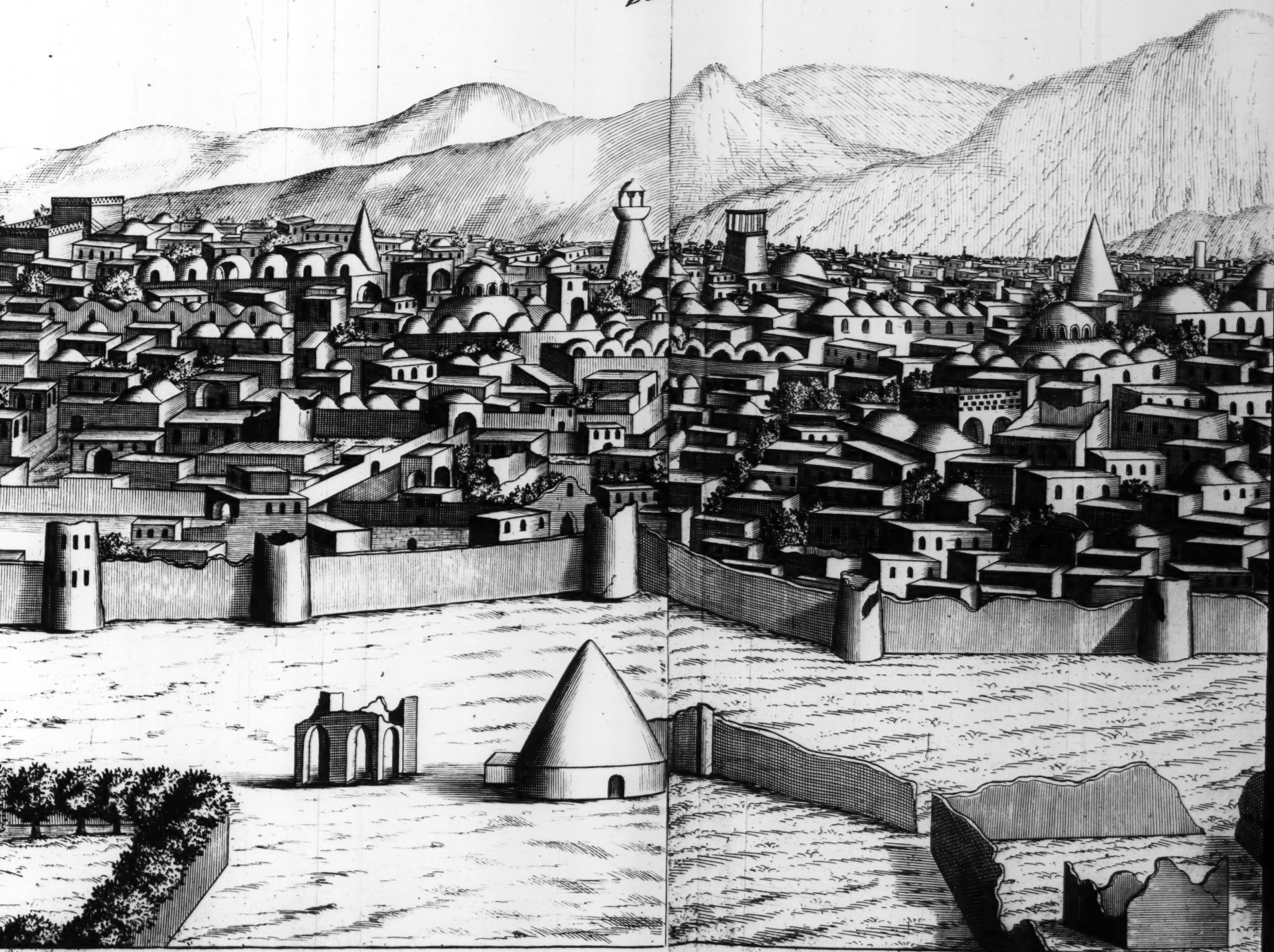
The most part of Topographers will have *Com* to be the same place which *Ptolomy* calls *Gauna*, or *Guriana*. And his Translator asserts it to be the same with *Choama*, tho others will have it to be *Arbacte*, or *Hecatompyle*. Several Histories
of

of *Persia* likewise relate this City to be very Ancient; and that it was built by *Tahmas*, when the Sun entred into *Gemini*; that it was twelve thousand Cubits in compass, and as big as *Babylon*. I must confess there is no doubt but it was very large; for there are many Ruins and Footsteps of Habitations to be seen round about it: but it is much to be question'd whether it were so Ancient as the Reign of *Tahmas*. Other Persian Histories deduce its Original from the first Age of *Mahometism*; and affirm that in the time of *Mahomet* there were in that place seven large Villages, and that in the 83 Year of the *Hegyra*, *Abdalla Saydon*, Califfe, coming into that Country with an Army, joyn'd those seven Villages together with new Buildings, enclos'd 'em with a Wall, and made 'em one City; and that afterwards this City encreas'd to that degree, that it became twice as large as *Constantinople*. For *Moufa* the Son of that *Abdalla* came from *Basra* to *Com*, and brought with him the Opinions of *Haly*, which they call the Religion of *Shia* or *Imamism*: which was always profess'd in that place even to Martyrdom, nor would the People suffer any other; and therefore *Temur-leng* being of a contrary Belief, utterly destroy'd the City. Nevertheless by degrees they repair'd one part of it again; but it did not begin to flourish until this last Age, and since that *Sephy* was there interr'd. *Abas* the Second, his Son and Successor, banish'd thither such Persons as were fallen from his Favour, to the end they might pray to God for his person, and give thanks to heaven for their Lives which he had spar'd 'em. *Soliman* at present reigning had made use of it, to the same purpose, sending thither all those whom he thought convenient to punish with Exile; and the great number of exil'd persons of Quality it was, that has restor'd the City to that Splendor wherein now it stands. In the Year 1634. an Inundation of Waters ruin'd a thousand Houses: and it is but three Years since, that an Accident of the same nature had like to have ruin'd it all together. For two thousand Houses, and all the Ancient Houses were laid level with the Earth. The Name is pronounc'd with a double *m*, as if we should write the word *Komm*. It is also call'd *Darel mouvebel-din*, that is to say, *The Habitation of pious People*. The Governor bears the Title of *Darogué* or Mayor.

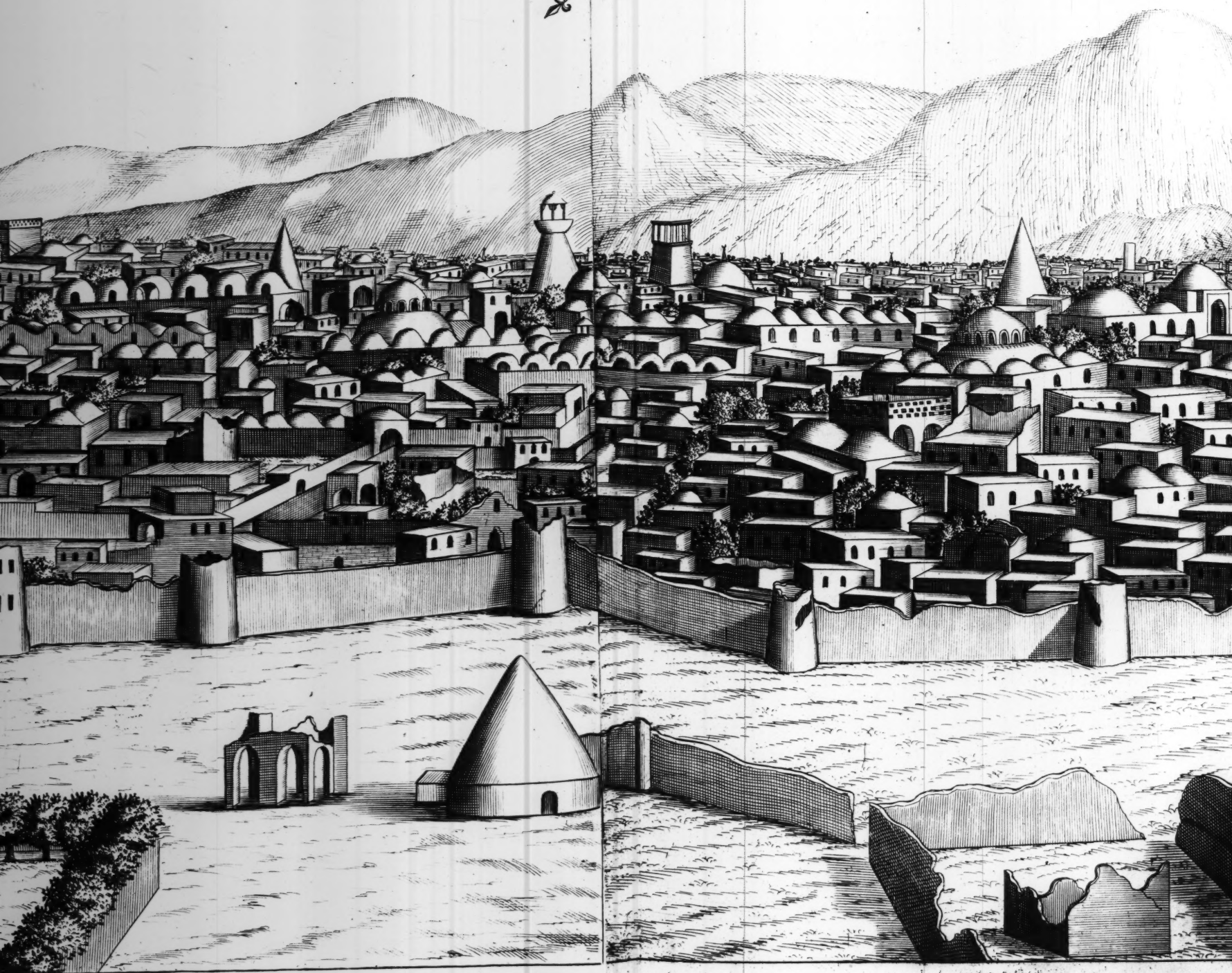
The 15. we staid at *Comm* to rest our Horses, and departed the 16. at six a Clock in the Evening. We travell'd four Leagues over delightful Plains as level as could be, fertile, and well stor'd with Villages: and yet the Soyl of *Com* appear'd

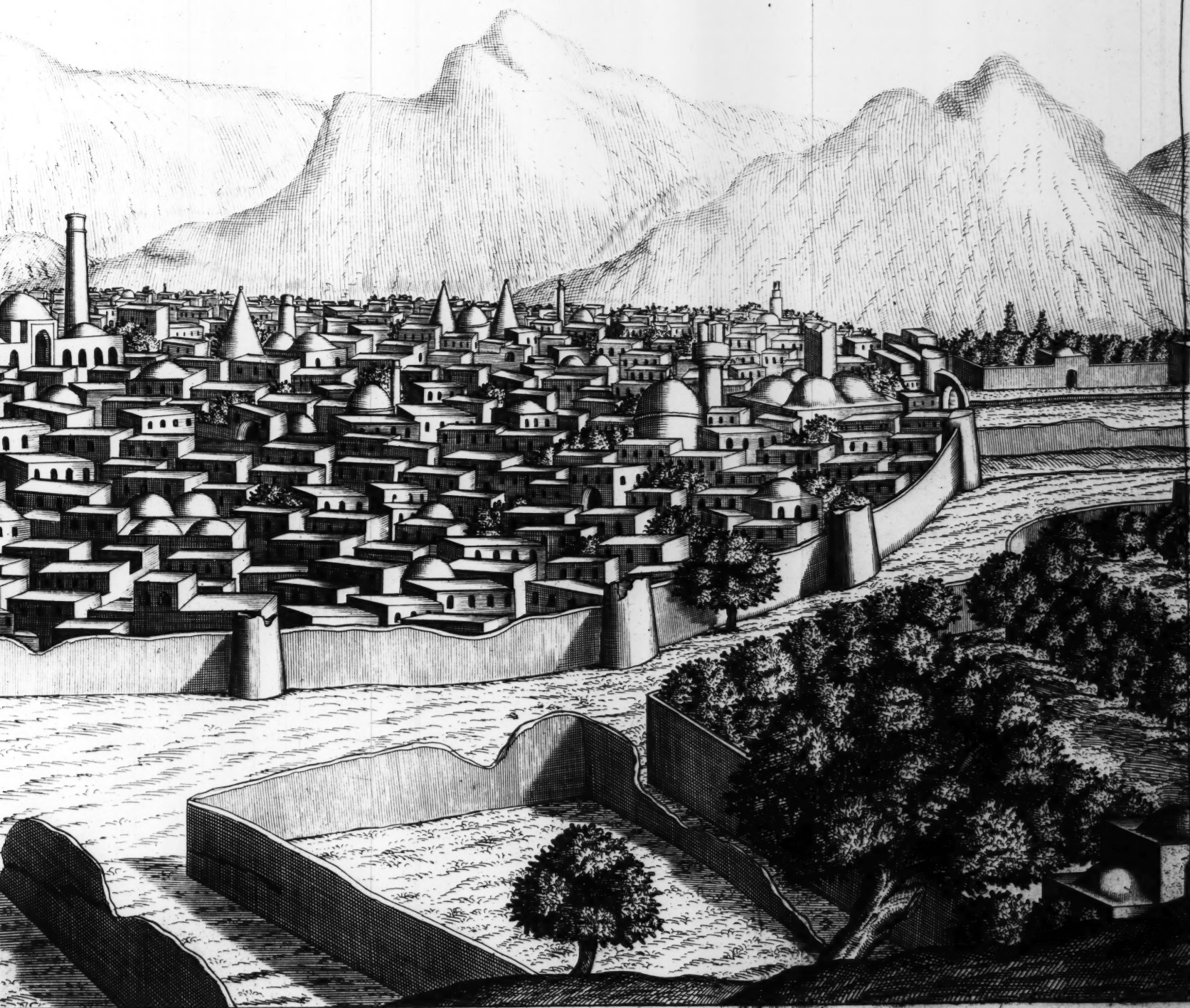


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to be somewhat dry. We found the people every where, were treading the Corn, the Harvest being already reap'd. We lodg'd at *Cassemabad*, a Town consisting of about three hundred Houses, belonging to the Queen Mother, as her Dowry.

The 17. we travell'd five Leagues cross the Plain. We found it all the way cover'd with a moving Sand, dry, without either Villages or Water. We lodg'd in a place call'd *Abshirin*, or *Sweet Water*, because there is in that place a Fountain of fair Water and Cisterns in the midst of six *Carevan-serais*.

The 18. our Journey reach'd to *Cashan*, where we arriv'd, after we had travell'd seven Leagues, steering toward the South, over the Plain already mention'd: and at the end of two Leagues, we found the Soyl delightful and fertile, stor'd with large Villages. We pass'd through several, and about half the way left upon the left hand, at a near distance, a little City call'd *Sarou*, seated at the foot of a Mountain.

The City of *Cashan* is seated in a large Plain, near a high Mountain. It is a League in length, and a quarter of a League in breadth; extending it self in length from East to West. When you see it afar off, it resembles a half Moon, the Corners of which look toward both those Parts of the Heavens. The Draught is no true Representation, either of the Bigness or the Figure; as having been taken without a true Prospect. And the reason was the Indisposition of my Painter, who being extremely tir'd with the former days Travel, was not able to stir out of the Inn, where we lay. All that he could do was to get upon the Terrass, and take the Draught from thence.

There is no River that runs by the City, only several Canals convey'd under Ground, with many deep Springs and Cisterns as there are at *Com*. It is encompass'd with a double Wall, flank'd with round Towers, after the Ancient Fashion; to which there belong five Gates. One to the East, call'd the *Royal Gate*; as being near the Royal Palace, that stands without the Walls. Another call'd the *Gate of Fieu*; because it leads directly to a great Village, which bears that name. Another between the West and North, call'd the *Gate of the House of Melic*; as being near to a Garden of Pleasure, which was planted by a Lord of that Name. The two other Gates are opposite to the South-East, and North-East. The one call'd *Com Gate*, and the other *Ispahan Gate*; because they lead to

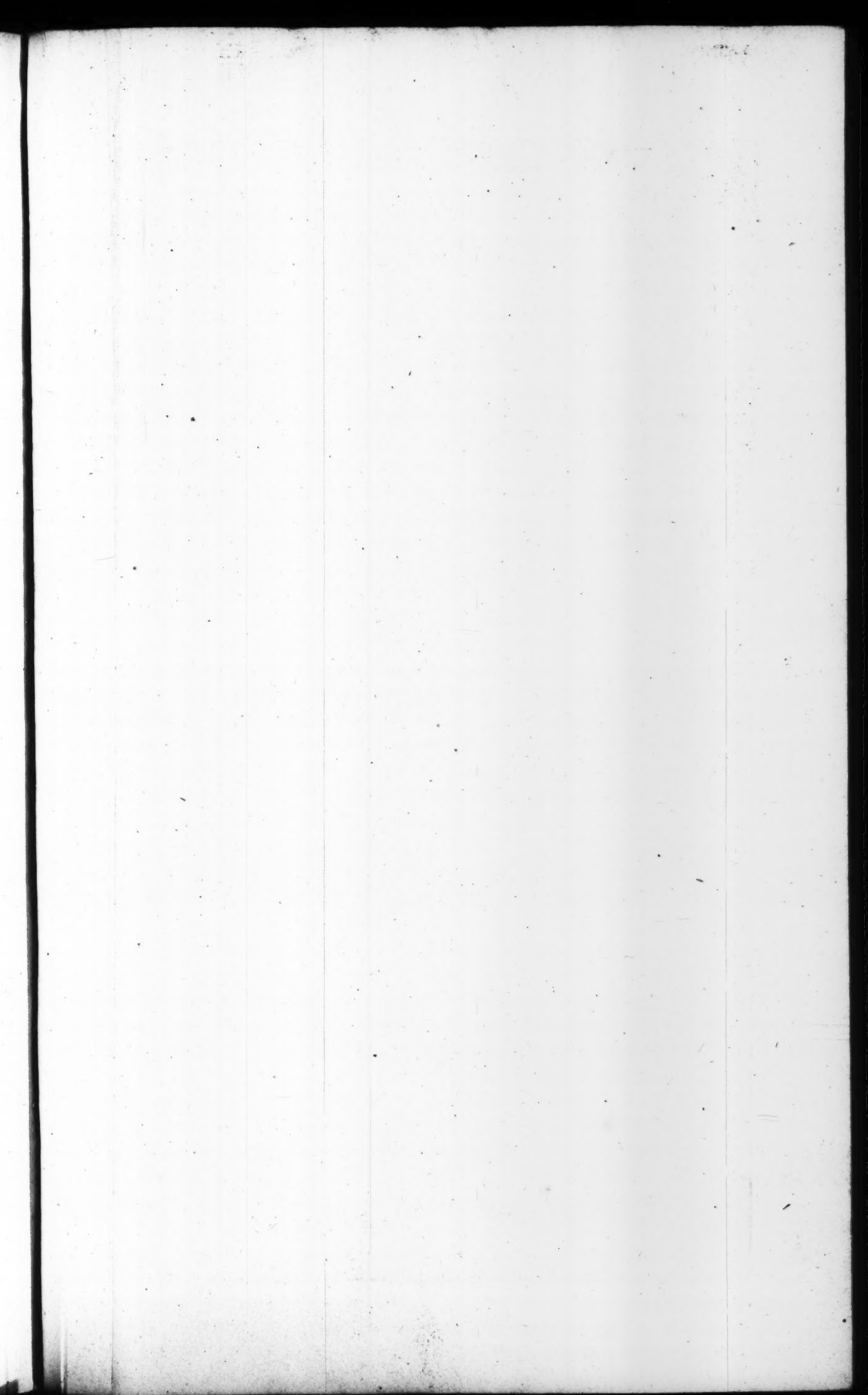
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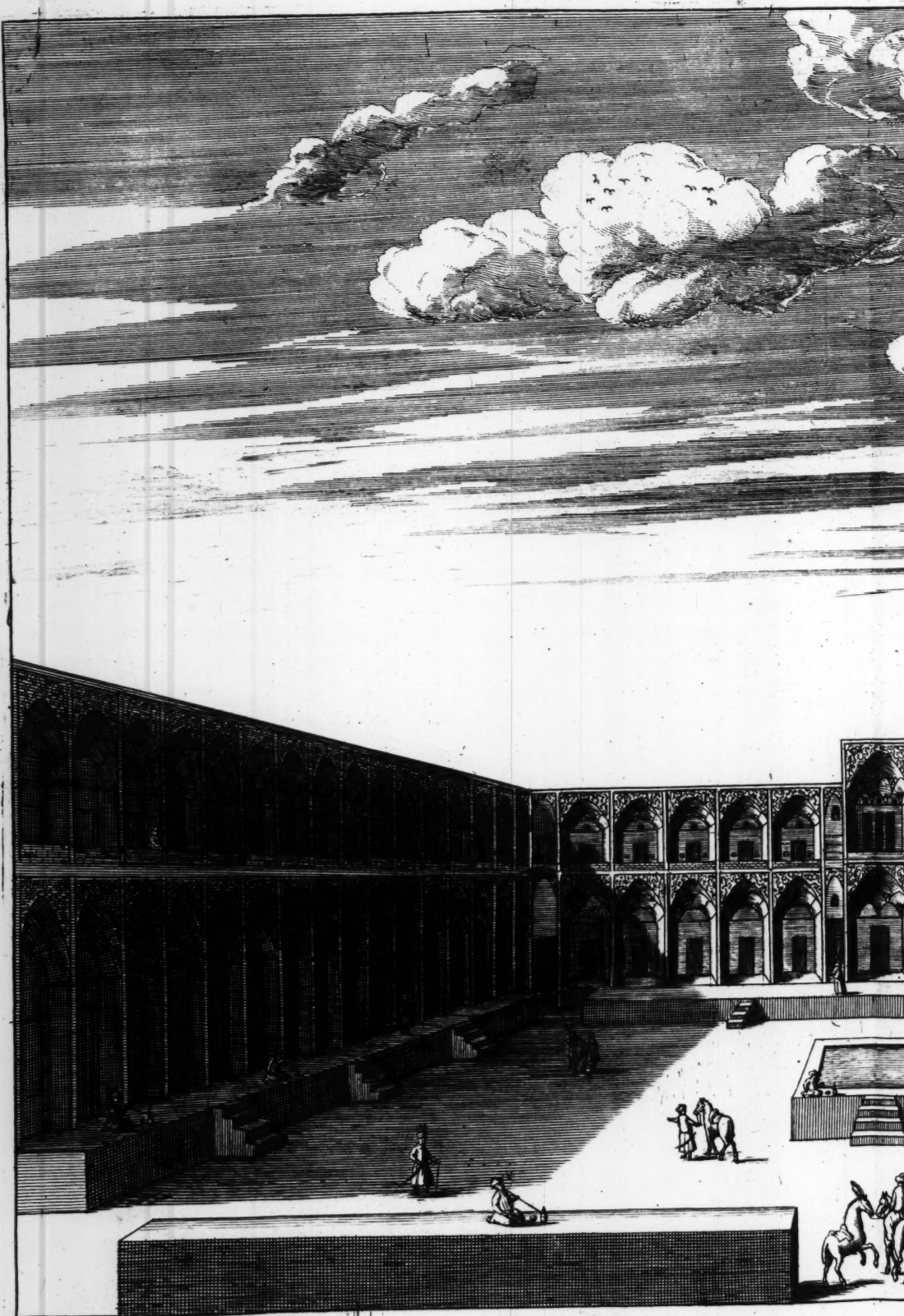
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those Cities. The City and the Suburbs, which are more beautiful than the City, contain six thousand five hundred Houses, as the People assure us; forty Mosques, three Colleges, and about two hundred Sepulchres of the Descendants of *Aly*. The Principal Mosque stands right against the great Market Place, having one Tower, that serves for a Steeple, built of Free Stone. Both the Mosque and the Tower are the Remains of the Splendour of the first Mahumetans, who invaded *Persia*.

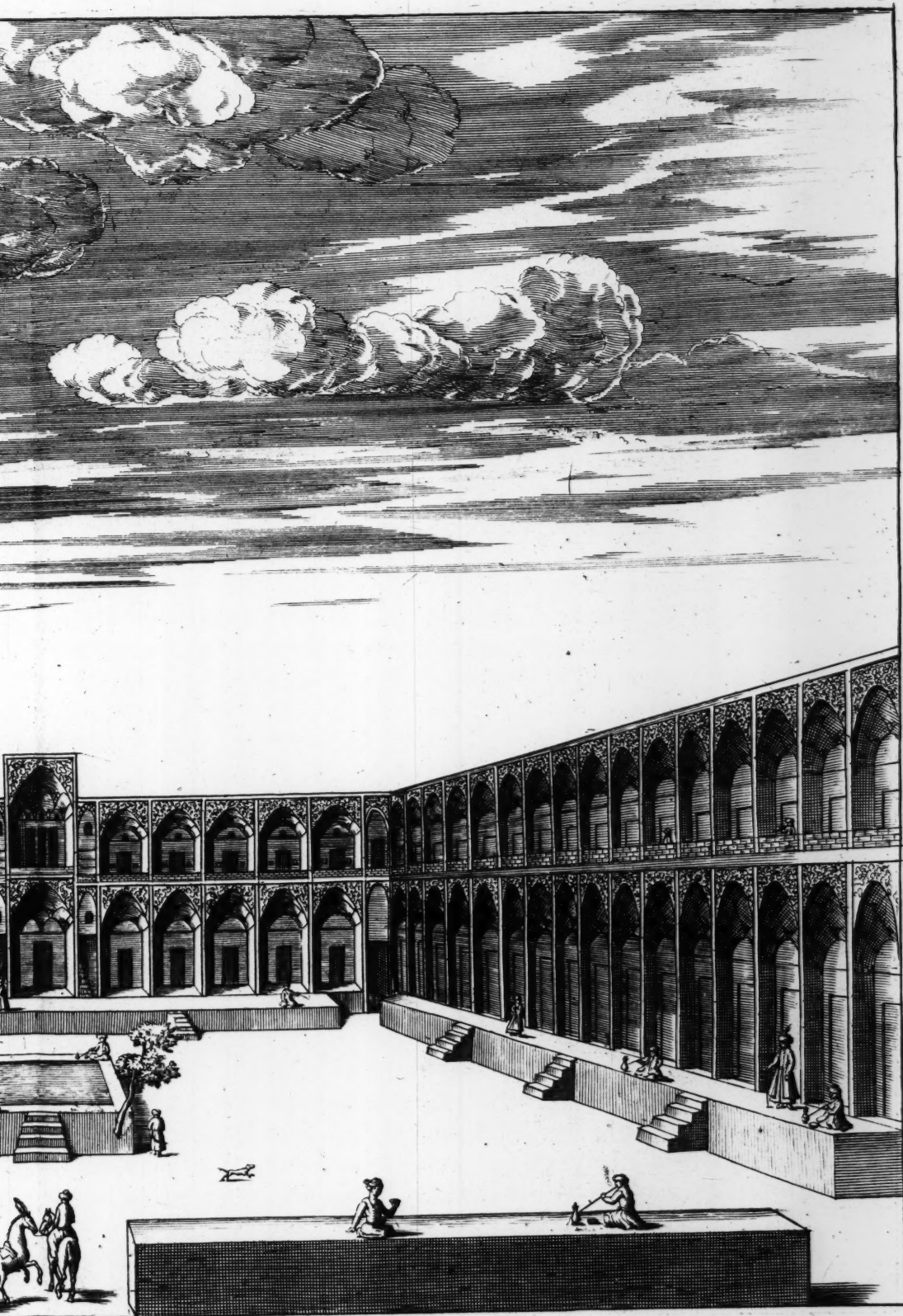
The Houses of *Cashan* are built of Earth and Bricks, of which there few that are remarkable. But the Bazars and Baths are lovely Structures, well built and well kept. There are also several Inns. That which is call'd the *Royal Inn* without the City, joyning to the Gate that looks toward the East, is the fairest not only in *Cashan*, but in all *Persia*. It is four square, every front within-side being two hundred Geometrical Paces, and two Stories with an Anti-Chamber, or Hollow-ness below that runs all-along the length of the two Fronts, rais'd about the height of a man above the Court, and four Inches below the level of the Chamber. It is eight foot deep, pav'd with white Marble, almost as transparent as Pophiry. The Stories on the sides contain fifteen Chambers of the same Figure: the two others had but ten, with a large one in the middle, having five Chambers. The other Apartments consisted of one Chamber, fifteen foot long and ten broad, high and vaulted, with a Chimney in the middle, and a square Portico before, ten foot wide, cover'd with a half *Duomo*, with a Contrivance for a Chimney on each side; which was for the Servants to lodge in. The second Story was contriv'd like that below, with a Baluster four foot high, that let in the Light, and ran round the Structure. In the Geometrical Part of the Draught, you may perceive a Hexagonal in the midst of the Entrance, every Front of which is a large Shop, where are to be sold all manner of Belly-Timber, Wood and Forrage. The Entrance is under a high and magnificent Portal, adorn'd with *Mosaic* Work, like all the rest of the Building; and upon the sides runs a Portico, where you may lie in the day time as conveniently and as pleasantly, as in the Inn it self. The Fountain in the middle of the Court is rais'd above five foot: and the Brims of it are four foot broad, for the Convenience of those that will say their Prayers after they have perform'd their Purifications.

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T INN IN CASHAN.

There is also somewhat that does not appear in the Draught, that is to say, the hinder part of the *Carevanferay*, which is worthy to be observ'd in this place. For it consists of very large Stables, with places for Servants and Luggage, built almost according to the same Symmetry, as the Apartments already mention'd; at least as to the Form and Bigness of store-Houses, and Lodgings for the Poor, and the Country people that bring their Goods to sell; and the large Gardens, that lie behind this lovely *Palace of a Caravanferay*: no less famous for its Founder *Abas* the Great, who caus'd this sumptuous Structure to be erected. Near adjoining to it stands the Palace Royal; and over against it, another design'd for the Lodging of Embassadors. Both the one and the other, with very large Gardens behind 'em, were built at the Charges of that Renowned Monarch: besides that there is in the middle a void Space for their Carousels, and other Exercises on Horseback.

The Wealth and Trade of *Cashan* consists in the Manufactory of all sorts of Silk, Stuffs, and Tissues of Gold and Silver. There is not made in any place of *Persia* more Sattin, Velvet, Tabby, Plain Tissue, and with Flowers of Silk, or Silk mingled with Gold and Silver, then is made in this City, and the Parts round about it: so that one single Borrough in this Territory, contains a thousand Houses of Silk-Weavers. That which is call'd *Aron*, seeming at a distance to be a good big City, as containing in it no less than two thousand Houses, and six hundred Gardens: It is about two Leagues from *Cashan*.

The City of *Cashan* stands in a good Air, but violently hot, insomuch that it is ready to stifle yee in the Summer. Which extream Heat is occasion'd by its Situation; as lying near a high Mountain oppos'd to the South. The Reverberation of which so furiously heats the place in the Dog-Days, that it scalds again. Besides, there is one greater Inconvenience more troublesome and more dangerous, which is the great number of Scorpions that infest those parts at all times, especially when the Sun is in *Scorpio*: Travellers are terribly threatened by 'em: And yet for my part, (thanks be to God) I never saw any in all the time that I pass'd through the Country. Neither could I hear of any great Mischief that they had done. It is said, that *Abas* the Great's Astrologers in the Year 1623. invented a *Talisman* to deliver the City from those Vermin; since

since which time there has not appear'd so many as before. But there is no Credit to be given to these idle stories; no more then to that same other, that if Travellers stopping at *Cashan*, are but careful at their entrance into their Inns, to speak these words, *Scorpions, I am a Stranger, meddle not with me*, no *Scorpion* will come near 'em. For these are meet Tales. However certain it is, that their sting is very dangerous: And therefore it has given occasion to an Imprecation frequently in the Mouths of the Persians, *May the Scorpions of Cashan sting thy Golls*. However there is no Body, but has by him several sovereign Remedies against the sting of this Creature. This City lies in 35. deg. 35. min. of Lat. and 86. deg. of Longitude. Cattel and wild Fowl are not very plentiful in those parts; but it abounds in Corn and Fruits. They carry from thence to *Isfahan*, the first Melons and Water-Melons which are eaten in that City; which they furnish with vast numbers, as long as the season for Fruit endures.

Several European Authors hold *Cashan* to be same place, which the Ancient Greek Authors call *Ambrodux*, or else that which was call'd *Ctesiphon* of the Country of the *Parthians*. The Persian Historians aver, that it owes its Restauration to *Zebd-leca-ton* the Wife of *Haron-Reshid*, Califf of *Bagdat*. They observe moreover, that this Princess was a Virgin when she first began to build the City, and that for that reason she laid the first Stone when the Sun enter'd *Virgo*. She gave it the name of *Casan* in honour of *Casan* her Grand-father, the Grand-child of *Haly*, who di'd and was enterr'd in that Place; of which there happened some alteration afterwards, through the error of pointing: For it is well known to people versed in the Eastern Languages, that such a mistake so easily committed, changes the letter *S*, into that which is call'd *Shin*. *Tamerlan*, being become Master of this City, spar'd it in a Humour, as they say, when he had destroy'd almost all the other Cities of *Persia*. It is call'd by another name *Darel-mou-menin*, or the *Habitation of the Faithful*; either because the Descendants from *Aly*, and his first Followers made it a Sanctuary and Retreat during the Persecutions of the *Califfs*, who would not embrace his Opinions, but held a contrary belief; or else because a great number of the Descendants of that Califf lie there enterr'd. Their Graves are confus'd among those that lie buried round bout; the Monuments that were erected over 'em having bin beaten down by the *Turks* and *Tartars*, that invaded those places;

places ; and sacrific'd those structures to the honour of their Saints, the grand Enemies and Persecutors of the Descendants of *Aly*. They made search for these Graves, after the Califf became Master of the City again : but how easily they may be deceiv'd in this search is no difficult thing to conjecture. For in the Year 1667. they found out one that put the whole City into confusion. For they affirm'd the Grave upon which a large Monument had been built a hundred years before, out of an assurance that one of *Aly's* descendants was buried there, to be the Sepulcher of one *Yuzbec*, a Preacher. The People enrag'd that they had worshipp'd for a whole Age together a Place in their Opinion more worthy of Execration, ran in a heat to pull down the Monument, dug down the Earth that was at the top, and round about it, and made a common road over it. But what happen'd afterwards is much more Remarkable. And that is this, that one of the great *Persian* Doctors undertook to write a Treatise, on purpose, that there was never any such person as *Yuzbec* buried there. Upon which the People again offended to see themselves made the sport of their Doctors fancies, have left the place as indifferent, and will neither pollute, nor give it Reverence. The Governor of *Cashan* carries the Title of a *Darogué*, as do all the other Governors of the City's of *Parthia*. A Lord that was one of my good Friends, call'd *Rustan-bec*, Brother to several Governors Provinces had the Government of that City, the first time that I pass'd through it. The two years of his Government being ended, the City was so well satisfi'd in his conduct, that they sent some of their Members to petition that he might be continu'd two years longer, but their Petition was rejected, as being contrary to custom to continue such Officers longer then the usual time.

The 19. our Horses were so tir'd that we were forc'd to stay at *Cashan*. We departed the 29. and travell'd seven Leagues ; the two first cross the Plain where the City was built : the rest over a Mountain which was of a good height, but not difficult to ascend. At the top we met with a very large and fair *Caravanferay*, and a little further with a wide Lake, which serves for a Receptacle to receive the melted Snow and Rain that falls from the Parts thereabouts ; from whence they let go the water into the Plain of *Cashan*, as they have need.

Abas the Great, rais'd up two strong Dams about it, to the end it might hold more Water; and to prevent the Water from wasting. He also caus'd several Causeys to be made in the same place for the Convenience of Travellers. Being descended from the Mountain, you enter into a deep Valley, very narrow and about a League in length: all which space of Ground is stor'd with Houses, Vineyards, and Gardens so close one to another, that it seems to be but one Village of a League in length. Several delightful and clean Streams derive their Springs from that Plain, which preserve the Air wonderfully cool all the Summer; so that it is a place the most charming and delightful that a man shall meet with in that scorching Climate. For the Sun has so little Power there, that the Roses were not then blown; the Corn and Fruit were also then green and but half ripe; and yet they had reap'd their Harvest, and had eaten ripe Fruit a *Cashan* at month before. We lodg'd at the end of that lovely Plain, in a *Caravanferay* there built, which they call'd *Carou*.

Some of our own modern Authors assert, That this Valley was the Place where *Darius* was murder'd, which is not improbable; for that the History observes, that *Bessus* and *Nabarzanes*, after they had committed that Treacherous Murder upon the Prince, took several Roads, the one for *Hyrkania*, and the other for *Bactriana*; and *Cashan* is exactly the Place that leads directly to those two Provinces.

The 21, we travell'd eight Leagues; two along the foot of the Mountains between which that Valley lies; and six in a pleasant Vale, stor'd with a great number of Villages: where we met with several *Caravanferay's* upon the Road; we alighted at one that was larger and fairer then the rest, call'd *Aga-Kemal*, from the name of a rich Merchant that built it, and several other publick Structures about *Ispahan*.

The 22. our Journeys was not above five Leagues in the same Plain, where *Aga-Kemal* stands. We travell'd so hard, that by nine a Clock at night we arriv'd at *Moutshacour*, which is a large Village consisting of about five hundred Houses, where there are several Inns and Gardens, and great plenty of Water,

The 23. we set forward late, to the end we might not come to *Ispahan* before day. We travell'd the nine Leagues, which we had to ride; over lovely Plains, still directing our Course

Course to the South as in our former Journeys : and pass'd by so many *Caravanferays* and Villages, drawing near that great City, that we thought our selves in the Suburbs, two hours before we got thither. We enter'd the City by five a Clock in the Morning, all in good health, Thanks be to God.

The end of the First Book.



Good night and to his wife

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THE
CORONATION
OF
SOLYMAN III.
THE PRESENT
King of Persia.

By Sir JOHN CHARDIN.

The CORONATION of S O L Y M A N

The Third of that Name

And the Two hundred thirty fourth King of Persia.



Such was the End of *Habas* the second of Glorious Memory, that his Death may well be look'd upon to have been a Judgment of Heaven upon that Potent Empire which he all along so prudently governed; and as a Misfortune that at the same time beset several Millions of People that were under his Dominion. The *Persians* never speak of him, but they give him all the *Encomiums* of a Magnanimous Prince, whose Courage and good Conduct had already contributed, in an extraordinary manner, to the Re-establishment of their Country: and who had questionless restored it to its ancient Splendor, and to a perfect Prosperity, had his Life been of a longer continuance. In a word, they had great reason to promise themselves, that he would have rendred both the one and the other Diuturnal as well as Universal, in regard his Heroic Vertues had Crowned him with Victory before he had arrived to the Age of nineteen Years, by the Conquest of the City and whole Province of *Kaud-dar*, bordering upon the utmost Confines of the whole Kingdom; and that too, from an Enemy no less Powerful than the *Indian* Monarch; and afterwards when he defended it against the whole Force of the same Prince, Mustered together in one Body to regain it. The same Virtues they were that made him formidable to his Potent Neighbours, the Duke of *Muscovy*, the Monarch of the *Tartars*, and the Puissant King of *India* himself: Who being discouraged by the Ill success of his first Enterprize of which we have already given an account, would never venture any more to molest him.

The same transcendent Virtues in a Breast so truly Royal, even at the very time that Death surprized him, spur'd him on to extend his Dominions towards the North and East. And the Preparations which he had made for that purpose, gave the whole World occasion to fear that his Design would infallibly succeed. The Christians, who had the happiness to live under his Subjection, to this day lament in private his Decease, not only as a King, but as a Parent. For his Justice and his Good-

A a a a

ness

ness would never suffer any violence to be offered them, or that they should be disturbed for their Religion, which they had free Liberty to exercise during his Reign, as being a Person in whom those Royal Virtues were steadfast and unalterable: which always prevented the Fury of the Cruel and Impious *Mahometans* from molesting the Peace and Tranquillity of their Lives or Estates. And hence it is that Strangers still and ever will bewail his loss and bear in Remembrance his more than ordinary Endowments; as He that by his Affability and Liberality invited them continually to his Court and Cities under his Obedience, and employed a great part of the Tribute which he drew from his Subjects in the purchase of their costly Merchandise which they brought along with them, paying both generously and punctually what they in reason demanded.

Toward the Conclusion of that account which we have given of the Life of this Great Prince, we have shewn that the cause of his Death was that same nauseous Distemper which good Manners will not permit to be named, and of which the Pollution is yet more unseemly; and which notwithstanding all the Endeavours of Art to conceal it, displays it self in the Faces of the Diseased, and publishes with Ignominy their frequent Converse with lewd Women: We have also told you that his Death happened in one of his Houses of Pleasure seated in the Province of *Teber Estoon*, two Leagues from *Damagaan*, according to the Persian Geographers lying in 78. Degrees, and 15. Minutes of Longitude, and 37. degrees, 20. Minutes of Latitude, twelve days Journey from the Capital City of the Empire, and nine days Journey from the *Caspian Sea*: And this house of Pleasure inviting several of the Country People to settle round about it, was the Reason that at length it grew to be a considerable Village, to which the *Persians* gave the Name of *Cosroe-Abaad*, or the Habitation of *Cosroes*, who was a Prince, formerly Governour of the Province where this Village is situated; and the same that built this Palace of Pleasure, in the Reign of *Sefi* the first, Grandfather to the present King. But not long after this *Cosroes* falling into Disgrace, the King confiscated his House and all his Estate after he had put the Governour himself to Death, of which I shall say no more at present, as being a Subject not proper for this Place.

We have also in the same Relation set down the Time of this Prince's unfortunate Decease, which happened upon the 26. of the Moon which they call *Rabeia el Atier de l'Egere* 1077. or according to the Christian Account, upon the 25. of September,
1666.

1666. about four a clock in the Morning, at what time the first glimpse of Daylight-Dawn began to appear, Eternal darkness closing the Eyes of that Great Monarch at the very Moment that Day began to give Light to his Subjects in their several Callings.

We have also farther related, how that an Hour before, the Principal Eunuchs observing in the Prince's Eyes the Signs of Approaching Death, thought it fit to put out of the Room all the Women that were with him, for fear lest at the moment of his last Gasps, the Transports of their Grief, and their loud Outcries, might discover a Secret, which it was so necessary at that time to conceal. To that purpose they perswaded them that the King was asleep, and desired them therefore to retire for fear of disturbing his Repose. This had been prudently done, if the persons that seemed to be so wise, had had sufficient Resolution and Courage themselves. But at the Fatal Moment they could not themselves forbear to cast forth those loud sighs, which betrayed the Truth to the Ladies, so that they had presently alarm'd the whole Camp with their Piercing Cries and Lamentations, had not the Eunuchs besought them to forbear but for a while, at a time when the welfare of the Empire lay at Stake. To which the disconsolate Princesses submitted as much as the Importunity of their Grief would give them leave.

And here we are to observe by the way, that the Reason why the Women upon such occasions are so deeply afflicted, is not only for the loss of the King their Husband, but for the loss of that shadow of Liberty which they enjoyed during his Life. For no sooner is the Prince laid in his Tomb, but they are all shut up in particular Houses, pleasant enough 'tis true for their Situation, and where they want for nothing, but what is all in all to them, their only happiness in this World, Conversation with Men. Which is a Satisfaction so severely debarred them, that they are not allowed so much as the sight of a Man.

The Eunuchs therefore having consulted among themselves, in the midst of their fears lest the Croud of over-hasty Visitors pressing in at unseasonable hours, should awaken suspicious Curiosity, resolved to stay till the Sun was up, and then to give Notice of the Kings Death to the two Chief *Ministers of State*, who were two Illustrious Personages, that had had the Management of Affairs under the deceased King, with an Authority almost equal to his own. To which purpose they deputed two of their Society, the *Mehter*, whose Office in the *Persian Court* answers to that of our *High-Chamberlain*, according to the mean-

ing of the *Arabian* word, which signifies the *Highest*. The other deputed Eunuch was called the *Aga-Kasfour*, a Person already well in years, and the chiefest of those that had the Custody of the Kings Treasury ; as to whom the Prince had more particularly entrusted all his Jewels.

These two came to the chief Ministers Lodgings, as if they had been sent by his Majesty, caused them to put forth all the Women out of the Room, and then informed them of the Death of *Habas* the Second, giving them an exact and punctual Account ; which was, That the day before, toward the Evening, after those Ministers were retired from the Kings Presence, the Prince had eaten heartily certain Sweet-Meats which his Wives had provided ; after which he seemed to be much better than he had been for some time before, till about Nine of the Clock at Night ; at what time of a sudden he fell into a Swoon, whereupon they ran to him and laid him upon his Bed : That about Eleven of the Clock he came again to himself, not without some disturbance of his Senses. That after that his Pains augmented, not having received any Benefit from two Medicins that he had taken by the Direction of his Physicians : That about Two of the Clock in the Morning the Violence of his Distemper slackned ; but returning about Three, put him into a *Delirium* that lasted about half an Hour : but the next half hour he took some Rest. But toward four in the Morning, his Eyes then faintly rolling in his Head, gave evident signs of Deaths Approach : so that at the same instant he expired without any other Motion, that they could say, they perceived him die. Nor indeed had he testified during the whole Course of his Sicknes that he had the least Apprehension or Fear of Death : Inasmuch that he had left no Orders either as to the Disposal of his Body, nor as touching his Family nor Successor, only in the height of his last Fit, turning his Head toward the Publick Apartment, he utter'd with some kind of Fury these words ; *I know that you have poisoned me, but you shall drink a good share of the Poyson ; for I leave behind me a Son who after my Death shall devour your very Hearts.*

This News did not a little surprise the two Ministers, who did not believe the Kings Sicknes had been so mortal, or at least that it would have killed him so soon : and they had just reason, both, to bewail their loss ; but the second displayed more visible signs of his Grief, as losing infinitely much more than his Companion.

For *Habas*, observing a Piece of Policy not usual among the *Persians*, resolved to counter-balance the Power of his Prime Minister,

Minister, believing it would be of advantage to the Government, that Emulation should render his *Ministers* more intent upon their Duty : Which was the reason that he advanced this second Person to that Degree, that he was nothing inferior in Authority to the first, and put into his Hands the most important Affairs of the Kingdom.

It was very probable that *Habas's* Successor, would not be of his Fathers judgment, but that all things would return to their first Method. Which most sensibly touched the second Minister, who saw himself tumbling into a more Private Condition ; and that there was no higher Employment to be expected for him, unless it were the Superintendency of the Kings Household ; which was nothing comparable to the present Offices which he enjoyed.

So that he could not forbear at first from manifesting the Excess of his Grief, but the *Persian* Lords being accustomed to dissemble, he soon composed his Countenance and moderated his Sorrows. Which having done, he told the Eunuch, that the *Grandees* of the Empire should be privately called together, and that he would forthwith appoint both Time and Place for their Meeting, which was the Answer also of the first Minister to the High Chamberlain.

In the mean time the two chief Physicians *Mirza-Sahid* and *Mirza-Koudchek* his Brother, considerable Lords in the *Persian* Court (for in the Eastern Countries Physicians are much more highly esteemed and advanced than in *Europe*,) these Lords, I say, coming to the Door of the Royal Apartment for the Women, presently after the two great Eunuchs were gone, there had notice of the Kings Death, and consequently of their own Ruin. For that according to the Custom of that Empire, the Life of the two chief Physicians, or at least their Fortune and Estates depend upon the Life of the Prince whom they attended in his Sickness. For the same Week that the King died, they are exiled to some remote and prefixed Place, whither they are not suffered to carry any more of their Estates along with them than will suffice for a bare Maintenance ; the rest is Confiscated. Which was also their lot, as shall be said in due place.

But neither the loss of their Master, nor of their Liberty had so disordered their judgments, as to hinder them from consulting their own preservation at such a ticklish Conjunction. Only one thing disturbed them more than all the rest, and that was the Report of the Kings last words, when he complained of being Poysoned. For there was enough in those words to condemn them

them to the severest of Torments, if the succeeding Prince should give credit to those last Speeches of a Dying Monarch.

To rid themselves therefore from these Fears, they resolved between themselves, to throw the Election upon the Youngest of all *Habas's* Sons, who being as yet but an Infant, would in all likelihood continue a long time under the Tuition of his Mother, and his Ministers, from whom they could not expect to suffer any thing that was Fatal or Dreadful.

And here we must observe that *Habas* the second left behind him two Sons; or at least I never heard that he left any more. Nor is it known whether he left any Daughters or no. For what is done in the Womens Apartment is a Mystery concealed even from the Grandees and Prime Ministers. Or if they know any thing, it is merely upon the account of some particular Relation or dependence which the Secret has to some peculiar Affair which of necessity must be imparted to their Knowledge. For my part I have spared neither for pains nor cost to sift out the Truth: But I could never discover any more, only that they believed he never left any Daughter behind him that lived. A man may walk a Hundred days one after another by the House where the Women are, and yet know no more what is done there, than at the farther end of *Tartary*.

Now of these two Sons of *Habas* the Eldest who was called *Sofie-Mirza*, was then entering into his one and twentieth Year; being Born in the year of the *Egire*, 1057. for the superstition of the *Persians* will not let us know the Month or the Day. Their Addiction to Astrology is such that they carefully conceal the Moments of their Prince's Birth, to prevent the Casting their Nativities, where they might meet perhaps with something which they should be unwilling to know. His Father begot him at Eighteen years of Age enamoured of a *Circassian* Slave, or *Cherkes*, in the *Persian* Language; whose extraordinary Beauty and rare Endowments so won the Affection of that Monarch that she was the first of all his Women that he chose for a Wife; For which reason during her Husbands Life she was called *Nekaat Kanum*, or the *Lawful Dutcheß*; tho there were also other Women, which were his Lawful Wives according to the Law and Custom of that Country.

This Eldest Son, according to Custom was bred up in the Womens Palace, and committed to the Care of certain Eunuchs under the Eye of his Mother and his Nurse. who was a Lady of great Quality, and the Wife of *Mustausie-Elmemalek*, which according to the force of the *Persian* words, signifies a Watcher

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over *Kingdoms*. There he was bred up with all the Tenderness and Pomp, that his High Birth required, and enjoyed all the Liberty that could be allowed to a Person of his Quality; which was to go up and down over all that spacious Palace where he pleased himself: for to go further into the Mens Apartments is by no means permitted those young Princes.

When he arrived at the Age of seventeen Years, an Accident befel him that rendered his Confinement much more close. For it happened that an Eunuch brought him some Peices of Cloth of Tissue, at what time the Prince being of a haughty Temper, and not thinking them Rich enough, rejected them with very scornful and slighting Language: nor was he better pleased when it was told him that the Peices were sent him by the Order of the King his Father. Which being carried back and perhaps aggravated to the jealous Monarch; his Majesty believing that the overmuch Liberty which was allowed the young Prince did but serve to heighten his Arrogance and augment his natural Pride, confined him to the remotest Part of all the Palace.

Some persons were of opinion that he would have caused his Eyes to have been put out. But when they found that the Walls of the Place to which he was confined were ordered to be raised, the more Intelligent Sort believed that the King would not proceed to that Extremity of Rigour; for that he would not have been so careful to prevent the Escape of one that was Blind, whose Misfortune would have been sufficient to render him incapable to attempt any Enterprize of that nature.

However when the King was setting forward for *Mazendaran* in the year 1665. according to our Computation, his Actions were such, that even the Grandees and most Politick Courtiers began to suspect that he had then determined the Dreadful Execution. For he was not gone above Eight Leagues from *Ispahan*, when he turned back again of a sudden toward the City with a very small Retinue, without imparting his Design to any one of all his Favourites: but when he arrived, all that he did was to enter unexpected into the Womens Apartment, where after he had staid about two hours, he came forth again very Pensive and Melancholy.

Of which the Courtiers not being able to conjecture any other apparent Cause, attributed it to some Fatal Resolution which the King had taken against the Prince his Son. Tho as it appeared afterwards they were all deceived in their judgments, and that there was another Motive that put him upon this swift and sudden return.

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For as to what concerned this Young Prince, his Father was satisfied with his close Confinement in a Quarter of the Apartment remote from the rest, in the Company of his Mother and such Ladies as the King had appointed to attend her without stinting her any Number : committing him also to the farther care of the Great Eunuch *Aga-Nazir*, or the *Perspicacious Lord*, to observe his Action, and to prevent him from attempting any dangerous Enterprize.

This Word *Nazir* most usually signifies some Superintendant or General Overseer. And therefore the Person last mentioned, besides that he had the Tuition of the Prince, was Entrusted also with the Government of the Womens Palace, and to overlook the Management of all Affairs of the Royal Household in *Jepahan*, an Employment which gave him great Credit and caused him to be respected both in the Court and City. In both which Places he was highly esteemed till the Death of his Master, being as it were the Lieutenant and next to the Grand Superintendant of the Kingdom, who is likewise stil'd the *Nazir*.

As for the Younger Son, he was about Eight Years of Age when his Father Died, being Born in the year of the *Egira* 1069. of an *Iberian* Lady or *Gurgi*, as the *Persians* call them; to whom they gave the Title of *Nour-Nissa-Kanum*, which Signifies word for word, *Dutchesss the Light of Women*: the Young Prince himself being called by the Name of *Hamzeh Mirza*: Tho I never could find or learn the true Signification of this word *Hamzeh*. I must confess in the *Persian* Language it answers to the word *Apostroph* in our Tongue; but in that sense I do not apprehend how it can signify a Proper Name. Nevertheless a Proper Name it is, whether it signifies something or nothing, and that must suffice.

As for the Title of *Mirzah*, it is as much as to say the Son of a Prince, as we have observed in another Place, where we have discovered more at large of the *Persian* Names and Titles.

This Illustrious Infant, as I have been informed by several of the Great Eunuchs, who sometimes Attended upon him while He was with his Father in the Province of *Mazendaran*, where I was also a little before his Majesties Decease, was a Prince whose Blooming Virtues promised something more than Ordinary. For notwithstanding the tenderness of his Corporeal Organs, the Strength of his Soul appeared in all his Actions, discovering such signs of Nobleness and Generosity, as plainly presaged that one day he would be a Glorious Prince.

Now whether these Signal Endowments had begot in *Habas* a greater

greater Affection for him, than for his other Son: Or whether he were swaid by the most usual Inclinations of Nature, which generally infuse into Parents most Tenderness for their Younger Children, he would needs have this Younger Son of his to accompany him in his journey. Tho others believed that it was rather to gratifie his Mother, with whose Beauty the King was extremely enamoured, so that contrary to custom he made her a Partaker with him in his Royal Bed, tho two and twenty years of Age, and carried her along with him where ever he took his Progress. And in this last Progress wherein she accompanied the King, she had the satisfaction to enjoy the Company of her beloved Son, to whom the King assigned for Tutor and Guardian a Noble Eunuch, called *Aga-Mubarik*, or the *Blessed Lord*.

Thus this Young Prince hapning to be in this House of Pleasure, or of Sorrow rather, seeing here it was that his Father expired, was at hand to have Received the Diadem which the Grandees of the Assembly might have presented him, had the Conspiracy of the Two chief Physicians taken effect.

Nor was it their fault that it did not. For they managed their part with all the Prudence imaginable. And perhaps they might have laid their Plot before the Kings Death which by the Rules of their Art, they might easily foresee. Not that they thought their Lives so much in danger till they had notice of the Dying Kings last words, but only to serve themselves in their Estates and Employments.

To this purpose they went to the Prime Minister and under pretence of Informing him of the Kings Death and the Nature of the two last Medicins which they had prescribed him, they fell into discourse of more Important Affairs; and talking of the Election, they put him in mind how much it concerned him and all the Grandees of the Council to take care of themselves: that the King some Minutes before he Died, had made loud Complaints of being poysoned by his chief Ministers, but that he left a Son that wolud devour their very hearts: that these his last words and Complaints could not be concealed from his Successour. So that if they gave the Crown to the Eldest, who besides that he was of the Age to take the Government into his own hands, and was of a haughty and cruel Disposition, and therefore would not stick to make use of this pretence to rid himself of all his chief Ministers and Nobility, to render himself by that means more absolute, and make room for other New Creatures of his own; more especially when he came to consider how unkind his Father had been to him, for the two years last past, which

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he would certainly attribute to the bad Counsel of his chief Favourites. Upon this they concluded, that since he could not chuse but see that the Eldest Son would never have any kindness for the present Grandees, that it would be a great piece of Imprudence, to advance him to that Dignity which would empower him to do all the Mischief that came into his Mind; and therefore at such a juncture of time their safest way would be to confer the Election upon the Youngest, *Hamzeh-Mirzah*; a Prince of great hopes, and from whom the Grandeur of the *Persian* Empire might expect a long Continuance for the Future, and they at present have no reason to fear the Disturbance of a sweet and calm Repose, or the loss of their Authority under a Prince that would not be capable of the Government in fourteen or fifteen Years.

These Arguments thus delivered by the two Lords, first to the *Prime Minister*, and then to the *Second*, wrought upon the Minds of Both as effectually as they could desire.

Both the One and the Other were convinced, and agreed to advance the Younger Son, in prejudice of the Eldest. Their infallible Ruin hovered before their Eyes if the Eldest came to the Crown: as one that seeing himself from a Captive become an absolute Sovereign, would soon be transported by his Youth and Pride, and the pleasure of unlimited Controul to change the Face of Affairs, and to take such Resolutions as Humour and Capricio should inspire into him. And who knows, cried they to themselves, how far he may attempt upon our lives? But above all the Rumour of the Kings being poisoned, was that which put them all upon the Rack: For tho they might be all very Innocent, yet the pretence was so Plausible, that the very Terror of the Accusation represented the continual fears of Death to their Eyes as dreadful as if they were under present Torment, should the Successour to the Empire give Credit to the Rumour; whereas if they Elected the youngest, they should still keep their high Stations of Honour and Dignity; have leisure and opportunity to advance their Families and raise Creatures of their own; Ruling all the while almost with an absolute Dominion one of the greatest Empires of the World.

But now, that I may not seem to contradict my self by speaking frequently of the Kings being poisoned, when I have already at the beginning of this Discourse attributed his Death to another Cause, I must beg of the Reader to make a small Digression, which I suppose will not prove unpleasing, upon the several suspicions which his Death begot
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in the various minds of those that enquired more curiously into the nature of his Disease.

Most true it is then, that the most certain cause was that which I have already set down, that is to say, the Foul disease attended with a *Cancer*, which seizing the Gristle that forms the Conveyances of smelling, preyed not only outwardly upon the Nose, but inwardly upon the Palate, and then falling upon the *Uvula* stopped up the passages of Respiration. But they who imagined themselves to be more quick-sighted, and to understand the bottom of things much better, would still be whispering the Curious in the Ear, and I my self have been one of those to whom it has been told for a great Secret, that several of the chief Officers of the outward Court, and some of the Eunuchs also of the inward Court, or Womens Apartment, had for some time before agreed among themselves to rid themselves of this Great Monarch, and to that purpose had made choice of Poyson, as the most secure way, and less apt to be discovered. And that which instigated them to this devilish Resolution, was the frantick and furious humour of the Prince, of which every day still produced extravagant and bloody Testimonies; which was come to that height, that being one day overcome with Wine, to which he was extremely addicted, he had cut the Throat of one of his most beautiful and legitimate Wives without any offence or other cause given: that he had done the same to several of his Domestick Servants; so that the rest dreading the like Misfortune, and untimely Ends, suffered themselves to be tempted into this execrable design of giving him a Potion, that should waste him by degrees, and give him a slow Death, which should not be perceived till it came to pass. Others confessed that in his drunken fits he had committed those cruel Acts of which he was accused, yet that never any body attempted to poyson him for all that; but that it was rather a secret shame and inward grief for having abandoned himself to such wild and extravagant Transports that gnawed and devoured his heart. However it were, the Rumour of his being poysoned was never any other than a Rumour, and was always looked upon as a Dream for which there was no ground; tho had the business been more exactly enquired into, the truth perhaps might have come to light according to the Report.

After the two chief Eunuchs, and chief Physicians had given an account of the Kings Death to the Prime Ministers, they went also to inform the other Lords of the Council, still

keeping the Secret as private as they could for fear the People or the Soldiers should come to have the least suspicion of it. At the same time also they desired them to consider the necessity of assembling together for the Welfare of the Empire, in regard the King was dead without declaring a Successor either in writing or by word of Mouth. Whereupon the Lords approved their prudent Management, and agreed upon a Place where to assemble, such as should give no occasion to any person living, no not to their most familiar acquaintance to take the least Alarm.

To that purpose they made choice of the Place before the Gate of the Palace where the King lay sick, where not only They, but all that belonged to the Court, were wont to appear about seven of the Clock in the Morning when the King resides in the Country. Whither repaired the whole Throng of Courtiers, not knowing any thing of the Accident. There also appeared the Lords who have their share in the Government, and went into certain little Tents, according to their usual Custom, as well to expect the Kings coming forth, as to be ready at hand to receive his Commands; or for the dispatch of Affairs, which either need no answer at all from the King, or upon which they already know the King's mind.

For the better understanding of which, you are to know, as already has been declared in our Treatise of the Government of the *Persians*, that when the King resides in the Country, they pitch him a large Camp in the Form of a City. In one of the extreme Quarters of which Camp they erect the Royal Pavilions: and about fifty Paces from thence the Tents of the Grand Master of the Royal Household: near to which they also set up several lesser Pavilions richly furnished on purpose for the Lords to sit down, discourse one with another, or for the dispatch of Business, such as I have already mentioned.

Nor is this Order of Encamping ever altered, although the King himself be lodged in a House.

Thus it was an easie thing for the Lords of the Council to assemble together without giving the least suspicion to others; however to keep their design the more closely still concealed, they came with their usual Trains and Habits, and with Countenances so well composed, that notwithstanding the various Emotions that agitated their different Passions, there outwardly appeared nothing but such a settled satisfaction and contentment of Mind, as would not permit them one among another to dive into each others Breasts.

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The Lords being assembled in one of these forementioned Pavilions, which by accident was then erected in a Garden of the Village adjoyning to the Palace, next to the Pavilions of the grand *Master of the Household*, placed themselves in the same Order as they used to seat themselves in the Kings Presence. That is to say, on the Right Hand sate the *Athemad-doulet*, or chief Minister, so called from a compound word which signifies the *Confidence of the Empire*. For the word *Doulet*, tho literally taken for Riches and Grandeur, yet Metaphorically and in a borrowed sense, the *Persians* make use of it to signifie *Dominion* in general, or particularly for that which we call Rule or Empire in our Language, as we have shewed in another place. Next to him sate the *Koelar-Agasia* or Lord of the Slaves. By which is to be understood the General of the second Body of the Persian *Militia*, whom they stile the *Kings Slaves*. Below him sate the *Nazir*, or *Seeer*; Superintendant General of all the Royal Demesnes; and who also takes particular care of the Treasuries, Furniture, Buildings, Manufactures, Magazines, Stores, and Servants, and in a word, of all things that relate to the Kings Household.

Next to him sate the *Divaan-Beki*; a word so formed from the corruption of two other, *Divaanum-Bek*, or *Lord of the Council of Justice*. And he that bears this Title is the supreme Judge in all Civil and Criminal Causes, which come before him by way of Appeal from all parts of the Kingdom. Nor is there any one but the King himself who can stop the Execution and Sentence by him once pronounced. Next to whom sate the *Mir-Ateuer-Bachi*, or *Grand Esquire*. For those Persian words signifie, *The Chief of the Princes of the Stables*. The *Hakim-Bachi*, or *Chief of the Physicians*, that is, the chief Physician and his Brother, were they that sate lowermost upon the Right Hand.

On the Left Hand, he that held the uppermost Seat was *Toesenktchi*, or the *Lord of the Musketeers*, being the General of the third Body of the Persian *Militia*. Next to whom sate the *Vateaa-Noviez*, or the *Notary of Occurrences*, or of such Transactions as relate to the Empire, and may be therefore said to be the principal Secretary of State. Next to him sate the *Mir-tchekar-Bachi*, or *Prince of the Chace*, an Office well known in *France* by the Title of *Grand Veneur*, or chief Huntsman of *France*; and next to him the *Munehizjim-Bachi*, or the Lord of the *Astrologers*, who is one of the most considerable Peers in the Court of *Persia*. On the same side, but at some distance

distance below, stood the two Eunuchs *Aga-Kafour* and *Aga-Mahacite*, of whom we have already made mention, as not being permitted, no more than the rest of the Eunuchs, to sit before his Majesty.

The *Meihter*, or High Chamberlain stood somewhat higher upon the left hand, and a little behind, the High Steward of the Household, whom the Persians call *Ichikagasia-Bachi*; or *Chief of the Masters*, or Lords of the *Footstool to the Throne*, because his Authority extends over all the Porters, Ushers, Guards, Masters of the Ceremonies, and other Officers of the like nature belonging to the Court. But because he performs the Office of Chief Gentleman Usher night and day in the Kings Presence, he has no Seat in the publick Assemblies, notwithstanding his Authority be very great, and renders him more considerable than many that have right to sit. Nor do I find that any other Lords than these were present at this Grand Assembly.

The chief Minister was the first that spoke, and declared at the same time what the High Chamberlain had informed him concerning the Kings Death, and which had been confirmed to him by the two chief Physicians: and then proceeding, he told him, "That he made no question but the same Information had already reached their Ears, and that they were not ignorant how that their deceased Monarch was departed this Life without declaring either in writing or by word of Mouth, to which of his two Sons he had bequeathed his Scepter, and that therefore it was their duty to proceed to an Election with all the speed imaginable, not only because it was not fit that the Prince to whom Providence had destined the Crown should remain in a Private Condition any longer, but also for the security of the Kingdom, which was always in jeopardy so long as it wanted a Governour, since it was with Monarchies as with living Bodies, that cease to live when deprived of the Head. For the preventing therefore of so great a Misfortune, it behoved them before they brake up, to make choice of some glorious Scion of the *Imamic* Race to sit upon the Throne which *Habas* the II. had quitted for a more blessed Mansion in Heaven. That that great Monarch of victorious Memory had left two Sons, as he was assured that none of all the Assembly had any reason to question in the least, *Sephie-Mirza*, who was about twenty years of Age, and had been left in the Palace of *Grandeur*, under the Tuition of *Aga-Nazir*; and *Hamzeh-Mirza*, about seven Years of

“ of Age, who was there among them at Court under the
 “ care of *Aga-Mubarek* present in their Assembly : That of these
 “ two, after they had invoked the most High God, they were
 “ to choose him that the well King had in a manner deputed
 “ to be Lieutenant to the glorious *Successor in Expectation*.

By *Successor in Expectation* the *Persians* mean the last of the
Imaans, who according to their Religion is their hoped for
Messia, whose return to Earth they expect every hour.

Now the Prime Minister having pronounced these words
 with all the Demonstrations of a profound sorrow, and an
 Aspect full of Majesty, which from his Aged Countenance
 shot both Awe and Reverence, made a sudden stop, expecting
 that some other of the Assembly should speak and give his Ad-
 vice. But observing that the whole Assembly out of a par-
 ticular deference and respect to his Dignity and high Place,
 applauded his beginning, and by their frequent repetitions of
Bism Allah, or *so be it, in the name of God*, seemed desirous that he
 should proceed: the aged Minister modestly resumed his Place,
 and beholding the *Grandees* one after another, told them further,
 “ That considering the Necessity, and the Resolution which
 “ they had taken to Elect one of those two Princes, it was
 “ his Opinion, That they were to the Rigorous but positive
 “ necessity to which they were reduced, and which constrained
 “ them to prefer *Hamzeh Mirza* tho the younger, and to fix
 “ him in the Throne, tho to the Privation of his elder Brother.
 “ The reason was, because it was well known to all the World,
 “ how severe *Habas* had been always toward him: so that it
 “ was to be feared that the young Prince had been deprived
 “ of his sight. Of which the Report had ran very hot,
 “ ever since the deceased Monarch at his departure from
 “ *Isfahan*, displayed such a dismal dissatisfaction in his Coun-
 “ tenance, that portended nothing but fatal ; and which they
 “ had more reason to believe, because the King at the be-
 “ ginning of his sickness, had sent in great haste, without im-
 “ parting his design to any of his Council, an Eunuch with
 “ private Orders to the same City. Which Orders could be
 “ no other than either to take off the Head, or pluck out the
 “ Eyes of the young Prince, to the end he might be incapable
 “ of succeeding to the Crown after his death: For in all other
 “ things the King never failed to communicate his Secrets
 “ to some one of his Council, and particularly to the Prime
 “ Minister, who was always accustomed to seal with his own
 “ Seal, all such Commands and Orders to which the King
 affixed

"affix'd his Signet, which if it were so, they could not Elect him,
 "without running themselves into a great Confusion, if he
 "should be already either Dead or Blind. For you know
 "said he, that the sacred Laws of the Elect of God not permit-
 "ing any person under that unfortunate Circumstance to be
 "our Sovereign Monarch, we should be constrained after all to
 "apply our selves to *Hamzeh Mirza*. And what thanks I would
 "fain know, will he then give us for our Election? Will
 "he not have reason to tax us with our want of Affection, for
 "choosing him at a force put, when we knew there was no
 "possibility for his Brother to govern? Will it please him, do
 "you think, to accept a Crown at our hands, which we have
 "offered to another? Will he think himself beholden to us for
 "our suffrages which we did not give him out of Kindness or
 "Affection to his person, but merely out of invincible Necessi-
 "ty? And God grant he may stop there, with being only sa-
 "tisfied that he owes us nothing. Who knows but that he may
 "study Revenge, and whether our Coldness may not kindle in
 "his Brest a Fire that will not be quenched without our Ruin
 "and the destruction of our Families? But this is not all that we are
 "to consider; when the Welfare of the Kingdom lies at stake,
 "particular Interests must give way. Mind therefore my Lords,
 "what I have observed at the Beginning of my Discourse. It be-
 "hoves us to avoid the Dangers of an *Interregnum*, which will
 "continue long, while time is wasted in Messages to and fro
 "from hence to the Capital City. But Providence hath put in-
 "to our Hands *Hamzeh-Mirza*. What remains then but to follow
 "the Commands of Providence, and forthwith to advance the
 "Favoured of Heaven to the Sacred Throne of Prince of the
 "World.

The Prime Minister having thus delivered himself, gave no
 small occasion to the rest of the Lords to muse from whence this
 Opinion of his should proceed. But in regard he was a Person
 that had always lived in high Reputation for his Integrity, and
 for that his being stricken in years, and his long experience in
 Affairs rendered him greatly considerable, they never suspected
 the Advice which he had given had been the Effect of self-in-
 terest; more especially because there was nothing propounded
 but what the whole Assembly believed to be very real. At
 length the greatest part entertained a Proposal so acceptable to
 their wishes with great Joy: and they who only had in their
 view their own particular Establishment, were no less willing,
 in pursuance of the Prime Ministers Counsel, to be thought as
 well

well affected to the publick Welfare, when indeed they minded nothing but their own Grandeur: For the same Considerations that had sway'd the Prime Minister, and the *Chief Superintendant*, as we have said already, had got possession of their Minds likewise, and infused into them an Apprehension of the uncertainty of their Conditions, if *Sephie-Mirza* were advanced to the Throne. For that the Young Prince, were it only to shew his Absolute Power, would Rule according to his own Fancy, and change his Officers as he pleased himself. Nor could they think otherwise but that some secret Instigations of Revenge would govern his Proceedings against them, as being perswaded, that their Complacency had contributed to his Misfortunes; and that they were so far from pacifying the displeasure and complaints which the deceased King his Father made against him, that they had applauded and flattered his Indignation. On the other side, if the report were true of *Habas's* being poisoned by the Conspiracy of some of his Lords, it was easie to conjecture how they that were guilty could not choose but feel a Remorse of Conscience, and with what Terror they look'd upon a Successor, who being naturally enclined to violence, would readily lay hold upon a Pretence so plausible to revenge his Father's Death. But from the Election of the Younger Son there was no such Apprehension of danger; in regard all things would move in their usual Course, and for that his Minority would give them leisure to provide for themselves, and to make the best advantage of the Employments which they enjoyed. Thereupon they weighed in the same Balance the Probabilities, which the Prime Minister had set forth, of the Death of the Eldest of the two Princes, and the hazards which the Monarchy would run through a tedious Expectation. And therefore they all with one Voice concluded upon the Election of *Hamzeh-Mirza*.

But among all the Grandees there was not any one that testified so violent a Passion for the Election of the Youngest Son, as the *Superintendant General*: nor indeed was there any one whose particular Interest had more reason to urge him to it, as having more cause to fear the advancement of the Elder, than any of the rest. And moreover, he made no question, that he would lay it to his Charge, that he had not the Furniture, the rich Cloaths, and other things that he desired: all which things by virtue of his Office of *Superintendant*, were at his disposal. On the other side he had done several kindnesses for the Mother of the Younger Son, whose Officer he was in the outward Palace, and then by the Assistance of the Eunuchs that attended her in the Womens Apart-

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ment, he was in hopes to work himself so effectually into the Favour both of the Princess, and her Son, that he might be in a Condition to continue himself for a longer time in that high Credit, wherein he had lived, during the Reign of the Father. To which purpose when it came to his turn in Rank and Dignity, which was the third Place of Honour, to give his Opinion, it was with less indifference than those that preceded him had done. He confirmed all that had been said by the *Support of the Empire*, or the Prime Minister. He added moreover that he could not precisely tell in what Condition *Sephie-Mirza* was at that time; however that it could not be but very bad, or rather so deplorable, that it would not suffer either Himself, or any others in his behalf, to dream of the Empire: That for the past Years of 1075. and 1076. after his Father had shut him up under a close Restraint, He had been kept very private: That for him that spoke, he made no question but that *Habas* had caused the Eyes of the Prince to be put out, as not believing him fit to Govern. Of which there was nothing gave him greater Assurances, than that there had been no mention made of the Prince since the Kings last Progress to *Mazendaran*, at what time the deceased King, being upon the Road not above eight Leagues distant from the Capital City, brush'd of a sudden back again in great haste, no man knowing either the Issue of his Return, nor why he went. And therefore there was no farther reason to doubt, but that he did it at length with a full determination to rid the world of that Young Prince. Nor did there need any other convincing Proof of what he said, than the Eunuch, who not long since had been dispatched with private Orders, which could only relate to that Prince. And therefore it was an irrational thing to deliberate to which of the two Sons they should offer the Crown, since only *Hamzeh-Mirza* was by Heaven preserved to be their Prince.

Thus was this Royal Infant about to have been advanced to the Throne to the Exclusion of his Elder Brother. All the *Grandees* gave their Consents for this Election, nor had one of these who had right to speak denied him his voice. There were only two Eunuchs that had not spoke a word. And who would have thought they durst have presumed to have spoken a word? especially the least in Credit of the two? seeing that neither the one or the other having neither Right, Title or Authority to speak, could any one have imagined that they should have been so bold to entertain Sentiments contrary to all the rest of that Illustrious Family? Or if they should have been so daring,

daring, was there any likelihood they should have the Confidence to declare them, and to carry it against so many Voices ?

Nevertheless it so came to pass in a Manner that may be thought to be almost Miraculous, as well by reason of the Circumstances already observed, as for those which we are going about to observe. Which assures us that there is a Superior Providence which concerns it self in the Management of all human Affairs, commands all Events, and frequently brings things to pass contrary to all our Expectations, as here it hapned where *Sephie* was Elected notwithstanding the confederacy of persons interested, and the favourable opportunities to advance their Designs.

Now this same Eunuch that broke all the Measures which these Lords had taken was *Aga-Mubarek*, in great Credit at Court, as we have already observed, as being the person to whom the King had committed the Tuition of his second Son. He, I say, was Tutor to *Hamzeh-Mirza* whom the Grandees all endeavored to advance to the Throne, and whom it therefore behoved rather than any other to support and encourage their Suffrages, since that in all likelihood the Grandeur of his Illustrious Pupil would be a means infinitely to advance his Reputation, and present him a Fortune the most glorious that a person of his Condition could hope for.

Nevertheless the love of Justice prevailed over all other Temptations that could affect his Soul; so that it was not without a noble Indignation that he heard the Proposal of the first Minister, to prefer the Younger before the Elder Brother, which augmented so much the more by how much he found the Lords of the Council so readily inclined to a Condescension. Thereupon he took a Resolution worthy that Ancient and Constant Fidelity which the *Eunuchs* have already gloried in. He thought it his Duty to prevent such a disorder and confusion as much as in him lay, and that tho he had no right to speak in that Assembly, yet that it was lawful for him for once to violate a Custom which was no more than a bare Ceremony, to the end he might reduce into the right way, those that went about to break that Love which Nature seemed to have established, and which Religion favoured.

Nevertheless he staid till every one had spoken in their turns, as well in respect to the Lords so much his superiors, as for that he still was in hopes that some one of better judgment, or at least of better Principles should deliver his Opinion more justly and according to Law, and deliver him out of that perplexity wherein such a troublesome Accident would engage him. But when he saw that they had all

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with

with one Consent concluded to Elect the Younger Brother to the prejudice of the Eldest, under pretences, which how specious soever, they seemed to be, were only the persuasions of Interest, and upon Conjectures too weak at the bottom to gain credit in such an important Affair, with a fearless, yet respectful behaviour he thus began:

“ The Proposal, Princes, and Lords of Lords, which you
 “ have made to exclude from the Crown *Sephie*, the Eldest Son
 “ of *Habas* the Second, to whom it appertains by Law, and to
 “ advance in his room *Hamzeh-Mirza*, is an affront to Justice
 “ and the Laws of the Elect *Messiah*, too visible to believe you
 “ have suffered your selves to be swayed to such a design any
 “ otherwise than by some dazzling Appearances as have sur-
 “ prized your Judgments. For I dare be confident that not
 “ one among you all does think the Motives that have been
 “ alledged sufficient. No ---- the Pretence which you have
 “ borrowed for the Election of *Hamzeh-Mirza* is not rational.
 “ The true Reason that prevails in your Minds, if I may be
 “ so bold to tell you, tho you know it as well as my self, is
 “ your desire to govern *Persia* for many years to come, and at
 “ your own pleasure. It is therefore that you would elect an
 “ Infant, under whose Minority you may be able with permissi-
 “ on to exercise an absolute Authority. For what is alledged
 “ of the Eldest Prince, that without doubt he is either deprived
 “ of his Life, or of his Sight, can be look'd upon only as a
 “ delusion. For had it been so, should I have heard nothing
 “ of it? I that ever since the Kings departure from the Capital
 “ City have always been exactly acquainted with whatever
 “ passed in the Womens Palace; I that have always been a con-
 “ stant Attendant in it; and more than that have had the Go-
 “ vernment of the Young Prince? If the Eunuch, who was
 “ sent Post sometime since to *Ispahan*, had private Orders to the
 “ ruine of *Sephie-Mirza* out of a design to render him incapable
 “ of the Succession, should I have discovered nothing? Or
 “ would not the deceased King have made some alterations in
 “ the condition of his second Son, for whom he had designed
 “ the Imperial Throne after his death? Would he not have en-
 “ larged his Revenue, and augmented the Splendour of his
 “ Court? Would he have concealed it from me, and *the Light*
 “ of Women, the Lady Mother of the Young Prince? Or if he had
 “ concealed it from me, would it not have been more easie for
 “ me than for you to have discovered something? since I have
 “ always lived in the Inner Palace, and that I knew every thing
 “ that

“ that passed there under the greatest Secresie ; whereas you are
 “ so far from entring into it, that you can only look upon the
 “ outside of it. In a word, there is nothing in all that which
 “ you pretend to fear, *Sephie-Mirza* lives and sees, my life for
 “ yours, God is my caution ; and if it be not so, here is my
 “ head. You cannot therefore without great Injustice, or rather
 “ foul Treason, forget the Eldest, and sacrifice him to your
 “ own Passions, and the Interests of his Younger Brother. Ra-
 “ ther let the Younger Brother be sacrificed to Him and the
 “ Interests of the Kingdom. Do you not foresee how you
 “ are going about to throw the Kingdom into a dismal Con-
 “ fusion, and fill it with Division ? Think you the rest of the
 “ Grandees will suffer themselves to be accounted Persons with-
 “ out Law, and approve your Votes ? Think you the People will
 “ take your Crimes upon their shoulders, and endure the Younger
 “ Brother sitting upon the Throne of the *Faithful*, whom
 “ you could not place there till you had trampled under foot
 “ the most Sacred Duties with which Religion inspires us ? On
 “ the other side, all the World will rise against you, to take
 “ part with the Lawful Heir ; or if that should not come to
 “ pass, you will be laden with Curses, and looked upon as
 “ the Authors of a most Execrable Assassination : You will blush
 “ for shame all your Lives, and live with perpetual torment
 “ in your breasts. *Hamzeh-Mirza* also himself, for whom you
 “ have prostituted your Consciences, will not he reward you
 “ for it one day ? He will look upon you as Dogs that ad-
 “ vanced him to his Honour only for the Hounds fees ; and
 “ as such who in hopes to fatten your selves during his Mi-
 “ nority, forsook God, the Law, the Prophet, the Book, the
 “ Explanation, Right Reason, and Justice. I am sure his
 “ Judgments will pursue you, and that the least punishment
 “ you can expect will be to be sent naked into some Desert,
 “ there to thank God for only saving your Lives.

There he stopt of a sudden with some disturbance in his
 Countenance : but immediately proceeds with a sudden Ex-
 clamation :

“ *Hamzeh Mirza*, cried he, *Hamzeh Mirza*, to what an
 “ extremity do you reduce him ? Would you, my Lords, that I
 “ should go and strangle him with my own hands, and that
 “ I should bring him dead into your presence ? I have the power,
 “ he is under my charge. By that means I shall be able to prevent
 “ you from making an ill Choice : You shall then be constrained
 “ to carry the Crown to the Eldest ; and then I leave you to
 “ consider

“ consider how he will receive it at your hands, when he
 “ shall find that nothing could reduce you to your Allegiance but
 “ such a fatal extremity.

With this threatning Language he concluded his Speech; leaving the Lords of the Assembly so surprized that if a Mountain had fallen at their feet, as they say in *Persia*, they could not have been more astonished. They could not divine the reason that should induce the Eunuch to such a determined Resolution: He was neither instigated by Hatred, Fear, nor Hope. Not by Hatred, because they knew he tenderly fostered his lovely Pupil. Much less by Fear, since he could expect nothing but a soft Indulgence in respect of himself from the Person that had been bred up in his Arms. Nor could he hope for any of those advantages from the Eldest, whose disposition he was not well acquainted with; for tho he might have a kindness for him, it could never be so great as that of the younger Brother, who had suck'd it in with his Milk. Therefore they all found that he spoke against his own Interests, and that it could be nothing else but his zeal for Justice and the Welfare of the Empire, his desire to satisfy the People, and his Loyalty toward his deceased Master, that caused him to act in that manner. However it increased their respect for him, and obliged them to admire his Sentiments so generous, tho contrary to their Intentions, and such as altogether disapproved their Conduct.

It was about half a quarter of an Hour before any one of the Assembly durst so much as open their Lips; but still they sat looking one upon another, without speaking a word, perplexed between the shame of recanting, and the fear of the danger which they ran, should they adventure obstinately to defend their first Resolutions. At length the chief Minister, whether it were that he was more a friend to Justice than the rest, as there was reason to conjecture from his wonted noble and unbyassed manner of proceeding, or whether he feared lest any other should speak before him, which had rendered him guilty, in regard it was his Place to speak first, as he had already done when he argued so stiffly against *Sephie Mirza*. However it were, the Prime Minister first breaking silence thus began: “ That true it was, that if the Assembly were infallibly
 “ assured that the Eldest Son of *Habas II.* was no longer in a
 “ condition to receive the Crown, they might justify the
 “ Election of the second Son; but since *Aga Mubarek* so confidently asserted, that *Sephie Mirza* had neither lost his life, nor
 “ his sight, they ought to choose him without any further
 “ delibera-

“deliberation: And therefore from the bottom of his heart
“he gave him both his Voice and all his choicest Wishes, pro-
“testing that it was their duty forthwith to go and offer him
“the Diadem and the Empire.

Upon those words all the rest of the Lords grew faint-hearted, and had no longer power to defend the Injustice which they had began. For the condition of these Lords renders them naturally fearful, who as illustrious, and as great Princes as they seem to be, are in effect but so many Slaves; their Lives, their Liberty, their Honour, their Estates absolutely depending upon the Pleasure of the Sovereign; So that they were so far from persisting in their first Opinions, that they strove which should be the first that should renounce what they had done; and dissembling their Discontents, they all unanimously decreed, “That since the Eldest Son was in a condition to enjoy
“the Crown, which legally appertained to him, that it was
“their duty without delay to fetch him from the Palace of
“Grandeur, and accompany him to the Throne.

And thus was *Sephie-Mirza* elected Monarch of the Persians contrary to the Intention of those themselves that gave their Voices for him.

The Prime Minister added, that after so unfortunate an Election of the King, they were immediately to proceed to a second, which was the Nomination of a Person among the great Lords of the Kingdom, who was to post with all speed to *Ispahan*, to fetch the Prince out of the Palace where he was enclosed, and seat him in his Throne with all the accustomed Ceremonies, and to cause him to be acknowledged Sovereign Lord of the Persian Empire.

Now though this Election were not of equal Importance with the Election of the Prince, yet did it not occasion a little trouble among the Lords; who had no sincere and real Amity one for another, after the manner of Courtiers: for every one had their particular designs, and had an eye upon his Companion. However the Person to be nominated was to be taken out of their Number, because there was not any of higher Quality than they were then at Court; and they that were of Inferiour Rank could not pretend to that Honour. But then again, believing that the Person, who should happen to be entrusted with such a weighty Errand, would in all probability gain a great Ascendant over the young Monarch's favour, who to recompence the welcome Tidings of such a Messenger, would afford him a large share of his Affections, their business

was

was to cast their Eyes upon some One whose good nature and generous temper they might best dispence with; if they could not find out one of absolute Probity, and Sincerity. For what will not Vice attempt, when furnished with such great advantages? Or what Impressions will not an evil person stamp upon a Soul, if I may so say, altogether rare, or on a Prince whose tender Years will not permit him a due experience in the Affairs of the World?

So that every one of the Lords took care to nominate out of their number such a one as they thought would do least mischief, who if he had not a Will to do them good, should have as little desire to do them harm. As for the Prime Minister, and the *Superintendent*, who for their high Dignity had most right to the honour of such an important Deputation could not be spared, because at that juncture of time their Presence was absolutely necessary at Court. The Prime Minister was to stay for the dispatch of Business, and to give Audiences upon Affairs of State, and by his Presence to prevent any Disturbance that might arise upon the news of *Habas's* Death, if by any Accident it should happen to be divulged before the time; which would soon have come to light by the absence of the Prime Minister, who never stirs from the Prince's Elbow, if the King be alive. Nor was it more possible for the *Superintendent* to stir, as well for the same reason, as for that He, having the sole ordering of all the rich Furniture and Treasures of the King's House, and of all the Convoys and Waggons every day going and coming to the Court with Provisions and other Necessaries, cannot leave his Employment, for fear any Disorder or Confusion should happen.

Then again, because it was still convenient that the People should know no more but that the King was sick, that was it which prevented the Grand Master of the Household from being sent; in regard his Office, like those of the two former, obliges him to be always near the King. The chief Astrologer, and the chief Physician were not of Quality sufficient to aspire to that Honour, and much less the Two Eunuchs. Indeed the Dignity of the Grand Esquire, and Grand Huntsman might in some measure have claimed it. But in regard they are not properly Officers of the Kingdom, but rather the Kings Officers; they began to cast their lies upon the Generals of the Army, the *General of the Slaves*, and the *General of the Musquet-teers*, chiefly because they are superiour in Dignity to the two latter, and for that their Employments do not tie them to be

at Court; True it is, they were not very grateful to the Lords; but for once as before there was a necessity that Inclination and Affection must give way to Duty.

Of these two Competitors, the General of the Slaves expected the Precedency as his due, in regard his Employment gave him the Preheminency; which he could not dissemble; but displayed his hopes and expectations in his very Countenance. However he missed of his reckoning: for he had not one Friend in the whole Assembly; they knew him too well, to be a crafty Knave of a turbulent spirit, and of a mischievous humour; and therefore they were all afraid if he spake first to the new King, he would not forget his old tricks, but would form such Contrivances at least against the greatest part of them, that they should not easily disintangle themselves. Upon which considerations they gave their Voices unanimously for the General of the Musquetteers. Not but that they had some apprehensions of him likewise, as not having altogether the Reputation of a sincere man, only he was a Saint in comparison of the other. For his Cunning did not carry him to the full extent of Malice. Besides that he was looked upon as a Person of great Parts, and one that understood the Court, and the Interests of the Neighbouring Princes. For which Reason he had been sent for some Years before in the Quality of an Embassadour to the present King of the *Indies Aurang-Zeb*, to congratulate his coming to the Crown; and had behaved himself with so much Grandeur in the Embassie, that his Master gave him signal Testimonies of his Satisfaction. And indeed his *Rodomantadoes* in that Court are strangely remarkable, such as the Reader will hardly credit, when I shall publish what I have collected in reference to that Embassie.

This Lord, then, being thus deputed, the Assembly gave order about some other things that concerned his journey, and how they should manage Affairs at Court in expectation of the New King.

First, It was ordered that Eleven Persons should accompany the Commissioner to *Ispahan*, that is to say, two Astrologers, the *Munchizim-Bachi*, or the Chief of those that profess that Science, who was called *Mirza-Baker*, and with him another Astrologer, one of the most noted in the Kingdom, whose Name was *Mahamed-Saleb*. They were to be present at the Coronation, with an Astrolabe in their hands, to take the fortunate hour, as they term it in the Persian Language, and observe the lucky Moments that a happy Constellation should

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point out for Proceedings of that Importance. To these they added four of the Principal Officers employed in the custody of the Treasure to carry and take care of what Jewels should be requisite for the Ceremony. The other five were not then nominated, in regard that every one of the Principal Officers of State had a right to appoint his own Deputy upon that Occasion.

Those five Commissioners, who are always Persons of Quality, were in their Masters names to throw themselves at the feet of the new Monarch, so soon as he should be brought forth of the private Apartment of the Palace, and at the Ceremony of the Coronation to represent the Person by whom they were deputed. Of which the one was the *Prime Minister*; the other the *Grand Superintendant*; the third, the *General of the Slaves*; the fourth, the *Lord Chief Justice*; and the fifth, the *Principal Secretary of State*.

In the second place it was ordered by the Lords, that the *General of the Musquetters*, with his Eleven Attendants, should set forward the next Morning before day, unless the *Grand Astrologer* should find the Constitution of the Heavens and the Aspects of the Planets not to be favourable; whereupon they should forbear till a more lucky season. That then every one should depart, and stay at a *New Caravan-Seray*, which is four Leagues from *Demagaan*, till the Twelve Persons being all arrived, they might proceed altogether in their Journey. And that for fear lest if they should depart in Company from the Camp Royal, they should create too great a jealousy of the cause of their Journey.

In the third place the Lords ordained that the General of the Musquetters should carry a Letter to his Majesty in the name of the whole Assembly, which should be read in their hearing, before it was put into his hands, that nothing might be inserted but what was approved by all.

In the fourth place they unanimously agreed, for the better concealing the Kings Death, that every one should Officiate in their several Stations, as they did before the doleful Accident hapned; and pay their accustomed Attendance about the Palace. That in the mean time they should amuse the People with a belief that the King was only sick, and in a fair way of recovery. That the Eunuchs there present, and others concerned, should endeavour to keep all things private in the Womens Palace, and use their utmost diligence to cheer and comfort up the Women, for fear their loud Complaints and Moans should be heard by those without.

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In the fifth place it was ordered that the Eunuchs with the chief Physicians should take care to embalm the Body of the deceased King, to the end he might afterwards be put into a Leaden Coffin according to Custom.

Lastly, The same Lords ordained that at the end of Eight Days all the Court should depart from the Village of *Kofroes-Abaad* where then it was ; and in regard it was impossible in so great a Hurry to travel far in a day, that they would make short Journeys to *Kachaan* ; that they should order their March according to the Season, and as they thought most proper, to prevent all occasions that might give the People any reason too curiously to pry into the condition of the Kings Person.

Toward Evening the Letter which was to be presented to the New Monarch was delivered to the *General of the Slaves*. It was put up in a Purse of Cloth of Gold, drawn together with strings of twisted Gold and Silk, with Tassels of the same, and so knit into a Knot. It was sealed with soft Wax ; upon which the Chief Minister put his own Seal. Nor was any omitted of all those Knacks and Curiosities which the Oriental People make use of in making up their Epistles.

By this Letter, of which I was very careful to get a Copy, drawn from the Original, the Lords gave *His most Excellent Majesty* to understand, "How the Great Potentate and Ruler " whose place is in Paradise, King *Habas II.* whose bright- " shining Glory God increase, departed this Life the twenty " sixth of the Moon called *Rabeya-el-esany*, at the beginning of " the *Return* (that is, of the *Return of her Light*) without " having made any Will, or given any Order touching his " Successour, or nominated any Person to Govern the King- " dom.

" That as soon as they had notice of the Dismal Accident, " they assembled together to consider who the Person was " whom Heaven had Elected to succeed the King. Whereupon " with an unanimous consent they had as soon named Him, " and caused his most Excellent Person to be acknowledged " Lord of Kingdoms of vast Extent, and only capable to sup- " ply the Throne of the Immortal Succession of Prince of the " World. Upon which they had put up their most ardent " Prayers, that God would be pleased to surround him with " Glory, and to prepare for him Triumphs worthy the high " Honour to which he had called him, Protesting at his Feet, " that they were his most humble and most obedient Slaves.

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" That

" That to establish his most Magnificent and most Glorious
 " Person in the Throne which resembled the Celestial, they
 " had deputed one of their Members, the *General of the Mus-*
 " *quetteers* to deliver him their most humble and miserable
 " Letter ; who was accompanied with several other Persons
 " elected to express by word of mouth in the name of the
 " whole Assembly their Submissions and Vassalage, and then
 " to supply the places of the most humble Slaves of the Throne,
 " which is the true Seat of the *Kalibat*, (or *Pontificate*) in
 " the great Solemnity of his Coronation, to be performed by
 " the Imposition of the Sacred *Imamic Tiara* (or *Prophetick*
 " *Tiara.*) That the Body of his thrice Illustrious Father,
 " whose place is in Paradise, whose bright shining Glory
 " God encrease, should be conducted to the City of *Kachaan* ;
 " and that with the rest of the Court, they who had taken
 " the boldness to write these Presents would expect the most
 " firm Orders which his Majesty would be pleased to send them ;
 " as well for the Place of his Burial, and for such other Duties
 " to which their Vassalage of indispensable necessity engaged
 " them.

This was the substance of the *Persian* Letter, of which we
 have expressed the Style, and imitated the Strain as near as our
 Language would permit. Moreover upon the Back and the
 lowermost Fold was set the Seal of the Prime Minister according
 to Custom.

The next day the General of the Musquetteers, and the other
 Eleven Persons departed, and made all the hast that possibly
 they could : Yet not so fast as they could have desired, or as
 Occasions of that nature required. For considering the vast
 number that rode Post altogether, it was not to be expected they
 should meet with change of Horses ; beside the danger of
 breaking or endamaging the Jewels by a violent Motion, was
 a thing which the Officers of the Treasury were much affraid
 of. Thus they travel the hundred and twelve *Persian* Leagues
 (which make a hundred and forty French) between *Kofroes-*
abaad and *Ispahan*, where they arrived the seventh day after
 they set out, upon a Saturday. Which was the third of the
 Moon, called *Gumadi-el-avel*, which answers to our second
 of *October*, according to the Computation known among us ;
 about seven of the Clock in the Evening ; at what time the Mer-
 chants and Tradesmen in the *Bazars* and *Piazzas* shut up their
 Shops, and every body goes to his own home.

Some persons of Quality observing this numerous Troop that came Post, and knowing the general of the Slaves at the head of them, and the rest of the Commons which they had seen at Court, believed that they rode before, and were come to prepare all things ready in the Kings Palace by his Order for the Reception of his Majesty, whose Return that City had long expected with great impatience. Thereupon they enquired of the General as he passed by, and of several others that followed him; who made answer, that his Majesty was at hand and in a little time would appear in the City. Which equivocation was true, and yet concealed the Secret which he had in Charge.

This numerous Train of Lords being arrived in the great Square before the Royal Palace, alighted with all their Retinue at the principal Gate of that Magnificent Pile, which they call *Hali-Kapi* or *Haly's Gate*, or by another interpretation, the *High-Gate*.

There they all Stopped except the *General of the Slaves* and the Prime Ministers Deputy. For they too as soon as they were alighted, went directly to the second Gate opposite in a direct line at some distance to the other, as we shall shew in our Description of *Ispahan*, which second Gate is the Principal Gate of the Womens Apartment, and is called the *Sacred Gate*.

Through that Gate it was that those two Lords went to the first Apartment without, appointed for the White Eunuchs. *Eunuchs* which in truth are posted there to Guard the Place where the Women are inclosed, but never enter into it, but upon some extraordinary and urgent Occasion. There the general of the Musquetteers made known his Quality to the White Eunuch who came to receive him, and desired to go, and desire the *Aga Nazir*, that he would be pleased to come forth with speed, for his business would admit of no delay. We have already observed that this *Aga-Nazir* had been entrusted by the Deceased King, in his Life time, with the Guardianship of *Sephie-Mirza*, afterwards Elected Monarch, and with the general Oversight of the Womens Palace; which obliged him to take all the care imaginable of this Apartment, which is as it were a *Corps du Guard*, where the White Eunuchs are lodged that watch the entrance into the Womens Apartment. However he hath a Magnificent Palace in the City; but then he hapned to be attending on his Duty in the Palace.

He therefore understanding that a Lord of that high Quality desired to speak with him, presently went forth to know what Commands he brought. So soon as he appeared, the General
of

Musquetteers advanced alone to meet him, while the Prime Ministers Deputy out of respect kept a distance behind.

The General having drawn the Eunuch aside whispered some words in his Ear, which were never known what they were, or at least I could never certainly learn what they were. Some affirm that he discovered to him the Death of *Habas*, and the Election of the Eldest Son of that Monarch, whose Governour that Eunuch was. Which he was forced to do, because he had no Orders in writing from the King, nor could have, in regard he was Dead. And yet this is always observed, when any Grandee, dispatched from the Court, demands any person within to be let out, he shews his Command to the Governour of the Place. Others alledge that he said nothing to him of that weighty Affair, for that it would have cost him his Head, had he declared it to any other before he had declared it to the King. However it were, if he did make any discovery, it was in few words. For immediately those two Lords, the General of the Musquetteers and the *Seeing Eunuch*, went forward to the other more remote Apartment, which joyns immediately to the last Entrance into the Apartment.

When they came to that Apartment where lie the Black Eunuchs, who have Liberty to go up and down the inner House where the Women are lodged, one of the Chief among them understanding the *Aga Nazir* was come forth to understand what he desired: the other desired him to go immediately to *Sephie-Mirza* and to let him know that the *Messenger of the most Sublime Command and of the most Potent Order* staid at the Door, and had something to communicate to him of the highest Importance, and which was for his Advantage. And therefore, that he would be pleased to come forth and speak with him.

Which words the White Eunuch delivered to the Black Eunuch in such a Tone, and with such a Countenance as discovered nothing either of Sadness or Joy, from whence he could make any Conjectures either of bad or good Fortune. For considering the secrecy of the Affair he came about, it behoved him to affect a kind of Indifferency. So that the Black Eunuch reported back the Message to the Young Prince as he had received it, who at that time was with the Princess his Mother.

I shall rather chuse to give the Reader leave to imagin what was the Astonishment that seized those two Royal Persons at the suddenness of the News, and whence they had reason to gather

gather a thousand suspicions and jealousies, than go about to express it in words. We learnt afterwards, that for some time they stood like Statues in a profound silence, which was first interrupted by a loud shriek of the Princess, and afterwards by these words, which brake forth through the midst of her sighs while she embraced the Prince, *Ah my dear Son, there's an end of thy Life.*

And indeed she could not look for any other thing for him than Death, or some other Misfortune little less terrible. She much less dreamt that it was to advance him to the Throne. For in two Years that she had taken leave of her Husband, then healthy and vigorous, in the Flower of his Age, not exceeding thirty six Years, she had never heard of his being sick, much less could she believe him dead.

Therefore when she heard that a *Noble Messenger of the High Order* was come to speak with the Prince, what could she think but that this Order came from *Habas* the Second; and that his Command was either to put to death, or pluck out her Sons Eyes; and that if they pressed him so earnestly to come forth, it was only to understand and suffer the Execution of that Order. All Appearances confirmed this sad Suspicion. The severity of the Monarch was known to her, as well as the disgust which he had taken against his Eldest Son, of which he had given such publick proofs by the strict Captivity to which he had confined him. But she that most perplexed her, and augmented her mistrusts, was the Lady-Mother of *Hamzeh-Mirza*, "Questionless, said she, that wicked Woman it is, " who by her Caresses and alluring Charms has over-ruled the " King, to deprive my Son of the Crown, to set it upon hers. Thereupon she began to redouble her Shrieks and Lamentations in such a manner, that the whole Palace rang with her Complaints. All the Ladies surprized to hear the first of the Kings Legitimate Wives in such an Agony, ran presently to condole her sorrows, and to intermix their Tears and Complaints with hers. And indeed they had reason, especially the Confidants of the Young Prince, who had an extraordinary Passion for his Interests. Friendship in others produced the same Effects, believing bloody Executioners were come to ravish from their Arms a Friendly Prince in his tender Years. So that it is said that the Women raised such a general Compassion, that even the Black Eunuch who was present, tho they are a sort of People endued with savage and remorseless Souls, could not refrain from dropping some few tears, and quitting that Indifferency to which his Trust and Duty obliged him. The

The General of the Musquetteers and the *Nazir Eunuch* at the same time heard the Womens Lamentations, and believing it proceeded from the mistake of the Mother of the Ladies that belonged to the Prince, sent a second *Black Eunuch* to assure the Princess, that the Messenger who waited for the Prince her Son at the Gate had brought him happy tydings, and desired only to give him notice of a more Exalted Fortune. Which they both confirmed by an Oath most solemn among the Persians, by the Head of the *Great Agrea*, by whom they mean *Haty*, whom they believe to be the real Successour to *Mahomet*. But all those Oaths and Protestations did nothing avail but only to augment the Mistrusts of the afflicted Mother. She redoubled her Lamentations more loudly than before; She hugged her beloved Son in her Arms, and in the Transports of her sorrow called down a Thousand Imprecations upon the deceased King her Husband, calling him *Barbarian*, *Infidel*, *Impious*, and the *Fatal cause of all her Tears*. Wherein she said Truth, tho he were but a very Innocent Cause. Sometimes she turned toward the Lordly Messenger, whom she reproached with the scurrilous Terms of *Dog*, and *Messenger of Death*; sometimes toward the *Eunuchs* that were present, whom she upbraided for *Traytors*.

All the while the Young Prince stood immovable; for, as is said, he uttered not one word; nor did he shew in his Countenance any sign of sorrow. It is very probable, that it was so extreme, as to overwhelm him in such a sort, that he had neither Life nor Motion. While Nature that could not find sufficient signs to express her dreadful pains, stood as it were entranced, not knowing what side to take. Therefore the Young Prince shed not a Tear, because the occasion which he had to weep was so great: In that manner he stood in the midst of the Lamentations of the Women, who detained him, and drew him to their knees, as if they had resolved to defend him, and prevent those that came to carry him away from approaching his Person.

This Scene had lasted above three quarters of an Hour, for other Black Eunuchs that were sent one after another with Oaths and new Imprecations to assure them that the General brought Orders only that were highly to the Princes advantage, could gain nothing upon the belief of the Mother and the other Women, so that the *Nazir* resolved to go himself in person to try what he could do to undeceive her. But so soon as he appeared before the Mother, and with terrible Oaths endeavoured

voured to assure her that there was no danger, the Princess still holding her Son closely embraced in her Arms, cried out, And *Thou Dog*, art thou also a *Messenger of Death* like the rest?

The disconsolate Princess was not to be comforted; for the more Messengers they sent, the more Oaths they swore, the less credit she gave to their Imprecations. She looked upon them all as Artifices to surprize her, and to induce her to consent that her Son should go forth where Death waited his coming. But at length some of the Principal Young Ladies suffered themselves to be over-ruled by the persuasions of the *Aga*, and the horrible Imprecations which he called down upon his head, that there was no danger in the world, and assisted him to bring forth the Prince; and yet with some kind of violence in forcing him from his Mothers Arms. Who being reduced to despair, seeing she could not resist the respectful violence that was put upon her, and that she could no longer hold the dear Pledge of her Life, she flung from her Seat of a sudden, and after she had snatched the Dagger out of the Sheath that hung at the Young Prince's side, presenting it to the Breast of the Chief Eunuch, who was next her, and had the Young Prince by the hand, *Go*, said she, *in the Name of God, but take a care what thou dost, and what thou hast promised. If he must perish, know that thou thy self shalt first suffer the punishment which thy Lying and thy Treason deserve.* Presently the Eunuch accepted the Condition, and consented to receive his death at her hands if any thing dismal befel him. Which somewhat pacified the Lady, so that she delivered the Poniard, and suffered it to be sheathed again at her Sons side.

And then it was that the Eunuch redoubling the Oaths that he had sworn, and the Assurances which he had already given her, that there was no danger, but on the contrary, a prospect of all Prosperity, satisfied those Royal Persons, as much as it was possible, in such a dubious Dilemma of their Anxious minds.

The Mother accompanied her Son as far as the last Place, where she was permitted to go without being seen through the Gate that stood open, and then returned with a sad heart, supported by some of her Women, and the Prince trembling and quivering was carried, as I may so say, by the Chief Eunuch without the first Portal, toward the Apartment of the black Eunuchs.

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At the very Instant that he appeared without, the General of the *Musquetteers*, with the Prime Ministers Deputy, who kept at a distance behind him, threw himself at the Prince's Feet, and made three Obeysances according to Custom, knocking the Ground with his Forehead. Then rising upon his Knees, with his Cheeks all bathed in Tears, which either the Lamentations of the Ladies had drawn from his Eyes, or the Death of the Monarch, of which he brought the News, had made him shed, he declared the occasion of his coming in these words, which he uttered with a loud voice, and very distinctly.

May your Illustrious Head be always safe; The King of the World, your Father Habas, to whom the God of mercy grant a new accumulation of Glory has found a Place next to the Divine Goodness; and Your Illustrious Highness is chosen to succeed Him, and has been stiled the Lieutenant of the true Sovereign. For that is the signification of the word *Valiè-Neamet*, which was made use of in that Expression, as being the most usual Epithete, as also the most sublime, which the *Persians* have been accustomed to give their Kings. For *Valiè* denotes a *Sovereign Lieutenant*; that is, an Absolute Prince in his Dominions, and yet one that depends and holds of another. It also signifies a Mediator almost in the same sense. Because a Lieutenant of that nature is a Mediator between the Lord from whom he derives his Authority, and the People to whom he distributes both Punishments and Rewards in the Name of the Sovereign Supreme. As for *Neamet*, it comes from the word *Inaam*, which signifies the free Gift of a Lord to his Slave. So that by the Compound *Valiè-Neamet*, the *Persians* understand a Lieutenant, whom the true and supreme Sovereign, who is God, has established with absolute Authority to dispence over all the World in his stead his Favour and Benefits, as we shall more amply and more to the purpose explain it in another place.

The General of the *Musquetteers* thought it not convenient to use more words, that he might not delay the Prince, whom he found to be impatient to hear what he had to say. But then from one extremity he fell into another quite contrary. To those Tears that had forsaken him succeeded Astonishment, Joy and Sadness that overwhelmed him anew; and rendered him once again as motionless as before.

He became like a person who out of long Darkness comes of a sudden in a flaring Light. He seemed to be seized with a kind of dazzling Amaze, and like one that did not see, beheld as in a Trance, the great number of Eunuchs that kneeled
round

round about him, calling him their Lord and Sovereign. These first Minutes being over, he appeared more composed in his Countenance, and softly leaned upon the Chief Eunuch, like one that had been waked out of a profound sleep. He began to reflect upon what was passed, and he found that they were so far from having any design upon his Life, that they came to advance him to the Throne. Nevertheless, in regard he could not hear those joyful tydings, but as they were accompanied with the News of his Fathers death, both unlookt for, the surprise was equal on both sides, and put him a third time into such an astonishment that he stood for some time in a kind of a Trance. This Grief for some Minutes contested with his Joy, till at length his good nature overcame the latter. He obeyed the persuasions of his sorrow; not minding what he had gained, but what he had lost: and in the midst of those thoughts, overpowered by his Affliction, according to the Custom of the *Persians*, he tore his *Cabaye*, or upper Garment, from the Coller to the Waste. He wept biterly, not having shed a tear till that time; tho the Lamentations of his Mother, and the Consternation wherein he had beheld all the Ladies of his Palace had given him sufficient cause. This shewed the good nature of the Young Monarch, as I have already said, for it cannot be imagined that he dissembled in what he did. He was too young to understand the sly tricks of craft and subtilty, and being one who had never seen the world, but had been bred up tenderly among the Women; accustomed only to talk of fine Cloaths, and Baubles, and to command Eunuchs. Besides that, the disorder of his mind for above an Hour before would not permit him to observe such a regular Conduct. So that although he had been ill used by his Father, who had shut him up in a close Prison, and whose Death seemed to restore him to Life, by giving him his Liberty and a Diadem, he could not forbear to bewail his loss as an Evil that was never a whit the less for being the cause of so much good. Rather must it then be an effect of Nature, which shews that she is always the Mistress of our Affections, and that the Passions which she inspires will still prevail, notwithstanding all the Obstacles of Ambition, Interest, or good Fortune.

The General of the Slaves beholding the Prince oppressed with so much grief, made no Answer, speaking only, as I may so say, with his Eyes, from whence he let fall a shower of Tears, and without expecting any longer till the Prince commanded him to rise, he rose of himself, and approaching his Majesty, made

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use

use of all his Eloquence to alleviate his sorrow. The *Nazir* Eunuch also was no less sedulous to joyn with him in comforting the Young Prince, so that by degrees the violence of his mourning began to abate. The lustre of a Diadem represented it self before his Eyes with all its glory; so that he suffered himself to be overcome with the Charms of Grandeur, and the splendour of an exalted Fortune that glittered in his sight, according to the Expression in the *Persian* Original.

Thereupon the two Lords looking stedfastly one upon another, as it were making signs to each other as to what they had already concluded among themselves; and well knowing that as yet the Young Prince understood not how to act the King, they asked him, as it were by way of an indirect and glancing Instruction what he had to do, whether it were his Majesties pleasure that they should attend him forthwith to the Palace Royal, to receive his Diadem, in regard it was of great importance that he should make no longer delay. To which the Prince condescended, and ordered them to do whatever in their judgment they deemed most proper and convenient. Upon which the General of the Musqueteers, attended by the *Chief Eunuch*, with a great Train of other Persons, conducted the Prince to the Apartment where the Kings were accustomed to give Publick Audience, which they call *Talaar*, *Tavieleh*, where the Deputies of the Principal Officers of State, the *Grand Astrologer*, and the rest that came from the Court were admitted to make their three usual Protestations in his Presence, the Deputies in the Name of their Masters, the rest for themselves. After that, his Majesty went into a Bath which was near the Apartment, there to purifie himself, as the Law ordains, and to array himself in new Habits, while all things were preparing for the Coronation with all diligence.

In the mean time the Chief of the Astrologers, with his Companion that came along with him from the Court, retiring to their proper Station, set themselves to observe the Lucky Hour according to the Position of the Stars for the performance of this weighty Ceremony. Thus all things were got ready in less than an hour and a half, through the great diligence as well of the General of the Musqueteers, as of the *Nazir* Eunuch, who from the very moment that they arrived at the Ladies Palace, and during the time that the King staid in the Bath, had privately sent with all speed

speed for the Furniture of Persons necessary for the Solemnity.

Which before I declare at large, I am induced to think it will not be amiss to make a description of the place where it was performed. And this I shall borrow from another Treatise of my own, wherein I have given a full account of the Capital City of *Persia*, and what is in it most worthy observation.

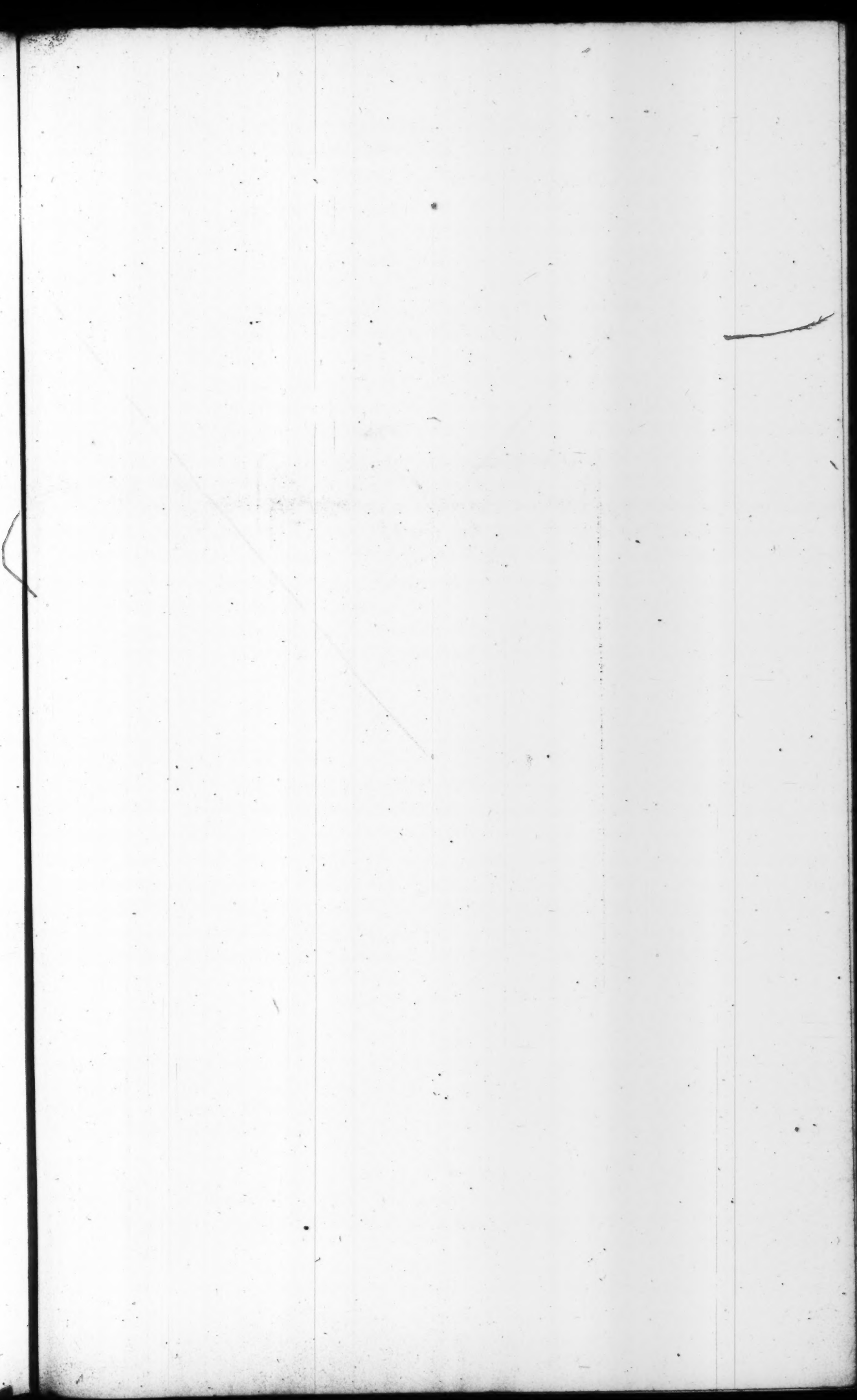
Toward the North, very near the Walls of the Palace, over against one of the Gates that lead to the principal Entry, is an ancient Apartment, built in a perfect Square, every side containing four and twenty foot. It was erected long ago by King *Talmas*: From this Building to the Gate appears a very large Alley, shaded with lofty Maples; all along the sides of which from the Entrance to that Apartment are placed at the distance of ten or twelve Paces one from another, certain stone Mangers of a convenient height, and plastered over with Lime and Chalk, to tie the Horses that are made choice of out of the Royal Stables to the number usually of twelve or fifteen, or sometimes more upon high Festival days, or when any Embassadours or other Foreigners of great quality are admitted to have their first Audience of the King. At what time they are conducted through this Alley through the midst of these Horses gorgeously harnessed. For all their Caparisons are enriched with precious stones as thick as they can lie; the Chains, the Shooes, the Hammers, the Buckets, the Curry-combs, in a word, whatever is used in a Stable is all of pure massie Gold, as we have already declared in its proper place. On the right and left Hand of the Apartment, were to be seen certain Beds of Flowers and Trees planted here and there at random according to the *Persian* manner, where Nature only seems to be the Garderier. Before and toward the South the Garden extends it self in Breadth and Length, divided as it were into Beds and spacious Plots, parted one from another with tall Trees, and planted with so many sorts of Flowers, that some continue blowing during all the three warmer Seasons of the Year. This Apartment is built for the most part of Carpenters Work; nor is the Floor of it level with the Superficies of the Alley, but raised about three foot above it. The Covering is Flat, sustained with turned Pillars, overlaid with Gold to a considerable thickness, some six or seven and twenty foot high. The ground-work of the Ceiling is of carved work in pieces answering one another, and forming Partitions, where the Gold glisters no less than

than in other places. Thus this Apartment is open of all sides, but when the Curtains are let down, which are fastened at the top of the Pillars, equal with the Ceiling without side. And they always let them down either on one or the other side according to the Hour that they know the King will come. But when they let them down, they do not suffer them to hang to the ground as we do; but draw them with their strings to the next of the great Trees in the Garden, and then fasten them to the Bodies of the Trees in such a manner at the height of ten foot from the ground, that they serve instead of large *Umbrellaes*, to prevent the Sun-beams from shining into the Room, and yet without hindering the Company, whether sitting or standing, from having a full sight of all that is done within.

The Curtains are of Crimson Linnen, lined with Indian *Chite* most gayly painted. The bands wherewith they are tied back, as are all the running strings, are of coarse Silk. The Body of the Apartment is divided into three parts separated only by small Balusters of Joiners work richly gilded. The two sides make two Halls of six and thirty paces long, and sixteen broad. Between the two Halls is to be seen a *Talaar*, or a Balcony of State raised four foot higher than the Halls; in the midst of which stand a large and deep Font of white Marble, which receives the Crystal water that continually falls into it from a Pipe of the same coloured Marble. The whole Room is gilded all over, and that so thick, that altho it be above a hundred Years since it was first laid on, there is nothing to this day that appears either Tarnished or shel'd off in any part.

It is called *Talaar-Tavieleh*, as we have already hinted, the *Hall of the Stables*, for that upon certain days, as we have said, the Horses of State are brought out, and tied close by. For *Talaar* signifies properly an exalted Balcony, and *Tavieleh* denotes a Stable, or any other place where they tie Horses.

This was the Place, and thus adorned for the Coronation of the King. For the next day I had the liberty to go in, to look about me at leisure, and observe the Magnificence of the Furniture, and of all that had been made use of at the Ceremony. The two Halls were spread with Carpets of Silk, and all along the sides were placed a great number of low square Beds, covered with flowered Tissue of Gold and Silver. The *Talaar* or Balcony of State in the middle, was hung and spread with Carpets of Gold and Silver: The Cushions round about it being of a certain Stuff made in *Persia*, called *Mach-meli-*





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meli-zer-haf, which is a sort of Velvet weaved in Flowers and Foliage, consisting of Silk interwoven with Gold. It was also furnished with Vessels to spit in, like those in the other Halls, some of which were embellished with small Rubies and Turcoises.

In the place designed for his *Majesty*, a Quilt was laid, stuff with fine Sheeps Wool, four fingers thick, and between three and four foot in length; over which was spread a very fine Coverlet of Indian Work pinked with Gold, being a most admirable piece of Workmanship. This Carpet covered all the Quilt, and hung down four fingers on every side, by that means hindering the Quilt from being seen; besides that, it was kept tight at the two Corners by two great Apples of massie Gold set with precious stones; close to which stood two little Vessels to spit in, sumptuously wrought. At the other end lay a Cushion of which the lower side was of Cloth of Gold, intermixed with red Flowers and green Leaves: As for the upper side I could not tell what Stuff it was made of, because I could not come near enough to observe it; besides that, it was all over covered with Diamonds, Emeralds, Pearl, and other Precious stones, that cast a wonderful lustre, so that it was impossible to know the ground of that costly Embroidery.

The Room was enlightened with fourteen Lamps all of massie Gold, not hung up, but set upon the ground as we set our Candlesticks upon Tables or Stands. These Branches, all of Duckat Gold, are so substantial, that there are some which weigh sixty Marks; and the least weigh thirty or forty. Of these Lamps there were eight in the *Talaar*, in the Middle, and three in each of the Halls, where were also eight Candlesticks with two Branches apiece of massie Gold also, three foot high, and weighing more than the Lamps.

The place for the Coronation, being thus prepared, they brought and laid upon the middle of the *Talaar*, the four Principal Pieces which are in a manner consecrated to this Ceremony.

The first was a *Scourzie*, or Seat which served instead of a Throne, being a little square Cushion Stool, three Geometrical feet in height; the feet of the Pillars that supported the Corners being fashioned like so many great Apples; and to secure the Seat, there ran as many Cross Bars both above and below. The upper part was smooth and plain, without any thing that might make the Seat softer, being all the same materials with the rest, that is, massie Gold very thick; the four Pillars also
and

and the Feet being plated with Gold, and set with little Rubies and some Emraulds. This same Stool at other times is kept very charily in the Treasury Royal, which is a Dungeon in the Fortrels of *Ispahan*, and so weighty, that two men can hardly carry it. I saw it there by good fortune; having the opportunity to get in, when the *Vazier*, or *Farmer Royal* of the City came to open all the *Magazines* and *Closets*, in regard the King was the next day to shew them to his Mother and his Wives.

The second Piece was a *Taag*, or *Diadem*, or *Crown*, for I cannot find any other word to express it by in our Language: nor could the *Persians*, were they to translate the word *Crown* into their own Language, find a more proper word than their own *Taag*; which is that *Persian Crown* or famous *Bonnet*, which some Travellers call the *Sophy's Bonnet*, tho I know not for what reason. I have in another place delivered my opinion sufficiently concerning it. It is a Flat Bonnet, somewhat like the Mortar-Caps of the Presidents of the French Parliaments; only it is not altogether so large, nor so deep. It is made somewhat straiter at the lower end; and carries in the middle a Point that seems to come out of the middle of the Bonnet, but is only sowed on, tho very neatly and artificially. This Point rises up about a fingers length, and lessens toward the end, tho at the top it seems to grow bigger again. The Materials of the Bonnet prepared for the new King was of Cloth of Gold; bound about after the manner of a *Dhul-bandt* (which our Writers, for want of Language, erroneously call a *Turbant*) with one of the finest and Thinnest Calicuts that *India* could afford, and Tissued with Silver upon the brims the breadth of two fingers. The outside of the Hollow of the Bonnet at the Top was covered all over with an Embroidery of Diamonds, from whence hung down several Chains of precious stones that shaded all the rest of the Circumference, and dangled down upon the Bonnet, which was no less sumptuously embellished with all the richest Jewels of the Crown: round about stood little tufts resembling Herons Feathers, all of Jewellers work, nothing inferiour to the rest. In other parts of the Bonnet were erected little Plumes of Herons Feathers, and Birds of Paradise. The *Dhul-bandt* was all hung about with strings of Precious stones, Diamonds, Rubies, Emraulds and Topazes fastened to the Heron Plumes, which strings covered all the *Dhul-bandt* from the top to the bottom, dangling down upon the *Calicut* Facing to keep it fast, and prevent it from unloosening. Just over the forehead shone another Heron-Tuft, much more
glorious

glorious than all the rest: from the top of which rose up three Sockets of Precious Stones, wherein were placed little Tufts of Herons Plumes.

The third Piece was a *Chemchir*, or Sword, of which the Hilt and Scabbard were all covered over with Precious Stones proportionably to the Diadem. All the Persian Swords are about three Fingers broad, and bowed backward almost like a Semi-circle. For they who profess to understand a Weapon in *Persia* maintain that a Blade so bowed cuts much keener, and makes a deeper wound than a streight Sword, which they demonstrate by the Rules of Fencing, which we have not at this time leisure to examine.

The fourth Piece is a *Gangher* or Persian Dagger, of which we have given you the Portraiture, as of all the rest; so that there needs not any farther description; For the infinite number of Precious Stones would not permit the sight to judge of the Materials of the Sheath, tho there is no question to be made but that it was of Gold.

Now to tell you the worth of these three last Pieces (for as to the first it may be easily computed) is a Task which I dare not undertake, because I could never understand any thing of certainty in that concern. True it is, that I have heard a Lord of the Court aver, that as well the Crown as the Sword and Dagger were valued at above a hundred thousand *Tomans*, which amount to near five Millions of our French Money. But I would not advise any person to believe it. For I know the *Persians* too well, and particularly the Courtiers of that Country, for there is no People in the world less friends to Truth, and who take so much pleasure to multiply Objects, or to enhance the Grandeur and Magnificence of their Prince. However it is not altogether improbable what they say: for I have seen one of his Majesties Heron-Tufts, of which some *Europeans* in *Ispahan* valued one single Diamond in the middle at eighteen, and the rest at four and twenty thousand pound sterling. If the Royal Diadem had any more than one Heron-Tuft of that Value, or if that Ruby were upon it, which by the express Command of the deceased King, the Eunuch that had the charge of the Treasury shewed me at *Mazanderan*, which be of an Oval form, weighed (as the said Eunuch told me) a hundred and sixty Caratts, the Chains or Strings, with the Sword and Dagger, being proportionable in value, the three Pieces might well amount to a hundred thousand *Tomans*. But notwithstanding all this to tell you my opinion sincerely, I could ne-

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ver judge them to be worth above three parts of the money.

These three Pieces were laid near the Stool, and covered with a rich *Toilet*. Presently his Majesty appeared coming out of the Bath, and arrayed himself in his usual Habit, tho more sumptuous than he was wont to wear; after that being entered into the Room of State, he sat down in the Place that was prepared for him, and at the same time they who were appointed to assist at the Coronation, ascended the *Talaar*, and ranged themselves in this Order.

Upon the Right side of his Majesty, at a little distance behind him stood the *Aga-Nazir Eunuch*, who at that Ceremony performed the Office of High Chamberlain, carrying to that purpose at his Girdle a little Box of Gold glittering with Precious Stones, wherein were a good Number of Handkerchiefs, and Perfumes for his Majesties service when he had a mind to make use of them.

A little behind him appeared six *Georgian Children* from fifteen to sixteen years of Age, who had been made Eunuchs, extremely beautiful, as are most of the young Children of that Country. They were so placed as to make a half Circle about the King, standing upright without so much as stirring their hands which they held across upon their Breasts; being sumptuously habited in Linnen, whose ground was Silver heightened with Gold in the same Order, and as far behind the Children, as they stood behind the King, appeared a great number of old black Eunuchs, every one holding a long Musquet in his hand, of which the Stock was garnished with Gold and Precious Stones.

Upon the Left hand of the King, which is esteemed the most Honourable among the *Persians*, sat first the Commissioner that represented *Dahammed-Mehdi*, the Prime Minister; Next to him the second Commissioner that represented *Gemchid-Kaan* General of a Body of the Army; Next to him the Person that supplied the Place of *Mazfoud-Bek*, Superintendent General of the Kings Demeans. In the fourth Seat, the Person Commissioned by *Mirza-sedreel-din*, Principal Secretary of the Empire. *Hemireh-Hamzeh-Mirzah-Daroga*, Grand Provost of *Isfahan* and its Dependencies, took the fifth place. And *Mirza-Refie*, esteemed one of the most Learned among the *Persians* took the next.

Upon his Majesties Right Hand, in the second Place (for the first was left void) in honour of *Boadaak-Sultan*, General of
of

of the Musquetteers, who was present but standing upright; near the Prince sat the Person deputed by *Mahammed-Kouli-Kaan* Lord Chief Justice. Below him two Places were left void for the chief Astrologer and his Colleague, who were retired to observe the Lucky Hour. The fifth Place was filled by the most learned and wittiest person that was in all that great Kingdom, by the judgment of all men, being the Brother of the Prime Minister, and great Uncle to the new Monarch by his Wife. His name was *Mirza-Hali-Riza*, and his Title *Cheik-el-Islaam*, or *Ancient of the Law*. For by the word *Islaam*, which properly signifies the Reverence which we pay to the divine Commands, by the submission of our Mind and Will, they mean Religion, which they call the Law, by way of Excellence. For at this day, as formerly among the Hebrews, all their Politicks depend upon Religion; and it is the Ancient of the Law who holds the Ballance of Affairs in his Hand, which cannot be determined without his Approbation. In the sixth Place sat *Mirza-Moumen-Vazier*, or Receiver General for his Majesty in *Ispahan* and its Dependencies.

I could never hear of any other Grandees but these that sat. True it is, that the Halls on both sides were full of Officers that stood; some to authorize the Solemnity of the Coronation; some to be ready to execute the King's Commands, as they should receive them from the General of the Musquetteers, who for that day supplied the Place of Lord High Steward of the Household; carrying in his hand, as a Badge of his Office, a large Truncheon of Gold, all set with Precious Stones, and a round Ball at one End; and standing at the left hand of the King, from whom he received Orders, or to say better, to whom he gave directions. For the new King who had never seen any such sight before, neither did nor said any thing but what was dictated to him.

About ten a clock at night the Chief of the Astrologers and his Companion, having been long observing the Position of the Stars, and Conjunctions of the Planets; returned at length to give notice that the Fortunate Hour for the Coronation of the King would be within twenty Minutes. Thereupon his Majesty ordered the General, as he had been taught before, to lead them both to their Places.

In the mean time he whispered with the General, who gave him Instructions how to behave himself upon all the several changes of the Solemnity: which the young Prince failed not to follow exactly, for fear of committing any Irregularity, for

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want of experience in an Action of so publick and weighty a Concernment.

When the twenty Minutes were almost expired, the Grand Astrologer having winked upon the General to let him know that he might proceed, he told the King; who thereupon immediately, according to his Instructions, rose up; and then all the rest rose up likewise. At what time the General threw himself at his Majesties Feet, bowing to the very Ground; then rising upon his Knees he drew out of the Bosom of his Garment, the Bag wherein was the Letter which the Assembly had sent to the New Monarch. Presently he opened the Bag, took out the Letter, kissed it, laid it to his Forehead, presented it to his Majesty, and then rose up. The Prince having received it, returned it to him again, and commanded him to break it open and read it; which he did aloud very distinctly and leisurely, to the end that all who were present at the Ceremony might hear the Contents, and understand that the Grandees of the Kingdom had unanimously elected the present Prince for King of *Persia*, that they acknowledged him for such, and were ready to attest it if there were occasion.

When he had done reading, the King commanded him to send for the Ancient of the Law, which he did; at what time the *Lord Ancient*, approaching his Majesty, threw himself at his Feet, and after the usual Prostrations, he rose up again, took the Letter out of the Generals hand, to acknowledge and authorize it, to verifie the Seals, and attest that it was real. For that acknowledgment belongs to him as Chief of the Law, and in all spiritual matters. Having taken the Letter, and laid it on his head out of respect, he read it, and looked upon the Seals, and then returning just before the King, he fell upon his Knees, and made three bows to the ground; by that humble posture declaring his approbation of the Letter, and that the advancement of the Prince to the Empire was legal.

While the Spiritual Judge was thus employed, the General desired to know the Kings Resolution, whether he would be Crowned by his own name, or assume any other before his Coronation. Who made answer, that tho he altered his Condition, he would not change his Name, but retain that of *Sephie* which was given him in his Infancy. The General returned the Kings pleasure to the *Ancient of the Law*, who was risen from the Kings Feet, where he had left the Letter. At the same instant therefore, the two Lords, the *Ancient of the Law* upon his Right, and the General upon his Left, conducted the Prince to the
Chair

Chair of Gold, so often mentioned before, placed in the middle of the Hall, and then the *Ancient of the Law* besought him to take his Place. Which he did, according to the Rules of the Law, wherein he had been instructed, with his face toward the *Kaabba*, or *Oratory of Mecca*. Then the *Ancient of the Law* seating himself upon his Heels, which is the Posture used by the *Mahumetans* when they pray to God, or when they are in the presence of any Persons of high Dignity, some few paces distant from his Majesty discovered the *Diadem*, the *Sword* and *Dagger*, and then said a Prayer to God, which he began with a short Confession of their Faith, and concluded with a Benediction upon the Royal Ornaments appointed for the Ceremony of the Coronation. The Prayer lasted not above a quarter of an Hour; at what time rising up, he took the Sword and girded it on upon his Majesties Left side; and hung the Dagger upon his Right. Then having made a sign to the General to take off the Bonnet from the Kings head, he put on the *Taagh* or *Diadem*, uttering at the same instant certain Verses of the *Alcoran* proper for the purpose, which he did before when he girt on the Sword and Dagger.

This done he ended, and gave place to *Mirza-Refia*, the great and learned Doctor already mentioned, who presented himself to perform the *Kotbè*, which word in the Original signifies a Prayer. But by this Prayer is meant a Prayer in form of a Harangue; and perhaps they might give it the name of an Oration.

By an ancient Custom, time out of mind, these Prayers were always to be divided into four Heads; to last half an hour, and to contain always the same Form. Only the Orator had the liberty to alter the Terms, and the Stile, and to give a new flight to his thoughts.

The first Head is called *Hamde-Koda*, or the *Praise of God*, because the Orator here speaks of nothing else, "But of the
 " Thanks which we always ought to render him for his Graces
 " and Favours, since there is not that moment wherein we do
 " not continually receive some new mark of his Kindness.
 " That his Blessings being like the Sources of great Rivers,
 " that flow without ceasing, and never stop their Course, for
 " which reason the blessings of God, are called by the Di-
 " vines, *Flowing Blessings*, our Thanks therefore ought to be
 " continual, and always running. That whatever his Su-
 " preme Majesty exposes to the Eyes of Men, whether it were
 " in times past, or now at this present, bears the Characters,
 " and

“ and imprints the Seals of his affection toward us, and testifies
 “ that whatever he acts without himself, he does it all for the
 “ greatest good of Mankind, in regard that Infinite Being is the
 “ best of all that do best.

These are their Expressions, and very near the sense of the first Head, which lasts some half a quarter of an hour.

“ The second Head is called, *Nead Berpegamberhou ve douasde*
 “ *Imaam; The Praise, Remembrance, and Acknowledgment of the*
 “ *Prophet, and of the twelve Descendants and Lieutenants.*

“ And therefore it contains nothing more than the Acclama-
 “ tions and Benedictions which they give to persons which
 “ their superstition has rendred Venerable among them; That
 “ you are the Fourteenth whom God has chosen pure and unble-
 “ mished; That he has made them successively Lords of all
 “ Mortals. That the Faith is not entire, if together with the
 “ Confession of the Divinity we do not likewise acknowledge
 “ the sending of these Fourteen to be lawful, upon whom the
 “ Heavenly Lights are shed down, to give light to wandering
 “ souls, and to shew to all the way of Truth. Therefore we
 “ are obliged to glorifie them, to celebrate their Praises, to wish
 “ for their perpetual Welfare and Peace, and to their Family on
 “ Earth all manner of prosperity: that their names may be ex-
 “ alted above all *Created Beings*. That Curses may be heaped
 “ upon their Enemies. And that all the Men in the Universe
 “ may be lead away, and become dust at their Door. With
 several other Wishes of the same nature, which I have rendered
 as much word for word as is possible.

The third Head is that Royalty is of divine Institution. *Sel-temet ez Hokkam Koda*, that is, *that Royalty is of Divine Institution*. Upon which they observe, “ That since God created the World,
 “ he has always governed his People by Prophets, and in their
 “ stead by Kings, whom he has established their Successours.
 “ That Kings are the *Zel-Alla*, or the shadow of God; which
 “ is that which we call the Image of God. But the word Image is
 such an Expression as they abhor as Idolatrous, a Term which
 they dare not make use of; believing at the same time, that they
 likened God to any Image, they supposed him at the same time to
 be Corporeal. They added withal,

“ That as at all times we are obliged to serve God, and to
 “ obey him, not only by the light and understanding which
 “ Heaven has infused into us at our Birth, but by the Revela-
 “ tions which we have had from his Prophets, who have de-
 “ clared unto us his Will, we are in the same manner, and by
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“ the same Revelation bound to obey Kings, as being the *Valiè*
 “ or Sovereign Lieutenants of God, *Gaanut-chin*, sitting in his
 “ place on Earth, and that we ought to submit to their Com-
 “ mands, without examining whether they be just or no. In
 “ regard that in submitting to their Commands we submit at the
 “ same time to the Holy Books in all things, tho they seem
 “ contrary to our Reason and Understanding, by which we
 “ shewed blind obedience which God exacts from men ; some-
 “ times trying our readiness to submit to him, by Commands
 “ that seem unjust, to render out submission more acceptable and
 “ of greater value.

The fourth and last Point is, *Douhaa-Preray, padchaè, A*
Prayer for the King, “ Which contains a great number of Sup-
 “ plications for the long life of the present Monarch of the
 “ *Persians*, for his Health, for the establishment of his Throne
 “ and the increase of his Conquests. That since this illustrious
 “ Branch of the *Imaanic* Race is according to the true Law be-
 “ come the Lieutenant of the Monarch of all the Earth, and
 “ lawful Lord of the World, that therefore his Dominions
 “ may extend from the one to the other Pole ; That his Majesty
 “ may always appear surrounded with glory like the Sun. That
 “ his Word may have a constraining Power. That all his Wishes
 “ and Desires may be accomplished ; and that all things may
 “ succeed in a more glorious manner than ever in favour of
 “ King *SEPHIE*. Which last word the Orator pronounced in a
 louder Tone than he had pronounced all the rest, to the end that
 all the Throng might hear him distinctly.

And here it is to be observed, that he rose on purpose at the
 end of his Oration, in regard that till then, during all the Ce-
 remony that Name had not been uttered before.

But at the same Instant that they heard the Name of *SEPHIE*
 pronounced, all the whole Assembly strove which should send
 forth loudest acclamations of joy by repeating the usual *Intch-*
Alla, or *God grant it*, which every one repeated five or six times.
 After which the *Cheik-el-Islaam*, or Ancient of the Law, was the
 first that fell upon his Knees before the King, and bowing his
 Forehead three times to his Majesties Feet, pronounced a second
 Benediction in few words, which he concluded with zealous
 wishes of Prosperity ; and that he might so Reign as to extend
 the Frontiers of his Dominion, and render his Subjects
 happy.

He made three Bows more at the Conclusion of his Harangue,
 which he uttered with a great deal of Eloquence, as they
 assured

assured me, tho he had had no time to prepare himself, as having been hurried half asleep out of his Bed to assist at the Solemnity.

After him all the Grandees, according to their Dignity, and the rest who were of any Quality came and paid their respects to the Monarch with the three customary Prostrations.

This done, his Majesty rose from his Seat of Gold and returned to his former Place, as did all the rest where they sat before. For during the Ceremony they all stood, there being none that sat but the King.

In this manner was *Sephiè* the Second Crown'd, his Grandfather being the first of that Name among all the *Persian* Monarchs. True it is, that the first Founder of this Race was of the same Name, but he is not numbred among the *Persian* Kings, because he was never put into the Catalogue. His Modesty would not suffer him to accept the Title. For as the Historians tell us, he always look'd upon the Throne to be an Illustrious Torment, which under the vain appearances of happiness concealed continual pain and trouble.

This name of *Sephiè* has several significations which amount to the same sense and meaning: for sometimes it signifies a *Friend*, sometimes *electèd*, sometimes *pure* or *purified*. Which I have said turn all to the same sense, for Friends are but persons selected from others, and *purified*, which is the most usual signification, and is not much remote from the other two. As for example, when the *Persians* call (as they often do) the first man *Adam Sasiè Alla*, we may translate it the *Man*, the *Friend*, or the *Electèd*, or the *Purified of God*. Which three Epithites agree very well in their signification. For the friends of God are his *Electèd*: Nor can they be his *Electèd* before he hath purified them. And therefore it is according as the word is placed, that sometimes it signifies one thing, sometimes another. As here for example, speaking of the New King of the *Persians*, I should rather chuse to translate *Chae Sasiè*, the *King Electèd*, than the *King purified*. True it is, that they who would have *Sasiè* to signify *purified*, depend upon the Etymology; For that the Root from whence *Sasiè* is derived is *Saf*, which properly signifies *Purity*. But let this suffice for playing the Grammarian. The subject of my discourse will not permit me to stop any longer upon these Trifles, but only to observe by the way, that it was from the word *Sasiè* that the Greeks borrowed the word *Sophos*. It will be more to the purpose to observe the mistake of our Writers upon the word *Sasiè*. For they would have all
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the Kings of *Persia* to be called *Sophies*. I cannot but laugh when I find in their Writings the *Grand Sophy*, the *Sophy of Persia*, and the Sovereign *Sophy*. For the Kings of *Persia* are neither called *Sophies* in general, nor in particular. Could the Kings of *Persia* read our European Characters, and should see upon the Letters, that are written to them from some parts of *Europe*, the Title which is given them of *Sophy*, questionless they would spit upon them, and take it for an affront.

Therefore I would have those that speak, when occasion offers, of *Persia*, or whether they be the Ministers of Princes, to be careful how they commit this mistake in their Dispatches to that Court: or whether they be those Writers who profess to give a faithful Relation of a Country where they profess themselves to have been, and pretend to tell us what they have seen with their Eyes, yet vent a thousand Lies and Stories, and over-confidently impose upon their Readers; I say I would have such persons content themselves with only giving us the false names of things, but that the things themselves should be really true. Nevertheless I find that in those things they make very gross mistakes; and therefore lest people may think I decry others to gain the more credit to my own Relations; and to free my self from the lash of the Proverb, *That two of a Trade can never agree*, I shall for proof of what I assert, bring an Example relating to this very Story it self, which I shall not take out of any Book of Travels, (for it is not my Intention here to attack any one of them) but from the *Audir of Address*, wherein there is a relation of the Death of the late King of *Persia*, and of the Coronation of the present King, fol. 523.

“ I cannot conclude without imparting to you the news which we have received from the Court of *Persia*, by Letters from *Legorn*, the fifth of this Month.

“ They tell us by an Express dispatched from *Ispahan* to the English Merchants residing in *Legorn*, that the *Sophie* after a debauch of drinking, fell sick at *Khur*, in his return from *Casbin*, and died four days after. That after his Death was known, in the City of *Ispahan*, his Eldest Son, about twenty years of Age, was Proclaimed by the Principal Minister and other Officers, by the name of Grandfather *Sha-Sophy*. That the next day the Governour of *Ispahan* and the chief Lords of the Court, who accompanied the Body of the deceased King, being arrived, and having paid their Homage to the Prince, he shewed himself in publick to his Subjects, who testified their joy by their loud Acclamations; and

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“ that

“ that afterwards he received the accustomed Presents of the
 “ Nobility, as also of the Agents of *England, France, and*
 “ *Holland.*

“ They add that several days were spent in feasting and re-
 “ joycing by publick Proclamation, with a more than ordinary
 “ Magnificence as being a thing, which they saw pleased the hu-
 “ mour of the Prince, who they say is more addicted to Ex-
 “ pences than his Father, and that he having given Audience
 “ to the same Agents, he had promised a Confirmation of the
 “ Priviledges which his Predecessors had granted them; and
 “ also to enlarge them, as he should see occasion.

Had the Author of this News studied to frame a false story, he could not have contrived it better; for that he speaks nothing of truth. This Express, which they assure us to have been dispatched from *Ispahan* to *Legorn*, is a meer Fantome. Not one of the English ever dispatched any person in all that time, nor at any other time; I do not know that indeed they ever dispatched directly any Person from the Capital City of *Persia* to that Port of *Italy*. Nor did ever that Monarch of the *Persians*, whom they so confidently call *Sophy*, ever go by that name in his own Country, nor any other like it. Whereas he says, that the King fell sick of a debauch, and died four days after, it is of the same stamp with the rest.

He did not fall sick of a debauch; neither did his distemper carry him off in four days; for he lay in a languishing condition four Months and more. The place which the Relation calls *Khur*, where he says the King died, is a perfect *Chimera*. I have examined all my *Persian* Geography, and can find no such place, either great or small, that is called by that name. As little of truth there is in what he farther adds, that it was in the Kings return from *Casbin* that he died. For the King had not been at *Casbin* in eight years before; but it was from the *Caspian* Sea that he was then coming back, as has been already related in the Life of that great Monarch.

The Author of the Relation passing forward to the Election of his Successour, goes on with the same sincerity as before. For the news of the deceased Kings death was not known in *Ispahan* before the Coronation of his Successour, unless it were to some few persons of the highest Quality; nor was the Successour proclaimed in that City by the Prime Minister, nor any other of the Prime Ministers of State, who were a hundred and forty Leagues off at that time. There are no publick Proclamations in that Country as among us. Nor was he pro-
 claimed

claimed, as his Grandfather is pretended to have been, under the name of *Sha-Sophi*, since neither the one nor the other ever bore that Name.

That which follows after, “ That the Governour of *Ispahan*, “ and the principal Lords of the Court, who accompanied the “ Corps of the deceased, being arrived there, and having paid “ their accustomed Homage, he shew’d himself in publick to his “ Subjects, who testified their joy by their loud and extraordinary Acclamations.

This whole Period, I say, contains as many impertinencies as there are words. The Governour of *Ispahan* never left the City; so that he could not then be said to return the next Morning: nor was the Body of the deceased King ever brought thither, as being a thing that was never intended. Then for the Lords that accompanied the Corps, the first that came to the Court did not come till within twenty days after, others not till thirty or forty. And as for the Acclamations of joy which he mentions, I heard none but those of which I have already given an account; and yet I was present at the whole Ceremony, so that no body could be a better Witness than my self. Nor did the Intelligencer know any better which of the Agents, whether the *English*, *French*, or *Holland* Agent had his first Audience of the New King, or what Presents they made him, of which we shall give an account in the series of our Discourse. Let the Reader now judge, what credit there is to be given to Relations, which are supposed to have been sent to that Country, which are only grounded upon uncertain Reports, and Letters of Merchants and Travellers written without judgment, who upon occasion, speaking of other Affairs touch upon something that was transacted in that Country.

But now to return to our business. After the Young King, and those that stood of each side were returned to their Places, the General of the Musqueteers having whispered some few Minutes in the Kings Ear, among several other things of lesser Importance, gave out these four principal Commands in his Majesties name.

First, That both the soft and loud Musick should play in the two Balconies upon the top of the great Building, which stands at one end of the Palace Royal, called the *Kaisariè*, or *Imperial Place*. No Nation was dispensed with, whether *Persians*, *Indians*, *Turks*, *Muscovites*, *Europeans*, or others, which was immediately done. And this same Tintamarr or Confusion of Instruments, which sounded more like the noise of War than Musick, lasted twenty

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days

days together without intermission, or the interruption of Night. Which number of twenty days was observed to answer the number of the Young Monarch's years, who was then twenty years of Age.

The second was, that the Palace should be furnished with usual Guards, to the same Number, and in the usual Places as in the time of the deceased Monarch.

The third was, that they should go and deface the Name of *Habas* out of all the Seals and Signets of State, which are all of Precious Stones, which were brought from Court, in a Purse sealed up with the Prime Ministers Seal, and that the Name of *Sephiè* should be engraved in the room of the other. That if in any of the Seals the Name of *Habas* could not be conveniently Erased, that the engraving should be entirely taken away, to make room for another Sculpture-upon a new Superficies; or if the Pieces were so delicate that they could not endure defacing, that they should be broken to pieces, and new stones be engraved.

The fourth, That all the old Coins and Stamps should be broken, and other new Money made with the Name of the present Prince upon it. And that care should be taken to coin with all speed against the next day between sixscore and a hundred and forty *Tomans*, which amount to between five or six hundred pounds sterling of our Money.

This was done with that speed that the Sum was ready the next day in great Pieces, as is usual, to the value of eighteen pence, for the King to bestow as he pleased himself. The same day one of these Pieces came to my hands; and the Person from whom I had it assured me, that there had been some of the same bigness coined in Gold, which I am apt to believe, tho I never saw any. Round about the Edge were engraved the twelve names of *Mahomet's* Successours, with these words in the middle, *Bende, Shae-din-Safiè-est; The Sovereign Lieutenant of the King of the World according to the true Law is Safiè.*

We have in another Place explained these Inscriptions more exactly and literally. On the other side was this *Persian* Distich:

*Zibad Destiè shae Abas sanie,
Safiè zad Zikkeh, saheb Karaniè.*

That is, *After Habas the Second was in Corporeal Being.* Or thus:

After

After Habas the Second quitted his Corporeal Being, Safie Master of the World coined this Money.

Which is as much as to say, He was declared King, in regard that in those Countries, as well as here, none but Sovereigns can coin Money.

Underneath were these words: *Zarby sefahaan hazar haftad on Hest, Coined at Isphahan the year of the Hegirah 1077.*

It was almost near Midnight before the Ceremony ended. At what time the King rose up in his Royal Habiliments, which he did not put off till he was retired into his particular Apartment in the Womens Palace. All the while there was to be observed a great alteration in the Countenance of the Young Prince. He looked with a Countenance all in disorder, like a Person that was not well in his Senses. And indeed what other could be expected from a Person that had been all along mued up under a close confinement, and had never seen the World? Besides that by a secret Fatality of the ill humour of his Father, he had been shut up in a more rigorous Imprisonment, than ever was practised before toward the Kings Children? Could he observe a certain Posture of Majesty, that should have performed all things after a surprizing manner, who had never been instructed before? Much less, was he able to make any Reflections upon himself. Add to this, that the Young Prince passed of a sudden from one Extremity to another. He heard himself called *Master of the World*, He that but a little before was in condition little inferiour to that of a Slave. True it is, that he wanted for no Conveniences in his Captivity, which was accompanied with all the Pleasures grateful to the Senses; but those Pleasures became Torments, when sowered with the continual fears of Death, or deprivation of his Eyes that continually threatned him.

And this was that which made him he could not tell what to do. For what may we say of that last assault that attacked his very Soul? How many dismal Apparitions did the dreadful Cries and frantick Lamentations of his Mother and his Wives, and others of the same Sex present to his Mind? His Soul, to speak after the *Persian* manner, was like a Sea, which being agitated by a furious Tempest, expresses its disorder by the roaring of the Waves, and shews the disturbance it was in after the Storm is over, and tho a pleasing Calm succeed.

The Grand Dutchess (for that Title is given to the Mother of the New King from the very moment of her Sons being Crowned) was not in a worse condition. They had told her the

the very first words which the General of the Musquetteers had uttered, throwing himself at her Sons Feet: they brought her the news every Minute of what passed. But Fear and Grief had so possessed her Imagination that there was no entrance for any other Passion. It was above a quarter of an hour before she would so much as listen to the welcome news which they brought her; she refused obstinately to believe. And tho she had such forcible reasons to rejoyce, she still continued weeping and lamenting according to the humour of her Sex, that are willing to dwell upon sorrowful Objects, and wilfully refuse to put away those Idea's from their Minds. However at length so many Eunuchs came to tell her the news of the Death of her Husband, and the Election of her Son, for whose Coronation they were preparing, that she began to lend an Ear, and to surcease her fears. Nevertheless her Soul continued still in suspense between Joy and Grief: For as the good Fortune of her Son and his Exaltation afforded her a happy occasion of Gladness, so the mournful death of her Husband recalled her Tears: So that those two Passions equally prevailing in her heart kept the ballance so even that her joys and sorrows hung in an equal Poise. But at length Custom and good Manners turn'd the Scales. So that for a while she relapsed into her first Commotions: she rent her Garments, calling upon the Soul of the Deceased, expostulating with him as if he had been present, what reason he had to quit the World and leave her in that forlorn condition; with other moans and lamentations of the same nature. However she gave over when she understood that the King her Son was returning to her. Thereupon, after she had performed the usual Ceremonies of Purification which the Law ordains, she changed her Habit, as did the Princess the New Monarchs Wife, with the rest of the Ladies of Quality that belonged to the Court, to receive the King, who till then had lived among them as a Prisoner.

So soon as they had notice that the New King was entered into their Palace, they went all to meet him. The Great Dutchess was the first that paid her duty to him upon her Knees, bowing her Head three times to the ground: which done, his Wife and his Concubines did the same; and then the rest of the Persons belonging to the Place, whose Quality and Employments priviledged them for that Honour. I could not learn what was done more the rest of the Night: for I have already informed you how difficult it is to be informed of the Transactions in those secret Habitations, that seem to be Regions
of

of another World. There are none but Women that can approach within a League of it, or some Black Eunuchs, with whom a Man may as well converse with so many Dragons that can discover those secrets, and you may as well tear out their hearts, as a syllable upon that Text. You must use a great deal of Art to make them speak; just as we tame Serpents in the *Indies*, till they make them hiss and dance, when they please. In the mean time the noise of the *Nakara* resounded from the Terraces of the Royal Palace. And in regard it continued longer than ordinary, which is generally not above three Quarters of an Hour, it gave an occasion to those that were wakened with the din to wonder what was the matter. But in regard it was then Midnight, and an unseasonable time to stir out of the House there were very few, unless they were such as lived near the Royal Palace that would so far gratifie their Curiosity as to enquire the Reason. The rest contented themselves till next Morning, at what time they understood that *Saphiè* the Second was seated upon the Throne as Successour to his Father *Habas* deceased.

I leave the Reader to conjecture how every body was surprised. For my part I apprehended something so strange upon the novelty of the Accident, that I thought my self in a dream. That they could conceal the Death of so great and Potent a Prince so long, and yet that it should not be known till after the Son was seated upon the Throne and actually Crowned, of which I had never read the like Example. But this was one Master-piece of the *Persian* Wisdom, never too much to be commended. By means of which Address, the State changed its Master, without any alteration in Form; and suffered one of the most dangerous Resolutions without being sensible of it; inso-much that in all *Ispahan* there did not appear the least sign of Consternation. They heard without any disturbance that *Habas* was dead without making a Will, and with satisfaction received the Person whom they had Elected in his Place. There was no body that appeared either very sad or overjoyed: No body that plaid the Censurer to find fault with what was done, much less any one that was mutinous. For all things ran in their usual Course. The Merchants opened their Shops as they did the day before, and every one followed their Occasions, as little concerned as if no such thing had happened.

Methought that then *Ispahan* was one of the Places Republick, above the reach of Fortune, and exempted from those Accidents that trouble the Tranquillity of Mortals.

Our

Our *Europeans* only took the *Alarm* upon the news of this great and sudden Revolution, and they that were in their Houses in the City kept their doors shut all the first part of the Morning. Among the rest the *Hollanders*, who were retired to their own Home, to the number of Forty. With them was M. *Hubert de Lareffe*, who was sent by the Orders of the *Holland Company* in the Quality of an Embassadour to the deceased King with Commissions and Presents for his Majesty. He was then just about to return; but understanding the Change, he who having been long employed by the *Company*, had been in several parts of *India*, and had there seen upon the death of Princes strange Commotions, and dangerous Seditions, wherein many Murders and Roberies had been with impunity committed; He, I say, made cautious by this hazardous Experience, was not a little fearful of the same Consequences of such a Change, and therefore advised the Dutch to keep in, to prevent the evil Accidents of mutinies upon such occasion in hopes of Booty and Pillage. But the Ingenuity of the *Persians*, and the Excellency of their Government might have spared him those Fears. However when the Superiour of the *Capuchins* brought him word about nine of the Clock in the Morning that all was quiet, that he might no longer discover his mistrust of the Publick Security; he ordered the Doors to be opened. This Superiour of the *Capuchins* was the Reverend Father *Raphael of Mans*.

At the same time the *New Monarch* coming out of the Inner part of his Palace, went and sate in the great Hall where he was Crowned the Night before, and then it was that all the *Grande*s, who were then at *Ispahan* qualified to receive that Honour, were admitted to kiss the ground before his Feet. This Ceremony lasted till ten of the Clock; at what time his Majesty rising from his Seat took Horse; and that was the first time that ever he rode out of the Place where he was born. And according to the Custom of the *Persians*, he made a Cavalcade round his Palace very leisurely, and with little attendance, riding in the middle at the distance of twenty Paces from them that marched before, and those that followed after, only twelve Footmen went of each side, before and behind his Horse; and all this to the end he might be the better seen by the People.

His Majesty had on a *Cabaye*, or *Georgian* Vest of Sattin and Silver, thick powdered with Violets; the forepart of which upon his Breast was adorned with long Rows of Pearls and Diamonds, six of each side. Over his Vest he wore a short

Justacore

Justacore without Sleeves, of Cloath of Gold, faced with Sables. Upon his right side stuck his Dagger, of which the Sheath and Hilt were set with Emeralds and other Precious Stones: nor was his Sword less gorgeously embellished. Upon his Head he wore a *Persian Cap* or *Dhul-bandt*, made of very fine Silk and Gold, with a Royal *Heron-Tuft* fastened before in a Rose of Diamonds and Rubies. The People from all Parts flock together in Heaps to see their New Sovereign; who not being accustomed to see such Sholes of People, as having always lived remote from Noise and Hurry, seemed, as he had done at the Coronation Ceremony, to look like one that knew not well how to behave himself, as being not a little dazled with so much sudden Splendour. However he still looked up, so that all might see his Eyes, where sweetness fate intermixed with Majesty, which immediately begat both Love and Respect, as did all the rest of his Body which was exactly shaped.

His Stature was Tall, and withal proportionable and graceful; his Face was round, with a pleasing Air in his Lineaments, a little marked with the Small Pox. His Eyes blue, his Hair white, which he therefore dyed black, as being the colour most esteemed by the *Persians*. They who know that all the followers of *Mahomet* shave their Hair, will understand that I mean the hair of his Beard, which at those years began to spread its early Down upon his Lips and Cheeks, wherein he was very like his Father, only that he had not so long a Nose, nor so full and open an Eye. The whiteness of his Complexion, which the Sun had not at all altered as yet, had something in it, which I cannot express, that was extremely charming. In a word, there was nothing in the Prince which did not then appear very graceful. I say, *then*; for now he is very much changed, and still changes every day.

His Majesty having been an Hour abroad returned into the Womens Apartment, from whence he did not stir out all that day, after he had given Orders, or rather Leave to the *General of the Musquetteers*, and the *Nazir Eunuch*, who were then his chiefest Favourites, to dispatch such business as required hast.

He did nothing more all the rest of that day, nor was there any other Pomp or Show, contrary to the general expectation. For the King was willing to defer the time of Publick Rejoycing till all the Court should be arrived at *Isfahan*. In the mean while, there was no alteration to be seen in the City; The

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Shops

Shops were open, the Tradesmen followed their business in the publick Streets, and the Markets were kept till a little before Night. And this was observed not only in the *Capital City*, but over all that Vast Empire. So that this great Revolution made no change either in the Estate or Business of any Person. It was an absolute Calm, for which we may give two Reasons. The one was the Prudence of the *Great Ones*, who understood so well to conceal the Death of the deceased Monarch: The other was, the absolute Authority of the Kings of *Persia*, and the terrible Awe that Superstition infuses into the People. At the bare Command of the Prince the highest in Dignity come and offer their Heads, and submit themselves to the stroke of Death, without daring to presume to ask the reason why?

In this manner, no body appeared either pensive or glad; no body discovered the least sign of discontent. Not but that I believe there were several who concealed their sorrows, for fear of offending the New King. They considered that *Habas* the Second, of whose death they had so lately heard, was fit to govern; that he was kind and gentle to his Subjects; that he was feared abroad; but kept all things in peace and tranquillity at home. That he was a lover of Justice, and took care that his Officers did not abuse their Authority, and oppress the People; nevertheless, that a secret Providence had cut him off in the midst of so fair a Race, and in the flower of his Age, when he had strength of judgment to design, and force of body to execute. That on the contrary, the Young Prince who was now ascended to the Throne, had never seen any thing, and was as it were but an Apprentice, not only in the Act of Government, but in all other things. So that they were likely to suffer long through the tenderness of his Age, as they had experienced before in the Reigns of his Predecessors upon the same grounds.

But they who most laid to heart the mournful death of the deceased King, were the Christians. That Prince had always shewed himself kind and favourable to their Religion, shewing them extraordinary Civilities, and rebuking the Ministers of the Law, and Interpreters of the *Alcoran*, when they sought to exasperate him against the Professors of our Religion.

Which he did more than once; as we do relate in his Life; inasmuch as the *Armenians* would say one among another, that he was more a Christian than a *Mahometan*. Not but that he was very much devoted to his own Religion, even as much as the most zealous of his Predecessors; only he thought that the violence of Princes toward the Liberty of mens Consciences was

was a thing neither Acceptable to God, nor conformable to Reason. That he was not to cease being a Man because he was a *Mahometan*; That if Providence had exalted him to a Throne, it was that he should carry himself like a King, and not like a Tyrant: and that there was nothing more Barbarous nor Tyrannical, than such a Conduct as not only violated the Law of Nations, but of Nature also; which desire that men should live in Society one with another, so far from being at Enmity that they should be mutual Assistances one to another. Lastly, that God alone was the Lord of the Conscience, and Master of the Will: That for his part he had nothing to do but with the outward Government of the Kingdom; and for that reason it became him to do Justice to all his Subjects of whatsoever Religion, since they were all Members of his Kingdom.

He persisted so constantly in this judgment and opinion, that notwithstanding all the endeavours of the Doctors of the *Mahometan* Superstition to incense him against the Christians, they could never vanquish his Resolution. He looked upon them as People whose false zeal rendred them incapable of Right Reason; or as Persons byassed by Interest, who under the specious pretence of Religion would make themselves great among the Multitude; or else make use of the credit which they had already, to make Parties, and Factions in the Kingdom, and disturb the Government. And therefore he always took delight to lessen and contemn such sort of people.

This clearly appeared, when he prevented the Creation of a new *Sadre*, or *Mahometan Pontiff*, or Metropolitan of the whole Empire, inspects into all the Ecclesiastical Revenues which are managed by inferiour Officers under his Authority, and by his Orders: for the word *Sadre* signifies the Breast of the Law. *Habas* the Second also had severely persecuted the *Cheik-el-Islaam*, or *Ancient of the Law*, who is another Petty Sovereign in spiritual Affairs. For it is his business to take cognizance of, and to resolve all Cases of Conscience in Matters of Religion as we have already observed. The King had like to have condemned him to death, upon an Information, that some of the Interpreters should whisper one among another, that it would be the best way to advance to the Throne one of the Sons of the *Ancient of the Law*, who would be more zealous for their Religion, than the present Monarch: and he had certainly put his design in execution, had not the *Ancient of the Law* prevented him by offering to his displeasure both his own and the

Head of all his Children that attended him. That spectacle appeased his wrath ; believing that person innocent whom he saw so lowly humbled before him.

He had also thrown out of favour his *Pichnaamaz*, or *Chaplain*, and Confessor ; for no other reason but because he continually declaimed against the Christians.

The Prime Minister of State that governed during the Minority of *Habas*, was no less averse to the Christians than any of the rest, as being a zealous *Mahumetan* ; and therefore he continually incensed his Master against them, and would have had the King have given command that they should carry a Mark, like the Jews, to distinguish them from *Mahumetans* : but the King continually denied him ; and it is reported that the disgust which he took against him for that very thing contributed not a little to his Fall.

After these great Examples of his Lenity, the Prince being now become more absolute, not only suffered the Christians to enjoy the free exercise of their Religion ; but also granted the same freedom to the Jews ; notwithstanding all the secret and publick opposition, which the *Mulla* or Religious People could make. Nay, it hapned that the King took an occasion to depress all that Race of Hypocrites. For being so transported as they were to talk of deposing him, as an Infidel, who kept too much Society with the Profane, the secret hatred which he bare them from that time forward gave him a plausible pretence to shew his resent, and that I may use the *Persian* Phrase, to *break their Teeth*, that is to say, to prevent their Biting.

As to the *Armenians* who were his Subjects, and professed the Christian Religion, he was wont to tell the Grandees of the Kingdom, that it would be a vile Injustice, for People that laboured for the good of the Kingdom, by their Industry and Commerce, to be excluded from the enjoyments of Peace and that Plenty of which they were the principal Instruments.

Therefore it was not without just cause that the Christians mourned in their hearts for the loss of so good a Prince : their misfortune seemed to be without remedy, in regard the New Monarch, whom they saw exalted in his room, was but a young Man, from whom they could not promise to themselves any thing of assurance ; and tho he should be favourably inclined, and preserve the same kindness for them as his Predecessour, he could not, in regard of his want of experience, long continue his good Intentions, by reason of the daily Importunities

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ties of his Counsellours, and the perpetual clamours of the *Interpreters* of the *Alcoran*, and the *Doctors* of the Law.

Besides that, a Prince of his Age could not well tell where to find a more expert person to be his Confident than the General of the Musquetteers, who was a terrible Enemy of the Christians, as well out of his one natural humour, as for that he hated the *Superintendant*, whom the Christians had for a long time looked upon as their Protector at Court.

But among all the Christians none were more afflicted for the death of the late King than the *French*, or *Europeans*: They had the same reasons for their sorrow with the Native Christians, (for the *Mahumetans* make no distinction between the several Sects among us) but there was one Reason of greater Importance. For that they were strangers, remote from their Country, and could not subsist where they were without the favour of the Sovereign Prince. As for the deceased King, he had extended his favours toward them in a high measure: he had used them more like a Father than a Friend: and his publick affection begat them respect and honour in all Societies. But they could not hope for any such favours from his Successour. Their condition under the deceased King was too advantageous, that they should presume to aspire to that degree again: rather they expected that the change of the Prince would be the change of their good fortune into bad.

At the time of this doleful Revolution, there was at *Ispahan* the Dutch Embassadour, as I have already observed, *M. Hubert de Laireffe*; being sent from *Batavia* by the Order, and on the behalf of the *Holland Company*, with considerable Presents for the King and his Principal Ministers, with a design to renew their Alliance, and to request certain Favours of his Majesty, in reference to their Trading in his Dominions, which was interrupted as well by the Governour of *Fars*, which is properly *Persia*, as the Officers of the famous Port of *Bender-Habassi*, or *Habas's Port* or Market, (for that the first King of that name was the first that made it a Place of Trade) to transport their Merchandize from *Ormuz* to that Place, which is over against it, and in a more commodious situation: where the *Hollanders* have their principal Factory. The Embassadour arrived at Court in July; and at his first coming had his Audience in the Valley of *Saver* in the Province of *Mazendaraan*; four Leagues from the *Caspian Sea*; and twelve from *Esterabaat*. And he followed his business so close, and managed it so well, that in five Weeks he was dispatched, and obtained of his

his Majesty whatever he desired. In *September* he returned to *Ispahan*, laden with joy, for the extraordinary favours which he had received, as well in the behalf of the Company, as for the honour had been done to his own Person. He intended to be gone in *October*, because he was obliged to take possession at *Bender-Abas* of the Employment of *Director of the Trade*, and to look after other affairs of the Company in *Persia*, in the room of the Heer *Henry Wuan-Vick*, dead between three and four Months before. All things were ready for his Journey, and the fourth of *October* was the day prefixed. But this great and unexpected Change which the death of *Habas* the Second, and the Election of *Sephie* the Second brought, put a stop to all business. Nor was it a small trouble to him when he first heard the news, as well for the great love and esteem which he had for that Monarch who had obliged him with so many favours, as for that he knew the Accident fell out unluckily for the Profit of his Masters.

First, He found that the long and tedious Embassie to the deceased King, which he had accomplished so much to his satisfaction, would be altogether fruitless: for that the Company would be constrained upon this Change to send another new Embassie to congratulate the New King upon his coming to the Crown. In the next place he found, that all that he had obtained at Court with so much trouble and expence must be all lost; since all the kindneses granted by *Habas*, would be ineffectual, without an expresse and authentick confirmation of the Reigning Prince, which would prove as difficult to obtain as the first Decree. Lastly, he reflected upon the Favours and Priviledges which *Habas* had granted to the Company which he served, and by which he had been sent: all which he saw lost, without knowing what to hope from his Successour, whose Youth, and want of Experience, not understanding the Interests of State, might easily be swayed by the byassed Counsels of some Grandees, who minding nothing but their particular profit would advise him perhaps to what might prove to the disadvantage of the Company.

These considerations and reflections very much disquieted the Embassadors Mind. But in regard it was high time to apply a Remedy to these Inconveniencies, he advised with those persons that were of his Council, and having examined the present Conjuncture, he resolved as soon as possibly he could to go and kiss the New Kings Feet, to the end he might prevent the rest of the *Europeans*, by having the honour to see the
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New King before them; and then to try whether he could obtain a Confirmation of all the Priviledges granted by his Predecessours to the Company and the *Holland Nation*.

This Resolution taken, the Embassadour sent after Dinner the Interpreter belonging to the Dutch *House* in *Ispahan* to the General of the *Musquetters*, the only person that could at that time procure his Audience, in regard he was the only Person upon whom the New King relied, for what he should do or say in matters of State. The Interpreters Instructions were, "That after he had most humbly saluted the General in the Name of the Embassadour, he should beseech him earnestly to represent to his Majesty the Splendour, Reputation, and Power of the noble Company (those were terms he used) which his Majesty had all the reason to gratifie to his utmost, in regard of the great Trade which they drove in the *Persian Dominions*. Moreover, to let him understand how highly the said Company was esteemed by his Predecessours, *Habas* the Great of glorious Memory, *Sephie* the First, *Habas* the Second, who had granted them particular favours, and always honoured them with their Protection. That not long since, the Council of *Batavia* in acknowledgment of the generous Affection which the Monarchs of *Persia* had from time to time testified for them, they had deputed to kiss the feet of the King now gone to Heaven the *Heer Hubert de Lairefs* with considerable Presents. That the said Embassadour had been well received by the said Monarch, who had not refused him any thing which he requested: and that the same Embassadour after so favourable a dispatch, being just ready to return, had received the News of the King his Fathers death, and of his advancement to the Throne.

"That thereupon he had resolved not to leave the Kingdom, before he had had the honour to kiss his Majesties Feet, and to appear before him with that humility which became him. And that he had not any Presents worthy his acceptance, because he had made an offering of all that he brought along with him to the deceased King of glorious Memory, to whom his most Illustrious Majesty was now Successour, and his Prime Ministers of State, and therefore he hoped his Majesty would be so indulgent as to excuse him, and permit him the honour which he with all humility requested. Lastly, That he should beseech the General of the *Musquetters* to use his Interest to obtain leave for him with the soonest that he could, to the end he might present himself at the feet of

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“the new Monarch, and be favoured with a quick dispatch ;
 “In regard the death of the Director his Predecessour, and several other weighty Affairs called him away in haste to the
 “*Port of Habas*. That if he would give himself the trouble to
 “procure that Audience the next day, he would promise him a
 “becoming Acknowledgment, assuring him that the Company
 “would always be ready to remunerate his favour, and be for
 “ever obliged to his kindness.

With these Instructions the Interpreter went to the *General of the Musqueteers*, and having the opportunity to speak to him in private by himself, laid before him all his specious Arguments according to his directions. But while he had no other discourse but plausible pretences and excuses, they made no Impression upon the covetous Warriour, who pretending ignorance, or perhaps because he was really ignorant of those affairs, made answer that he could determine nothing positive in those matters, and therefore he must be content to stay till the Court returned to *Ispahan*.

But when the Interpreter began to add to his Reasons the Promise of a becoming Acknowledgment, the Lustre of Gold cast such a powerful reflection upon his Lordly senses, that he presently found himself inspired with a new access of knowledge and understanding, so that there was not any one scruple that interrupted his performance. He condescended to the Embassadors Request, and knew so well how to manage his business, that in the Evening he sent for the same Interpreter, and gave him Order, to promise his Master, in his Majesties Name, that he should be admitted to morrow about ten in the Morning to kiss his Majesties Feet.

The same day at the time appointed, the Dutch Embassador, with two more of the Company, the chief Factor of *Ispahan*, and the Secretary of the Embassie, together with the Interpreter attended at the Palace in an Apartment next to that where the King was Crowned. Where he had staid but a few Minutes before he had notice to advance forward to the Place where the King tarried: whither so soon as he was come with all his Train, the General of the Musqueteers, who supplied the Office of *Grand Porter*, or Master of the Ceremonies, conducted him from the Door of the great Hall before his Majesty, at the distance of two Paces from whom, the Embassador and the two other Persons with him made their Obeysances according to the Custom of the *Persians*, which is to kiss the ground three times before his Majesties Feet.

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When they had made their Reverence, and were permitted to fit, the Embassadour by his Interpreter began with the Prayers and Wishes of Governour General of *Batavia* for the honour and prosperity of his Majesty upon his happy coming to the Crown. For which the King returned him Thanks, and added at the Conclusion, *My Lord Embassadour is welcome, and if he have any favour to request, let him only make it known.* Thereupon the Dutch Embassadour took an occasion to proceed, and gave the King to understand in few words, the Priviledges which his Ancestors had all along granted to the Company; from the first time that they came to reside in *Persia* till that day, requesting the same Protection from his Majesty; an Authentick Confirmation of all the Agreements and Decrees already made in favour of the Company, and a continuation of the same Kindnesses.

His Majesty replied, *My Lord Embassadour, I take you for my Guest and Friend, as also all of your Nation; and I will redouble the favours and kindnesses which my Ancestors of glorious memory have done your Company.* Upon which the Dutch Embassadour made a profound Reverence, as did also the other two that accompanied him, and replied to the King's obliging words in this manner, *We will no farther doubt it than from the Grace and Generosity of so great a Prince. On the other side if We or the Company may be any way serviceable to serve your Majesty, your Majesty shall no sooner Command but be obeyed. In the mean time we humbly beg of Your Majesty that we may have leave to retire to the Port of Habas, there to look after our Affairs, to which Importunate Necessity calls Us.*

Thereupon, the General of the Musquetteers, declaring the Kings pleasure (for he performs the same Office, in Grandeur, near his Majesty, which the Embassadours Interpreter supplies out of necessity) *His Majesty, said he, desires to know wherefore my Lord Embassadour discovers so much eagerness to be gone. He would have him to stay till all the Lords of the Court are come to Town, for that then he intends to receive him with greater Pomp, and give him more signal Marks of his Esteem.*

To which the Dutch replied, as they had done already, bowing their Heads and their Bodies with a profound Humility, and returning his Majesty their most hearty Thanks, beseeching him withal to have the same gracious Opinion as before; but that for the present, the greatest Favour he could receive at their hands, was his Royal License to return to their principal Factory, whither Affairs of Concernment called them. The King

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thereupon with a Nod of his Head condescended to their Request; and withal, ordered this farther Complement to be put upon them, *That he would not stay them any longer, but that they might go in the Name of God; desiring to assure the Company of his Affection, and that whatever they had for the future to demand, they should but ask and have.*

Those last words included his last leave, which they also took, with most submissive Obeysances after the *European* manner, the most respectful that could be imagined. And thus they retired after an Audience of three quarters of an Hour. About Four in the Afternoon, they sent their Interpreter to the General of the Musqueteers to return him Thanks for the Trouble he had given himself, in procuring them so favourable an Audience, and for the continuance of his kindness they besought him to accept as a pledge of their farther acknowledgment a Silver Watch, and fifty Ducats of Gold.

The English Agent in *Persia*, Sir Stephen Flowre, understanding that the Dutch had had Audience of his Majesty, was not a little surpris'd, but much more vexed to see himself prevented; and therefore he was no less importunate to have his; and therefore, to the end he might be admitted to kiss the Kings Feet, he took the same way and method which the Dutch Embassadour had done: for indeed there was no other way: and had therefore the same success. For two days after, being accompanied with his Second in the Factory, about Nine of the Clock in the Morning he was introduced by the General of the Musqueteers to make his Obeysance to the King; his Interpreter and his Colleague coming behind him. After the usual Ceremonies he presented the Prince with two hundred half Guineys, according to the self-interested Custom of the *East*, where the Kings stiling themselves Gods Lieutenants, forbid all People to appear in their Presence without an Offering. Presently he sat down by the Command of the Prince, and by his Interpreter, and in the behalf of the English Nation and Company, wished him a long and flourishing Reign. Afterwards he made a short rehearsal of the great Services which the English Nation had done the Kings of *Persia* his Ancestors of Immortal memory. For which reason those Triumphant Monarchs had always favoured the English Nation more than any other Nation of *Europe*, of which he was assured his Majesty was well informed; for which reason he hoped that his Majesty would continue the same favours to the English Nation, and grant them a Confirmation of all the Treaties and Priviledges which had been granted formerly to the English.

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To which the King returned the same answer which he had done to the Dutch Envoy. *Mr. Agent is my Guest, and all the English Nation are most dear to me. Whatever my Predecessours of Glorious Memory have granted to your Company I shall also confirm. And if you have any thing farther to request of Me for the advantage of your Nation, you may confidently propose it, and it shall be decreed if reasonable.* To which the Agent and his Second returned their humble Thanks, as well for their Master as themselves; beseeching his Majesty to accept of their Services. To which his Majesty condescended with a Nod of his Head, which was also a sign of his taking Leave; which they also took, making their Obeysances after their own manner. Now in regard they were beholden to the General of the Musquetteers for this favourable Audience; in regard the King did nothing without his Advice, therefore they sent their Interpreter in the Evening, to give him thanks for the favour he had procured them; in acknowledgment whereof they made him a Present of a Rich Jewel, and thirty Ducats of Gold.

The same day the *Meehmandar-Bachi*, or Chief of those that attend upon the Kings Guests, or Strangers of Quality, who is as it were a Grand Master of the Ceremonies, came to wait upon the King, dispatched from the Grandees of the Kingdom to give his Majesty notice, that they came forward, making easie Journeys with the Body of the deceased King, and the whole Body of the Court in his time. That to prevent the People from suspecting any thing of Fatal, they had given out that the King was with his Wives, and would not therefore shew himself: that nevertheless the Rumour of his Death began to fly abroad; which however could not now be much prejudicial, seeing that his Majesty had taken the Government of the Kingdom into his own hands: that as yet they preserved all things in the same condition they were in before; and expected with submission what Orders his Majesty would be pleased to send for their future proceeding.

Together with this Deputy there came an Eunuch also sent by *Hamzeh-Mirza* the Kings Brother, to salute his Majesty in the name of the young Prince, to throw himself at his Feet, to beg his favour, and to supplicate him by all that was Sacred in the *Mahumetan* Law not to put out his Eyes; That he would be pleased to shut up him as close as he thought fit, that he would take from him whatever he pleased, but that for the Law of God he would leave him his sight, that he might not be incapable of applying himself to his Studies, wherein he resolved

to spend his whole Life. The King kept the Eunuch with himself, reserving the answer to the young Prince's request till he should be brought to Court. But he returned an Answer the same day to the Letter which the Master of the Ceremonies brought, which was composed in the form of a Command, and contained the following Instructions.

1. That the King approved what had been done, from the Fatal Moment of the King his Fathers death.

2. That they should make all the hast they could to him without disturbing the Order of Affairs; leaving all things in the same condition wherein they were.

3. That they should take care to cause the *Body of his deceased Father, of high and Immortal Memory, whose place is in Paradise, to be carried to the City of Kom, under the charge of Murzab-Maassoun; and that at the same time they should send away three other Coffins like that wherein they had put the King, under as good a Convoy, one to Metched, another to Ardevil, and the third to Kachan.* For the better understanding the reason of which Command, the Reader is to know, that the *Persians* are strangely superstitious about the Burial of their Kings. For fearing lest by some Magical Art any Enchantments should be practised upon their Bodies to the prejudice of their Children, they conceal, as much as in them lies, the real Place of Interment.

To this end they send to several Places several Coffins of Lead, with others of Wood, which they call *Taboat*, and bury all alike with the same Magnificence. In this manner they delude the Curiosity of the People, who cannot discern by the outside in which of the Coffins the real body should be. Not but it might be discovered by such as would put themselves to the expence and trouble of doing it. And thus it shall be related in the Life of *Habus the Great*, that twelve of these Coffins were conveyed to twelve of the principal Mosques, not for the sake of their Riches, but of the Person which they enclosed; and yet no body knew in which of the twelve the Kings Body was laid, tho the common Belief is, that it was deposited at *Ardevil*.

It is also said in the Life of *Sesie I.* That there were three Coffins carried to three several Places, as if there had been a Triple Production from one Body, tho it were a thing almost certainly known, that the Coffin where the Body was laid, was carried to this same City of *Kom*, and to the same Place where the deceased King commanded the Body of his deceased Father to be carried.

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It is a very beautiful City, and for its Antiquity gives way to none of the rest; as being thought to be the *Guriana* of the Ancients. It is seated in the Province of *Arak-agem*, or *Parthia* upon the Frontiers of *Media*. She prides her self, as one of her most glorious Ornaments, in a sumptuous *Mosque*, built all of Marble and Jasper, embellished with Gold. In this *Mosque* are to be seen the Tombs of the two forementioned Monarchs. The Porphyry of which they are built is overlaid with Plates of Gold, as if the Builders had striven to be profuse in the wast of that rich Metal. We shall give you the description of it in our *Persian Geography*.

Now the *Persians* made choice of *Kom*, *Kachan*, *Metched*, and *Ardevil*, rather than of any other Cities for the interment of their Kings, because they believe those Cities claim to themselves a secret and peculiar Sanctity above any of the rest, by reason that the Martyrs and Men famous in their Religion have lived and been buried there. For they hold, that *Kom* and *Kachan* were always two safe Retreats for all the true faithful in their Law, whom in the Primitive Times of *Mahumetism* the *Arabians* persecuted unjustly: and therefore that the *Imaans*, by whom they mean their lawful Prophets and High Priests, retired thither to secure themselves from Persecution, and there died.

This is that which makes them believe that these Cities are holy and happy, and that in all their Contracts and Publick Writings they name the first *Dar-el-mouve-el-Din*, or the *Habitation of Persons revived in the Law*; and the second, *Dar-el-Moumenin*, or, the *Habitation of the truly faithful*. And for the two other Cities *Ardevilis*, called *Dar-el-Irkaar*, or, the *Habitation of direction*. For that a great Saint, who lies buried there, was, as they say, sent by God to direct men in the way of truth, and *Metched* is called *Moubeddès*. The Place where they give Testimony of the Law, and of God. In the first lies buried among many other Saints of their Law *Cheik-Sefiè*, or the *Pure Ancient*, the first of the Race of Kings that now Reign in *Persia*. In the second lies the *Imaan Reza*, whom the *Persians* reverence with an extraordinary superstition. Insomuch that they believe the Body of that person who is buried by him, is more secure of his Salvation, than if he were buried near any other Saint less considerable. For according to their Doctrine, they that lie interred near the Tomb of any great and holy Personage lie under his Protection.

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The King, who had hourly intelligence of the Advance of the *Grandeess* of the Kingdom, understanding that they were arrived at *Kachan*, sent an Express with Commands to the two Chief Physicians, *Mirza-Satrid*, that is to say, *Signior Just*; and *Mirza-Kouchonk*, surnamed also the *Little*, to distinguish him from his Brother, who was the chief Physician, to retire to the Palace Royal at *Kom*, which joyns to the *Mosque*, where are the Tombs of the last deceased Kings; to betake themselves to the Apartments allotted for them, there to pray to God the remainder of their days for the Prosperity of his Throne; in acknowledgment of his Clemency towards them, in that he inflicted no heavier punishment upon them, than only that slight disgrace; since they had deserved to lose their lives for understanding no better to preserve the life of his Father and their Sovereign. The same Messenger carried also Orders to *Mirza-Massoon*, or the *Lord without Blemish*, already mentioned, and the Son also of the Prime Minister; and *Moutuely* of *Koom*, as much as to say, *Master of the Works*, and *Judge of the Government*, to take an Inventory of the whole Estate of those two Physicians, to give it under their Seals what they found in ready Money, and to send the Inventory when they had made it up to the King. Out of which he allowed them a Revenue of twenty thousand Crowns a year to live comfortably in the said City, without stirring out of the Palace to which they were confined, till the Supreme Power should dispose of their Lives.

The whole Body of the Court arrived at *Ispahan* within a Week after that, which was three Weeks after the Kings Coronation. And then it was that the great Officers were admitted one after another, troubled in their minds, and with hearts laden with sorrow. Not one of them that knew what part to act in this new Court, where every one flattered himself with making an Interest. However still as they came to Town, they went to kiss the Kings Feet; and to pay him the *Moubarek-Bached*, which is a Customary term which they use when they Congratulate the Prosperity of any great Person: as if we should say, *Let such a thing turn to your blessing*.

His Majesty, as every Grandee had paid him his Submissions honoured him with a *Calate*, or *Royal Vest*. This Persian word, according to its Etymology, signifies *Entire*, *Perfect*, *Accomplished*, to signify either the Excellency of the Habit, or the Dignity of him that wears it. For it is an infallible Mark of the particular Esteem which the Sovereign has for the person to whom

whom he sends it; and that he has free liberty to approach his Person; for when the Kingdom has changed its Lord and Master, the Grandees who have not received this Vest, dare not presume to appear before the King without hazard of their Lives.

In pursuance of this Custom, the King sent a very rich Vest to that courageous Eunuch, among others, who was the only person who had set the Crown upon his Head. With this Present he also sent him a Dagger richly set with Precious Stones. Immediately upon this it was believed that he would be advanced to some high Employment; but he refused all Preferment with a generous Constancy: so that of all the Employments which his Prince offered him he only accepted of the Superintendency of the Affairs relating to the Princess his Mother.

All the Grandees being thus arrived, the King for several days following, held a *Megeles*, that is, an Assembly of his Lords, where the Lords of the Old Court met to compose a New one. The first day every one came in his *Calate*, or Royal Vest which the King had bestowed upon them. But the *Nazir* or Superintendant General was not there; because he had not been honoured with that Vest. So that when he found it was not sent him against the next Assembly, he was then persuaded he had not long to live; or at least that he should lose his Employment; he feared that his Majesty had been informed, how that at the time of the Election he had endeavoured to prefer his Younger Brother. And this suspicion of his was not altogether without ground; for that indeed something had been whispered to the King about it.

Therefore he thought he could not do better than go himself and present his Head to the King himself before any one was sent to demand it: for that if he thought to preserve it by concealing himself, he should lose it without all hope of pardon; but if he had the courage generously to lay it at the Princes Feet, it might so happen that he might save himself; nor was he deceived: for this bold Resolution gained the heart of *Sephiè* the Second, and wrought Compassion even in his very Enemies, and those that envied him. For being come to the Assembly, he stood upright upon the Terrace among the Croud of Officers, with his head hanging upon his Breast, and his Eyes fixed upon the ground, as if he had been ashamed to shew his face. This submissive Posture of his moved the Assembly to pity, so that one of the Lords, who owed him no unkindness, told the King of it, and begged pardon in his behalf. The King surprised

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at the News, sent the same Lord who had spoken to him, to demand of the Intendent General, what he did there? *I come, said he, to offer his Majesty the head of an Offender, and to expiate with my blood the misfortune of having drawn upon me his Indignation.* Thereupon the King sent him a Command to go home; where about four days after he was honoured with the Royal Vest, as the rest had been, and was confirmed for the future in all the Employments which he enjoyed. I have heard from several persons of Quality, and from some of his own Kindred, that never any Head was in such a tottering condition, and that the least word that had been let slip to his prejudice had been enough to have ruined him. But his good Fortune stopped the mouths of his Enemies; so that there was not one who either durst, or was willing to oppose him. Besides that, the Young King who had been always bred among Women, and therefore not accustomed to blood, was unwilling to put to death a person of whose worth and merit he was well assured. Tho perhaps another more cruel, and more experienced would not have needed any Instigation to such a piece of Fatal Inhumanity.

At the sitting of the third Assembly *Nicolas Claud de Lalain* Esquire, Gentleman in ordinary to the King of France, and his Majesties Envoy to the Princes of *Asia*, was introduced, together with one of the three Deputies of the *French East India* Company, followed by the Interpreter of the Nation. Now this Deputy had been sick, which was the reason why they demanded Audience no sooner. For in regard that at the Grand Audience it is necessary to demand the Confirmation of the Priviledges granted to the Company; *Monsieur de Lalain* had not power to treat of any such matter, but joyntly with the Deputy. Otherwise the respect which the *Persians* have for the chief Nation of the World, would have procured them their Audience before any of the other *Europeans*. They made a Present to his Majesty of a Crystal Mirrour enchased in Gold, Enamelled on the back-side, and set with Emeralds on the forepart, together with a pair of Saddle Pistols, and a small Lion of Gold, embellished with Pearls.

After they had made their Obeysances they took their Seats by the Kings Order among the *Grandeess*; and then being directed to draw near his Majesty, *Monsieur Lalain* began with all fortunate Wishes for the Prosperity of the New Monarch in the name of the King his Master, and in few words gave him to understand, *That Habas II. his Father of glorious Memory,* whose place

place is in *Paradise*, had granted to the *French Company* many Priviledges in consideration of the great advantage and profit they brought to his Dominions. For which reason he most humbly besought his Majesty to continue to the *French Nation* the former favours of his Predecessours, and to grant both the Nation and Company his Royal Protection. To which the King made answer by his Prime Minister, *My Lord Embassadour*, (for the *Persians* make no distinctions between *Embassadours*, *Envoys*, *Agents*, *Residents*, &c. but still make use of the word *Heltchi*, which comprehends all) *the King of France is my Brother, and the French Nation are my Guests and Friends. I do not only confirm what ever my deceased Father, who rests now in Heaven, granted the French Nation; but it is our Pleasure to add new Favours, which we shall doupon the first Occasion that presents it self.*

By what has been said, it appears that there was no alteration of the Face of Affairs at the beginning of this New Reign; for that the King did nothing of himself, but meerly like an Engine mov'd as the Springs and Wires give it motion. Every one of the *Grande'es* labour'd to get as near the Kings Person as he could, to insinuate himself into the Kings Affection, and to remove his Competitors at a distance. The most Powerful and most his Favourite however, at that time, was *Boudak-Saultan General of the Musquetteers*, who continu'd still his Majesties Director, for that he thought nothing well done but what he either order'd, or at least approv'd. Next to him *Gemtchid-Kaan*, as also the *Mehter* or *High-Chamberlain*, had a good share in his favour, not to speak of his Mother, who in the Inner Palace ruled him as she pleas'd her self.

As for the *General of the Musquetteers*, for the first trial of his favour, he had procur'd himself a Commission that brought him a great Sum of Money. He had obtain'd of the King that he might send out the New Patents, and Royal Vests to all the great Officers of the Empire. To the *Beckler-bekirs*, who are the chief Governours; call'd by a Name that consists of two words, and signifies *Lord of Lords*. To the *Kaans*, or Governours of lesser Provinces, call'd by a Title that signifies strong; and whom the *Persians* dignifie with the Title of *Omrab*, or *Prince*, (which is the Plural of *Mir*, an *Arabic* word, signifying the same thing.) To the *Vaziers* or *Farmers Royal*, whom we call *Vizirs*; deriv'd also from an *Arabic* word, that signifies *carriers of Burdens*; and in a word, to all Governours and Officers that had any Command in any City depending upon the King;

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and this according to the Custom of *Persia*, where the Sovereign newly come to the Crown, sends to all Persons in any Command or Employment of value a Patent or Commission which they call *Ragam*, and a Habit call'd *Kalate*. Which two things ascertain him that he is continu'd in his Employment. So that when they appear in Publick thus habited, the People also know that they are confirm'd in their Authority.

This Commission vastly enrich'd the Coffers of this great Lord, in regard that every Officer and Governour to whom he sends such a Patent and Vest, sends a very considerable Present according to the Custom of *Persia*. But it was the ruine of his Fortune and his Family, as we shall by and by declare; in regard he made an ill use of his Power: For that he sent those Royal Habits more sumptuous, or less costly, not according to the Rank of the Person, and Dignity of the Employment which every one held, but according to the friendship and kindness which he had for them himself. And thus he dealt by the *Vazier* or Farmer of the Province of *Mazenderan*, to whom he sent a Vest of little value, because he had an Enmity against him; not only to be reveng'd of him by that affront, but because he believ'd the indignity and vexation to be so slighted would transport his Enemy to some other Act that would promote his ruine, which was the only thing that he most cordially wish'd for: and thus it fell out.

This *Vazier* of *Mazenderan*, call'd *Mirza-Hachem*, during the Reign of *Habas II.* was in good credit with his Prince. And yet there was not in all *Persia* a person of a more scandalous Tongue. He would talk of the *Grandeess* to the King with a most dreadful sawciness; call the Prime Minister, Buffle-Head; the *Superintendent*, a Liar; the Chief Justice, downright Knave; and then for the *General of the Musquetteers*, he said, he was both a Coward and a Robber. And tho *Habas* gave little heed to his discourse; nevertheless the persons concern'd, were afraid they should make an impression in the King's mind to their disadvantage, and therefore they all hated him with a perfect hatred.

But now, the King his supporter being dead, the *General of the Musquetteers*, who was become the New Kings chief Favourite, and had obtain'd a Commission to send all the Officers their Royal Habits, resolv'd to be reveng'd, as believing withal that it would be no less acceptable to the rest of the Lords.

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To this purpose instead of a Royal *Calate*, he only sent him a plain Habit, worth not above forty Pounds, not doubting but that the *Vazier* would commit some extravagance that would hasten his destruction. Nor did he fail in his Conjecture. For upon his going forth to meet and receive the Habit, and to put it on that the People might see, that he was confirm'd in his Employment, when he saw it, and found it to be a thing of no value, he threw it away with scorn and indignation, believing it to be a trick put upon him, and done on purpose to disgrace him. However his disdain carri'd him no farther; for he conjectur'd it to be some snare laid to hurle him headlong into Ruine. Not daring therefore to return to the City in that *Habit*, and fearing least the People should despise him, if they saw him so ill dress'd at the Kings Expence, as one that had lost his Reputation at Court, he sent home for a *Royal Habit*, one of the Richest and most Magnificent that *Habas* had formerly bestow'd upon him, and so having put it on, he return'd to the City, making the People believe that he had receiv'd it from the New Monarch.

This being known to all the Court, the *General of the Musquetteers* was the first that open'd his Lips, declaring that the *Vazier of Makenderan was a Dog*, that he had thrown away the Kings Habit, with reproachful Language, not forbearing to say that he had no need of *Sha-Sefie's* Habits; whereupon he had made use of another which *Habas* his Father had sent him. The King who understood not the Stratagems of Court, look'd no farther then the bare Information, not dreaming of any malice in the Contrivance. And therefore upon the Prime Minister's first motion, he sent an express Command to the *Vazier's* Controller to appear at Court. So soon as the *Vazier* understood that the *Controller* was sent for, he began to consider the bad condition of his affairs. He knew well, and upon good grounds, that the Controller was a person that would not spare to inform the worst he could against him, because they had been at variance a long time. *Habas* the Second had joyn'd them both together in Commission of set purpose, to the end that through the mistrust that they had one of another, they might be the more careful how they demean'd themselves in the discharge of their duties; and to prevent them from any combination to defraud him of his Revenues. The *Vazier* therefore, to prevent his Fall as much as in him lay, dispatch'd away, before the Controller set forward, one of his own Servants with Letters to his *Vikil* or Agent at Court, wherein he gave him

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order to spare for no expence in considerable Presents to such and such Lords. But, added he at the bottom, *beware of offering any thing to that Rascal of a Prime Minister, or to that Dog of a General of the Musquetteers*; withal naming some others to whom he forbad him to make any addressees. But by misfortune the Messenger crippl'd himself by the way, so that he could not make that hast which was requisite; by which accident the *Controller*, who follow'd him close at the heels, overtook him in a *Caravanferay*, or publick Inn; where finding him laid down, and fast asleep, he would not miss so favourable an opportunity, but stole from under his Head the Purse wherein his Letters were. He read them, and carri'd them to Court, to shew them to those persons whom they had so highly abus'd. Who more enrag'd then before carri'd the *Controller* to his Majesty, before whom he confirm'd the Information which had been already given him, That the *Vazier* of *Mazenderan* had disdainfully flung away the Royal Habit which his Majesty had sent him, saying withal these words, *I have no need of Sha-Sephie's Habits*, and that he sent for one of *Habas's* Vestments, which he wore upon his return to the City. Upon which the King highly incens'd, several times repeated the words *Gidi*, and *Segh* or *Dog*, and *Scoundrel*; with several other more outrageous and bitter Expressions, usual among the greatest Personages in that Country, who think it no shame to utter them upon all occasions, and before any persons whatsoever. Presently the King sent to arrest the *Vazier's* Agent, and at the same time dispatch'd to his Master a *Chapar* or *Courrier* extraordinary to arrest him, and confiscate all his Goods.

The General of the *Musquetteers* not content with this, the next Morning inform'd the King, that this *Vazier* had been High Steward to *Imaan-Kouli-Kaan*, that famous Prince, honour'd with so many Encormiums, and who is reported in the Life of *Habas* the Great to have wrought so many Miracles, besides that he was Captain General of all *Habas's* Armies. If say, he inform'd the King that this *Vazier* was entrusted with all *Imaan-Kouli-Kaan's* Jewels, and yet he would never discover to *Sefie* the I. where that Prince had hid them before he was put to death; protesting he knew nothing of the matter. Which was a visible piece of knavery, since there could be no other person in the world who could know that secret but himself: and therefore there was no way to constrain him to tell the truth but by force. Which Incentives so wrought upon the Young Prince that he dispatch'd a second *Courrier* with Orders
to

to bring the *Vazier* with his Head and Feet bare, and a Chain about his Neck; and that every day they should give him forty drubs upon the soles of his Feet till he confess'd where the Jewels were.

The Messengers were punctual in the Execution of the Kings Commands upon the *Vazier*, who not able to endure the Torment, nor the hardship of the Journey, (for it was then in the depth of Winter, when all the ways were cover'd with Frost and Snow,) died, by that time he came half way, had nine days together, as old as he was, suffer'd horrible torture, stedfast in his resolutions not to make any discovery. His Estate being confiscated amounted to twenty five thousand *Tomans* which make about four hundred thousand Crowns.

In the mean time, at *Ispahan* there was nothing but publick Rejoycing, Feasting, Horse-racing, with other Sports and Pastimes of the same nature. And when day was shut in, an infinite number of Lights, which they call in that Country *Chiragan*, were hung out all along the Streets, round about the Houses, and in the great Squares after a most pompous manner, insomuch that the night it self might truly be call'd an Artificial day.

The Young King no less greedily tasted all the pleasures and delight which the full swinge of Liberty, unknown what it meant till then, gave him opportunity to enjoy. Every day he walk'd abroad with his Wives into the parts adjoining to the City; commanding the *Kourouk* through all the Villages and Towns adjoining.

Kourouk signifies a Prohibition to all Men and Boys above seven years of Age, upon forfeiture of Life, to be seen in any place where the Kings Wives were to pass, if he were in their Company. All the ways are hung on both sides with such stuff of which they make their Tents, to prevent the Women from being seen. And notice is given to all the Men to retire home at such an Hour; besides that, the Guards at two Leagues distance round about, were ready to prevent any one from coming near the Places so canvast in. Such is their fear, lest the Wives should be seen by the Men. For they never hinder the Women from seeing as much as they please.

It is said, that during the five Months from the Coronation of the King till the year 1078. of the *Hegira*, which answers the Spring of our 1667. the King commanded no less then sixty two *Kourouks*, going abroad with his Wives every time, and visiting the Places round about *Ispahan*: especially *Gjoulsa*, a
Town

Town belonging to the *Armenians*, separated from the City only by a River, over which he made several large and magnificent Bridges. Which shews what power the Women had over the Young Prince, that they could cause him to make so many Prohibitions for their sakes; only that they might have the pleasure of hunting, and walking, and breathing in a more sweet and spacious Air then that of their Confinement.

While the Young King deni'd nothing to his Wives, nor his Pleasures, he neither refus'd any thing to his Favourites, nor to those that begg'd any thing of him; insomuch that many persons that were laid aside were taken again into Favour. So that the beginning of the New Prince's Reign was like a year of Jubilee, that sets open the Prison Doors: They that had never so few friends at Court might easily be admitted, provided none of the *Grandeës* oppos'd their entrance.

Mirza-Rezi or the *submissive Prince* was one of those persons out of favour, and Prisoners of whom we have made mention. The deceased King had confin'd him to his Palace, and had confiscated all his Estate, to the value of twelve thousand pounds yearly revenue; and this, because that although he was blind, he would assume to himself the disposal and management of a Legacy of six thousand Crowns a year, which one of his Ancestors had left to the Mosques. For the Testator having order'd in his Will, that this Revenue should be at the disposal of him that was in the Family to manage it, the person to whom the Administration belong'd being dead, this blind Lord thought no person more capable then himself; and because he was very potent, and of the Blood Royal by the Mothers side, who was the Daughter of *Habas* the Great (which was also the reason that they put out his Eyes) he resolv'd to get this Administration by force, under pretence that he was going out of the World, and concern'd himself only about Ecclesiastical Affairs; and besides, had more wit then all his Family. But his Kindred coming to *Habas* II. and informing him that *Mirza-Rezi*, having had his Eyes put out by the Command of the deceased King his Father, on purpose to render him incapable of the Affairs of this World, nevertheless went about by force, and contrary to Law, to meddle in Civil matters. The Monarch hearing this, grew impatient at his arrogance, and after he had given some signs of admiration, that a blind man should think himself capable to manage such a design, sent to confiscate all his Estate, and commanded him to keep himself confin'd to one single Quarter of his Palace.

Palace. But *Sefiè* the Second upon his coming to the Crown, restor'd him to his favour, and return'd him all his Estate without the least diminution.

But the most considerable who in these Halcyon days of the King's early Government were releas'd out of Prison, and admitted to return to Court was *Hali-Kouli-Kaan*, who had been a Prisoner at *Kasbin*, and who with a boldness altogether surprizing, having made his escape from his Guards, came and threw himself at the King's Feet. The story was this.

So soon as he understood the News of *Habas's* decease, he conceiv'd great hopes of recovering his Liberty. To which purpose he consider'd with himself, by what means he might make his escape, and get to *Ispahan*. He was resolv'd to beg the King's favour himself, believing that not any of the Grandees at Court ow'd him so much kindness as to speak in his behalf: only one friend he had, and that was the General of the Slaves. He, not forgetful of the ancient and strict Friendship that had been between them, ventur'd three or four times in that privacy which the King allow'd him, to represent to his Majesty the misfortune of *Hali-Kouli-Kaan*; but when he saw that the Prince return'd him no Answer, he sent to the Lord an account of the state of Affairs, and advis'd him to come in person, and throw himself at the King's Feet: for that considering the mildness and sweetness of the new Conjunction he could run no great *Risco*.

These Letters confirm'd *Hali-Kouli-Kaan* so much the more in the Resolution he had taken, because he found himself supported beyond his expectation. Thereupon he wrote back to the General of the Slaves, return'd him thanks for his kindness toward him, besought him to continue it, and to take care that he might have Horses laid to be ready at such places and times. And when all things were ready, he desir'd leave of the Captain of the Guard to let him go a hunting.

This being a favour which the Captain had granted him several times before, he did not then deny him. Thereupon he rode forth, attended only with four of his most intimate Confidants well mounted, and well arm'd. Being got into the field, he still beat toward *Ispahan*, pretending to hunt, but little minding whether he put up any Game or no. But at length having drawn off his Guards a good way from the Town, and finding their Horses tir'd, toward the close of the Evening, as if it had been only a frolick, he put Spurs to his Horse

Horse and rode out of sight. As for his Guards they had no mistrust at first, till at length, that they saw he made so little hast to come back. But it was too late to pursue him, and as vain to stay till he return'd; their Horses being quite tir'd with Galloping up and down for four hours and more together. Besides, the resolute Prisoner flew with all the speed that Whip and Spur could make, and arriv'd at *Ispahan*, where he met all his friends at the appointed Rendezvous, to the number of Fifty persons, and went directly to the King's Gate.

When he drew near the Place where the King was sitting, the General of the Slaves met him; who was not a little surpriz'd to see him there sooner then he expected. Nevertheless, without making any shew of having kept any correspondence together, he ask'd him his business, who answer'd, *That he came to lay his Head at the King's Feet.* It is very well done, replied the General of the Slaves, I'll go and beg the Kings leave for your admission. But *Hali-Kouli-Kaan*, instead of staying for the Kings Answer, follow'd the General of the Slaves so close that he could hear the King, as soon as he heard his Name, and that he was come, make answer aloud, *Kouh-Gheldy; Safa-Gheldy, Let him be welcome, let him come in a good Hour; and then commanding him to enter, he repeated the same kind words, with a Countenance that testifi'd his satisfaction; and then caus'd him to sit down.*

Within a Minute after, the King call'd for him, and order'd him to draw near him; and when he was close by him, *Hali-Kouli-Kaan*, said he, *what brings thee hither, and what is thy request?* To which the Lord made answer with a wonderful quickness of Wit, *I am come hither, Benefactor of Mankind, to serve your Majesty; because Slaves and Dogs ought always to be within their Masters call.*

This Answer highly pleas'd the Youthful Sovereign, inso-much that after he had dismiss'd him, he gave Order to the Prime Minister to give him a splendid Entertainment the next day, to provide him a Palace, and to furnish him with money, and all other necessaries whatever.

In pursuance of which Command the Prime Minister assign'd him the Palace where lodg'd the Embassadour from *Aurang-Zeeb* King of the *Indians*, in the years 1664, and 1665. But this Lord, so soon as he became Master of it, pull'd it down to the ground, and built it up again far more magnificently then ever; as you may see in our *Description of Ispahan*. The next day, as he sat at Dinner with the Prime Minister, and
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was telling the Story how he made his escape out of his Confinement, he added, *That a mad Dog, the more you keep him chain'd up, the more mad and extravagant he grows*; which he therefore said, in regard he had incurr'd the Kings displeasure by hair-brain'd, and violent actions, and full of a Transportment that truly savour'd of Extravagance.

A while after the King summon'd a *Mejelès*, or publick Assembly for his sake. There out of a magnificent humour, not usual but among Sovereign Princes, he caus'd to be spread upon the ground in the Garden where this Lord was to pass to the very Hall seventy Pieces of *Zer-basse*, which is a very rich sort of Persian Tissue, as much as to say, a *Weaving of Silver*. For *bassen* signifies to *Weave or make Tissue*. Every Piece of this Tissue might be worth eighteen *Tomans*, about threescore or threescore and ten pound, amounting in all to some twenty thousand Crowns. Such persons as are thus honour'd by the King, walk without their Shooes upon the Stuffs, which the King afterwards sends them home to their house, for a Present, as he did to this Person; to whom at the end of a sumptuous Banquet which he gave him, he spoke these words, *Hali-Kouli-Kaan, hearken what they are going to read*.

Upon that the Principal Secretary read a Patent, wherein the King nam'd him Governour of *Corassin*, or the ancient *Bactriana* of which the Capital City is *Metshed*, which is one of the chiefest Governments in *Persia*. But whether this Lord had heard some report of an Invasion threaten'd those Parts, he would by no means accept the honour; or whether it were that he did not care to leave the Court, or which was more probable, because he thought it beneath him to accept of a meaner Employment then what he had before his Confinement. For he had been formerly Generalissimo of all the Armies: and therefore after he had return'd the King his most humble thanks, *Benefactor of Mankind*, said he, *I am old and broken with Age; Grant me the favour at the end of my life, that I may spend my days at the Gate of your Majesty*.

Some few days after he offer'd him the Government of *Armenia*, of which *Eriuan* is the Capital City; but with his most humble Thanks to his Majesty he refus'd that likewise, and questionless for the same Reasons. At length the King caus'd Letters Patents to be made him to be General of all his Forces, and Governour of *Media*, of which *Tebris*, that which we call *Tauris*, is the Capital City; in regard that Government is always annex'd to that Employment.

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But at the very time that he had receiv'd so great and extraordinary a favour from his Majesty, he took the boldness to shew that he was not yet content, but that he still desir'd something more. To that purpose, *Benefactor to Mankind*, said he, *since your Majesty does me the favour to call me to so high a dignity, I humbly implore your Majesty to add to my Government such and such Villages, to the end I may maintain the splendour of that High Rank to which your Majesty has call'd me, that when any Stranger comes to visit me, I may be able to entertain him with a Plate of Pello (or Rice and Flesh, the usual Food of the Persians) that receiving this favour at my hands, he may be more ready to joyn with me in praying for your Majesty.* To which when the King had condescended, he flung himself prostrate at the Kings Feet, and gave him Thanks. As he was retiring out of the Kings presence, the King having spi'd certain white Hairs in his Beard, which he wore up to his Ears, *Haly-Kouli-Kaan*, said he, *Go to the Treasury, and bid 'em, in my name, pay thee three hundred Tomans (which is about Eleven hundred Guineys) and buy thee some Paint to colour thy Beard, and let me see no more grey hairs in thy Face.* Which immediately he did according to the Kings Order, and carried away the Money. And this was another Accumulation of Favour which his liberal Sovereign added to the rest which he had bestow'd upon him.

Thus was he made General of all the *Persian* Forces, Governour of *Media*, and in a word, the first and most powerful person in *Persia*, at which all the Grandees were not a little astonish'd: and they all began to grow jealous of him: even they who had been instrumental to his Advancement. For they could not imagine he should arrive in so short a time to that Pinacle of Honour where they beheld him. And indeed they had reason to be jealous of him. For his Authority made him Master of their Estates; and besides, they knew him to be ill-natur'd, and mischievously bent, and as bold and daring as a Lion; more than all this, Cholerick without respect or consideration, and resolute to enterprize whatever might satisfy his Fury, or advance his Interests. From this time forward till his death, which hapned not long after, as will appear in the Series of this Story, he was always in great credit with the King; who had a particular esteem for him, so that there was hardly any thing which he refus'd him.

At the same time that *Haly-Kouli-Kaan* was under restraint the Princess *Pehri-Rocksar-Begum*, the present King's Aunt was also restor'd to Favour. For, as it has been said in the Life
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of the deceased Prince, whose Sister she was, the King, to punish her for having been too busie in some Intrigue, which I know not what it was, only that it was such a one as had highly offended him, had married her to a *Mulla Doctor of the Law*, who at that time liv'd at *Ispahan*, the Son of *Monte-Veli*, or the Steward of the great *Mosque* at *Mitshed*. By him during the Life of *Habas* she had two Children, to whom the Prince forbade her to give suck, which is the manner of putting to death the Children of the Bloud Royal when the King resolves they shall not live. But now this Lady understanding the death of the King, went and threw her self at the feet of the New Monarch, who receiv'd her kindly, and assur'd her he would advance her Husband to some considerable Employment: wherein he was as good as his word; for some Months after, he made her Husband *Sedre-Kaassob*, that is, *peculiar Pontiff*, being a very considerable Employment, as he that is as it were the Kings Almoner, or he that has the disposal of all the Gifts bequeath'd by the Kings of *Persia* to the *Mosques*; which Employment was worth to him about fifteen thousand pounds yearly.

There remain'd another Sister of *Habas* II. in the Womens Palace, who in the Kings absence was as it were Sovereigness of the Place; for which reason they give her a Name that signifies, *the white Locks of the Sacred Place*; which is a figurative sort of Speech to denote the dignity of the person, and the particular respect which is due to her.

This Lady, being desirous to taste the Sweets of Wedlock as well as her Sister, importunately besought the New Monarch that she might marry the Brother of her Sisters Husband, a *Molla*, or Doctor of the Law as he was. For which reason the King made him *Sedre-Mokoufaat*, or *Pontiff of the Kingdoms*, which is a preferment almost like the other, and very near equal to it in Revenue; as he that has the disposal of the Legacies which are given to the *Mosques* by private Persons. Which two Preferments for above two hundred years were both in one. But the King, for the satisfaction and advantage of his two Aunts, divided them for the benefit of their Husbands who are persons of no merit, and of very mean Capacities. Nor is it likely the King will suffer them to hold their Places of too great Importance for their management.

And now his Majesty, having supplied these two Pontifical preferments, which were vacant during the late Kings Reign, took care to fill up other vacancies also, which he bestow'd upon persons of credit that were next about him, or their Friends.

That of *Kourtchi Bachi*, or General of the *Kourtches*, one of the three Bodies of the *Persian* Militia, and one of the highest Trusts in the Empire was conferr'd upon *Hustein-Kouli-Kaan*. All the *Kaanas* or Governments of *Persia* were likewise bestow'd upon persons of worth: In a word, there was not a vacant place but what was fill'd up. For the deceased King let them lie vacant for a secret reason which his Son understood not, which was to reap the profit of their Revenues. So great, that it is reported the Employments which he supply'd, and of which the King his Father had all the benefit, brought into the Chequer a Million sterling Yearly. However I do not report this for truth; but as having heard it affirm'd by persons of great knowledge in Affairs, and who could have giv'n a just account had they so pleas'd; which they will not always do.

These were the Favours and Bounties of the Young Monarch during the Festivals of his Coronation. Of which the mirth and jollity was not a little disturb'd by a sad accident that occasion'd the downfall of the Grand Provost.

In the description of *Ispahan* we have observed that for a long time that City has been divided into two Factions, which are always quarrelling and fighting for Precedency, and Antiquity. And upon Festival Times there is always a great Concourse of the Rabble of both Factions in the old *Maydan*, or Publick Place of the City; where the two different Factions, ranging themselves, the one upon the South, the other upon the North side, batter one another with Stones and Clubs at a strange rate. The Grand Provost all this while makes a shew of parting 'em, but he does it so remissly, that both Parties see well enough that it is only a Copy of his Countenance: which makes 'em bolder, and more violent in their mischief. For the Grand Provost is not at all troubl'd at it by reason of the great Fines which afterwards he milks into his own Pocket.

Upon one of these fore-mention'd Festival days, his Majesty being in the spacious and magnificent Hall, which is built over the great Portal of his Palace that looks out into the Royal Square, where he sat to behold a horse Race, and several of his Lords shooting at a Golden Ball, an Exercise much us'd among the *Persian* Archers, news was brought that about two thousand of the Rabble were fighting in the *Maydan*, or Publick Market place with that implacable animosity that there was like to be a great deal of mischief done. Upon which his Majesty

Majesty sent for the *Daroga*, or Grand Provost of *Ispahan*, and order'd him to take along with him a Guard of Sixty Musquetters if he thought fit, and go and disperse the furious Combatants. Which was a Command too express to be dally'd withal. But the Grand Provost could never accomplish it. However away he flew, at the Head of above two hundred Soldiers, and commanded the Mutineers to part and disperse themselves. But they believing the Provost did but only make a shew, as he was wont to do, fell a shouting at him, and paltng him with stones. He would fain have giv'n 'em to understand he was then in earnest; but because the Tumult and noise was so great, that he could not otherwise be heard then by the thunder of his Musquets, he order'd the Soldiers to fire without Bullets; which they did, but to no purpose. For quite contrary to his expectation, the insolent Multitude perceiving nothing but fire and smoke, were the more confirm'd in their Opinion, that the Grand Provost was only come there to shew himself in discharge of his Office, and that he did not desire they should part in good earnest.

In the mean time two Horsemen came from the King to see if the Tumult were appeas'd; at what time the Provost, gall'd to the heart that they should observe the little Authority he had over the Rabble, who had put him to a Retreat with their Stones, commanded about twenty of his Soldiers to fire with Bullets. Of which Volley there was not a shot that mis'd. So that Nine of the Multitude were kill'd upon the place, and others were dangerously wounded. The rest, finding now that the Provost was not in jest, fled with all the hast they could, leaving their dead and wounded behind.

When word was carri'd to the King what had happen'd, some of the Grand Provosts private Enemies, which the great Lords are never without, and who, unfortunately for him, were then at his Majesties elbow, laying hold of the opportunity, *How comes it to pass, Sir, said they, that a private Person, and a Slave, dares thus abuse the Inhabitants of your Capital City? Has he nothing to do but thus to destroy your truly Loyal Subjects? Cannot a Grand Provost prevent these disorders? 'Tis not well done to make such a slaughter of innocent and disarmed people. This will cause a contempt of the Authority which your Majesty has over your Subjects, and to lose the Respect and Reverence which they ought to bear your Majesty over all your Empire, when they find such terrible extremities used under pretence of keeping 'em to obedience.* Upon this the King, who of himself was already troubl'd at the Accident,
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was far more incens'd by these exasperations. Wherefore he immediately dismiss'd the Lord from his employment, and sent him Prisoner to a House, from whence he was releas'd some few days after at the earnest suit of the Queen Mother, and some other persons that were concern'd at his Misfortune. For indeed he was a man of courage, eminent for his virtue, and one that shew'd in all his Actions the Nobility of his Extraction: for he was descended from the Bloud Royal of *Georgia*, the last Sovereign Prince of that Country being his Grandfather, whose name was *Hemirè-Hamzeb-Mirza*. We shall speak more of him in the Progress of his Story; fortune calling him again upon the Stage to act a part of more importance, and of greater Authority. The charge of *Grand Provost* was again suppli'd the next day, and conferr'd upon a very worthy person, the Son of *Mir-Kasssem-bek*, or Lord Prince Robust. This same *Mir-Kasssem-bek* had been Grand Provost before the last that was so lately put out, and in the time of *Habas II.* by the craft of the Prime Minister had his Head cut off in the Royal Piazza of *Ispahan*. His Son, who was call'd *Kelk-Hali-Bek*, or the Lord, the Dogg of *Haly*, during the little time that he enjoy'd this Employment, most worthily behav'd himself in it: and we must needs say, that rais'd his Father made himself eminent again, by driving out all the Thieves, Pick-pockets, and Rabble which infected that great City.

This happen'd at the latter end of the Year 1077. according to the *Mahumetan* account, which answers to the beginning of our Year 1667. For their Year 1078. began with the *Vernal Equinox*, which his Majesty made a great day of publick rejoycing according to the Custom of the *Persians*.

But this Year that began with so much rejoycing, and with such lucky Omens, was not so fortunate however in the Conclusion.

Scarcity, War, and Epidemick distempers afflicted the most part of the Provinces during the whole course of it. The Court was turmoyl'd with several disorders, which cost some persons many a troublesome Hour. And through the negligence and remissness of the Sovereign, the Grandees erected so many petty Tyrannies, which traml'd under foot and pillag'd the poor people as they pleas'd themselves. So that there was not any person but was sensible of the miseries which ill Government occasions when the Prince only minds his pleasures, and to content his Passions; and the great ones following his example give themselves the liberty to follow the swinge of their own Arbitrary Wills.

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The first thing remarkable at the beginning of the Year was the death of *Mahammed-Kouli-Kaan-Divan-Beki*, or *Lord Chief Justice*. He neither lay long sick, nor was it long before his Place was suppli'd; being conferr'd upon him that was *Mirr-aab*, or *Prince of the Waters*, or Steward of the Waters: For in regard that water is very scarce in that Country, this same *Overseer of the Waters* is a very considerable Employment. However it was not thought that he would be the Person made choice of to succeed the Chief Justice, but rather that he who had formerly executed the Place, and had been banish'd by the deceased King to *Metshed* for his ill Government would be restor'd to the Kings favour, and to his former Post. Nor was the Conjecture without great Probability, in regard that *Hali-Kouli-Kaan*, General of all the Kings Forces, was then very powerful, and that the other was his Nephew, the Son of *Rustan-Kaan* his Brother. However he was deceiv'd, and the General, quite contrary to his Expectation, hinder'd all people to sollicite in his behalf, out of the care he took of his own Reputation, which he had sulli'd in a high degree, had he been instrumental to restore a Person that was hated by all the world; besides that, his private enmity against him prevail'd beyond all the Considerations of Bloud and Consanguinity. For which the Christians had reason to bless God, because there was no man more their enrag'd and bitter Enemy then he. And it was well for 'em, during the time he held his Employment, that *Habas* was not a young man, and that he undertook their Protection. For it is reported of him, that when any Christian was Cited before his Tribunal by any *Mahumetan*, he presently condemn'd him before he heard him; and that he was wont to say, *It was Crime enough for an Armenian to have a suit with a Mahumetan, for him to cause his head to be broken. Why should he not suffer the Injuries that are done him, Dog as he is, that does not know that the Christian Religion is inferiour to the Mahumetan?*

In the mean time the King held on his debaucheries every day at the same rate. But his health did not keep at the same stay, while he grew every day worse then other. For the young Prince having plundg'd himself into the excesses of Wine and Women, it was impossible he should hold out without some alteration. So that during the whole course of this Year he was always ill, what Physick soever his Physicians could prescribe him; for he took little care of himself. If he sometimes refrain'd Wine by their advice, it was not so long, but that he fell to drinking again

again before he had time to recover his strength. For which reason he was always pale, and his Body imparted its own weakness to his Mind, and render'd him unfit for business to which the Grandeur of his Quality call'd him.

All this while the Dearth encreas'd at *Ispahan*, and the poor people cry'd aloud against the excessive price of it. And indeed there were many causes of this Scarcity. First, the last years Harvest did not amount scarce to the half of what they expected; for the Locust had devour'd the Ears. Then the whole Train of the Court was come all together of a sudden to *Ispahan* before they were expected, so that they had tak'n no care to lay in their Stores against Winter. Moreover, at the King's first coming to the Crown, the greatest part of the Officers of the Empire coming to present themselves before Him, and a vast number of private persons crouding together about business, or for curiosity, the Multitude of Inhabitants was encreas'd to above half as many again, so that of necessity the Price of Provisions must be double in Proportion. But the chief Reason that all things were so dear was the bad appearance of the Harvest at hand, which promis'd no better then the last year. For in regard the Harvests in these Climates are generally reap'd in the Months of *June* and *July*, it is easie to conjecture in *March* and *April* what the year will produce. And therefore the Corn Merchants perceiving that there would be an infallible scarcity of all sorts of Grain, enhans'd their Prizes, and would not part with what they had, but staid till the Prizes were at the highest, so that the probability of a dearth to come caus'd a present Famine. Lastly, the ill Government was in part a great cause of the scarcity, for that the Laws were not observ'd, and the Magistrates neglected their duty, without fear of being punish'd. And this was the Reason that the *Mochtesek*, or Chief of the Government, receiv'd Bribes of those that sold necessary Provisions, and therefore to gratifie 'em he publish'd every Week the Prizes of things as those people desir'd; that is to say, at an excessive rate, and three quarters higher then in the time of the deceas'd King. For we are to observe, that it is a Custom in *Persia*, that every *Saturday* the Chief Justice sets the Price of all Provisions for the Week following, which the Sellers dare not exceed under great forfeitures. This Knavery then of the Judge of the City Government, who stood in no aw of the superiour Government, was the cause that all things were sold at double and treble the Rate they ought to have been.

The People therefore almost starv'd by this Scarcity, redoubl'd their Cries, so that they reach'd the very Gate of the Palace Royal, which mov'd his Majesties Compassion to that degree, that he committed the Affair to *Ali-Kouli-Kaan*, General of all his Forces. Who began his first endeavours of redress with an Act of Generosity and Justice, which made him dreaded by all the Merchants and Corn-sellers. He had commanded one of the most eminent Merchants in *Ispahan* to send him in upon the place, the first day of the Market, two hundred Sacks of Wheat, and not to sell 'em at a dearer rate then they were sold the year before. Now the Merchant thought that he expected a Bribe; and therefore upon the Market day, thinking to exempt himself from obedience to his Command he sent him two hundred *Tomans*, which amount to the value of about a thousand *Pistols*. Thereupon the *Generalissimo*, being highly offended, sent for him, and when he came, *Dog as thou art*, said he, *is it thus thou goest about to famish a whole City? For the Affront thou hast done me receive a hundred Drubs upon the soles of thy feet.* Which were paid him at the same instant; and besides, the General condemned him in a Fine of two thousand Crowns; which he took to himself, sending the thousand Pistols to the King.

Presently he order'd a great Oven to be built in the Royal *Piazza*, and another in the publick *Piazza*, ordering the Criers to proclaim that those Ovens were fixed to bake those alive, that should sell their bread at a rate above the set price, or that should hide up their Corn. There was moreover a fire continually kept in these Ovens, but no body was thrown in; because no body would venture the pain of such a rigorous punishment of his Disobedience.

At the same time he also went himself to visit all the Granaries and Store-houses of Corn and Meal that were in *Ispahan*, and having taken an account in Writing of their Number, every Week he commanded the Merchants to send a certain quantity according to the Proportion of what their Store-houses contain'd, and not to sell but at a certain Price, and not to deliver their goods to any but such as brought a Note under his hand. He gave the same Command for Barley: so that almost for a whole years time there was neither Wheat or Barley to be had without a Ticket seal'd with his Signet. All the Bakers went for such a Ticket. And in regard the General knew full well what everyone of 'em vented, he would not permit the Baker by vertue of his Ticket to buy any more then what he had

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occasion for. To that purpose he prohibited the Bakers to sell to any other then those of their own Precinct, nor to sell 'em any more then what was needful for their subsistence according to the usual rate of their spending, to the end that the Bakers should not pretend that persons came from abroad to buy their bread; or that those in their Precincts bought more one Week then they did another, and so that the vent could not be always equally proportion'd. And for the Price, he order'd that the *Batman-cha* of Bread (the Royal weight of *Persia*, consisting of eleven pounds three quarters) should be worth an *Abassi*, which makes four Groats.

By this good management he wonderfully eas'd the People, who before paid for eleven pound and three fourths of Bread an *Abassi* and a quarter, or twenty pence; whence it also came to pass, that there was Plenty sufficient. Thus the Complaints and Cries of the People ceas'd. For the Bakers being oblig'd to furnish those in their Precincts with as much bread as they stood in need of, no body was apprehensive of the scarcity, but only that he paid five farthings for that which cost not above four in time of plenty. And to the end that the same rate might continue, he sent to all the Burroughs, Towns, and Villages, from eight to nine days journey round about, to send in such a number, of Waggon-Loads of Corn and Meal to *Ispahan*, and there to sell it at the set price. By which means there came enough to supply the City for six Months. Moreover, when any considerable Quantity arriv'd, he order'd it to be brought in, as it were, in triumph; the People dancing before with their Instruments of Musick, and the horses being cover'd with Housses, and gingling an infinite number of little Bells, which together with the Acclamations of the Rabble made a strange, confused, and yet pleasing noise.

Some Villages there were that mutiny'd and refus'd to send in their Corn; but the punishment of the Inhabitants of *Ispahanim-cha* strook a terrour into the rest. For the General had sent to this Place, being a great Town consisting of four thousand Houses, two Leagues distant from *Ispahan*, one of his Officers with a Command from the King to send at the set Price two hundred Sacks of Meal to the Capital City for their present necessity. The Townsmen made answer, 'twas nothing to them if there were such a Famine in the City, for that they had paid all their duties and Impositions for the last Harvest: that they had something else to do then to send their Corn and their Meal to *Ispahan* Market, and that those that wanted might come

come to them, for that they were not bound to sell but in their own Town. Thereupon the Officer remonstrated to the Principal of the Village that it was the Kings pleasure, and shew'd 'em the Kings Warrant which he had in his hands; to which their answer not being with that becoming reverence which became 'em, the Officer laid his hand upon his Sword, thinking to have frightened 'em into obedience. But the Country fellows not understanding his hard words, fell upon the Officer, beat him almost blind, and tore the Kings Command, crying out, 'twas a Cheat and Counterfeit.

The General highly offended at this Insolence of the Countrymen, gave the King an account of it, who order'd him to inflict such punishment as the Offence deserv'd. Upon which he sent two hundred of his Guards, who Drubb'd to excess the Principal of the Ringleaders. He also set a Fine upon their heads of a hundred thousand Crowns; which was mitigated to a third part, tho after many Petitions and Submissions, with a Present to the General of a thousand Pistols, which was all paid down upon the nail.

At the same time the General also found a way to revenge himself upon the *Armenians* for refusing him a kindness which he ask'd 'em; making use, for his pretence, of this Commission which the King had given him to furnish *Ispahan* with Corn. These *Armenians* are Christians born in *Ispahan*; so call'd because they are originally Natives of *Armenia*, from whence *Habas* the Great transplanted 'em into the heart of the Kingdom. At present their principal Colony is without the Walls of the Capital City, in a place adjoyning separated from the City only by the River: the *Persians* also call 'em, as we do, *Armeni* for the same reason. They also call the two *Armenia's*, the one *Armen* the Great, and the other *Armen* the Less. Now *Hali-Kouli-Kaan* at his first coming to Court, being in want of money to put himself into an Equipage, and to go forward with his Buildings, and not knowing where to have it, one day that some of the *Armenians* came to him about business, demanded of 'em, which were accounted the most wealthy of all their Country-Folks? Upon which they nam'd him five or six, and among the rest *Koga Zachara*. The General remember'd his name, and two days after, when another *Armenian* came to present him some Petition or other, he ask'd him whether he knew the Merchant *Zachara*; who making answer that he did, the General bid him go and seek for him. Now the *Armenian* little thought that the General had meant the rich

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Merchant, which the former had mention'd, but another of the same name, who with his two Brothers manag'd the Kings Money, and had always considerable Sums i' their hands, to purchase in Foreign Countries such Curiosities of value which might please the King. This latter therefore the *Armenian* fetch'd. And the General believing him to be the Merchant *Zachara*, caus'd him to sit down by him for two hours together, and receiv'd him so civilly as to make him stay and dine with him.

After Dinner, *Koga-Zachara*, said the General, *canst not thou do me the kindness to lend me two hundred Tomans (which are about a thousand Pistols) I expect in a short time considerable Sums of Money, and then I will repay thee with Interest, and upon any occasion thou shalt see I know how to be grateful to those that oblige me.* To which the *Armenian* repli'd, *Not only two hundred, but two thousand Tomans, if your Lordship pleases.* This answer pleas'd the General, insomuch that he shew'd himself highly satisfi'd, and ask'd him if he could not send him in the money the same day. To which the *Armenian*, understanding what he had to do, repli'd, *Sir, said he, the money shall be sent in, when you please to command it; but I must beg the favour first to give me the liberty to speak one word. We are two Brothers and my self his Majesties Factors, the one is in the Indies, the other in Europe; as for my self, I reside here, as you see; all the Money that we turn and wind is the Kings, and then it will be requisite that the Receipt which you give me should be seal'd with the Kings Signet, and then you may have the Sum you desire.*

The General then saw he was mistaken, for he could not meddle with the King's Money, and chafing in his mind, dismiss'd the Merchant, believing the *Armenians* had nam'd this person to him, on purpose to baffle his request, by putting him to desire a kindness of the King's Factor, of whom it was not proper for him to borrow Money. However it was only an Error caus'd by the mistake of the Person, where there were two of a name. For in regard that the *Armenians* are only call'd by the Proper names which they receive in Baptism, never using any Surnames, it happens that there are several persons that go by one and the same Name.

However the General resolv'd to try once more; and two days after he found an opportunity to make a second Request. For the *Keloanter*, or chief and sole Governour of the *Armenians*, and who has therefore that Title given him, which signifies *Greatest*, having made some Presents to the King, for which his

his Majesty sent him a Royal Habit, put it on, and being attended by the most considerable persons of his Nation, went to return his humble Thanks to the King, and to kiss his feet. After that, according to custom, he goes with all his Company to pay his Visits to the Grandees of the Court, and to return 'em his Thanks for having contributed to the Honour done him to have the Royal Vest bestow'd upon him. When he came to the Generals House, the Grandee caus'd him and all his Company to sit down, and after the usual Complements, he desired 'em to lend him two hundred *Tomans*, assuring 'em that he would repay 'em again with Interest, and be their Protector upon all occasions at Court. But they, who knew how usual a thing it was for the *Persian* Grandees to be borrowing, and how frequently they were deny'd; and besides, as well understanding the humour of the Person, to whom a Loane would have prov'd a Gift, made him answer, that it would be their happiness to serve him, but as at present their affairs stood, it was impossible: for that all their Money was either in the *Indies*, or in *Europe*, in the hands of their Factors, and before their return they knew not how to raise such a Sum. Very well, repli'd the General, then lend me but half so much: nay, he came down at length to a third part. But these imprudent persons sway'd by their own Avarice, refus'd him also that small Sum, not considering the Credit he was in at Court, and that he was able to do 'em a great deal of harm. Which so incens'd the General, that he put 'em out of the Room before him, calling 'em Dogs, and turning his back upon 'em would not receive their Complement. Three Weeks after he sent a Command in the Kings name to their Chief, to furnish the City with forty thousand *Batman-Sha* of Meal, which make five hundred thousand pound weight. To which the Chief of the *Armenians* answer'd, that there was not so much in all the Town: and to fetch it from other places was a thing not to be done, in regard the expence of Carriage would raise the Price of every *Batman*, or twelve pound, to an *Abassi* and a fourth part; which was contrary to the King's Command; who intended that the abovemention'd weight should be sold for an *Abassi*, which in that manner would be a fifth part loss to them. The Accompt was just, and the General knew well enough they would be losers at least a thousand Pistols in the quantity of Meal which he demanded: but that was the thing he aim'd at, that they should be losers the full Sum of what they refus'd to lend him. And therefore, not satisfi'd with their reasons, he sent
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to 'em again to let 'em know that they must furnish the Quantity of Meal which the King had order'd; That the Place of of their Residence was a dependance upon *Ispahan*, and that they were oblig'd to relieve the Capital City as well as others: and that it was his Majesties exprefs Command. But notwithstanding all that the General could say, the *Armenians* would do nothing. They pleaded that they were not oblig'd to that over-chargement; and that by their Agreement with the King they were exempt from all new Impolitions and Tributes, paying yearly four hundred *Tomans*, which come to about two thousand Pistols, so that altho there were a real Famine in the City, as thanks be to God there was not, there could no more then that Sum be demanded of them.

They were in the right, but they wanted strength. The General was resolv'd to carry it on with a high hand, and no less was agreed upon then to arrest the Principal Heads of the Town. Of which when they had notice, they sent all their Wives, to the number of above three hundred, to the Gate of the *Haram*, or Palace of Women, there to wait for the King, and demand Justice. To which purpose they took their opportunity when his Majesty was there, and plac'd themselves before the Gate against the Walls. For indeed, this is the Place allow'd to be free for all that come to cry for Justice, or to Petition for any Favour: nor dare the Guards upon pain of death hinder any Persons that offer to go thither, where they have liberty to implore with a loud voice the Justice of the Prince. There these Women made such a noise, that they were easily heard to the innermost part of the whole Palace, so that the King having understood the Cause, commanded 'em to go home, and he would take order in their business.

However the *Generalissimo* ceas'd not to press the *Armenians*, and to threaten 'em with Imprisonment, so that finding no other remedy, they sent their Wives a second time to the Palace, and to the same Place. Where the Women set up their throats as they did before; and understanding that his Majesty was just coming forth at the Gate that leads into the Royal Alley, thither they ran in heaps with so much fury, that one Croud of 'em got so near as to touch the Kings Horse; nor could the *Sophies* and *Lacqueys* that went before, and round about the Kings Person hardly keep 'em off. For the Women in the heat of their fury began to throw stones, and one among the rest was so impudent as to lay hands upon the Bridle of the Kings Horse. So that his Majesty, being before not a little startl'd at the Tumult, began

began to be more astonish'd at the boldness of such an action ; and besides, his Youth and want of Experience was such that he knew not how to deal with that Sex : only he commanded the Guard, to drive 'em away, bid 'em be gone, and that he would do 'em Justice : but for all that, he had much ado to quit himself from those sne Devils let loose.

At the same time the *Armenians* had presented a Petition, by means of an Eunuch, to the Queen Mother, as being under her Protection, for that their Town is one of the Places assign'd for her Dowry. The Princess receiv'd their Petition, and promis'd to act in their behalf. In a word, so soon as the Monarch her Son was return'd to her Apartment, she besought him to remit the Surcharge which he had laid upon the poor *Armenians* in regard that by the Concessions which the Kings his Predecessors had granted to 'em upon payment of the Sum agreed, they were exempt from all other Impositions. To which the King answered, *A God's name let it be so, I acquit 'em.* Immediately the Princess dispatch'd away an Eunuch to give 'em notice of their discharge ; but the Eunuch, either through negligence, or otherwise, not meeting with those he was sent to, the *Armenians* knew nothing of the Kings Discharge.

For indeed the Chief Heads of the *Armenians*, to the number of Forty or Fifty, ignorant of the Kings mercy, and fearing lest the General should send to apprehend 'em, were fled to the Grand Portal of the Kings House, call'd *Haly-Capy*, that is to say, the *High-Gate*, which is a Sanctuary for all those that are pursu'd by Justice, and from whence no person can be taken without an express Warrant from the King. Toward Evening, as his Majesty return'd from the Women's Palace to the Place where he gives his Audiences, it was told him that all the *Armenians* were got together in a riotous manner under the High Gate, and that they cri'd out against the General for threatening to imprison 'em. To which the King made answer, *What do those Armenians do there ? I have pardon'd 'em, and acquitted the Imposition of Meal which was laid upon 'em by Hali-Kouli-Kaan by my Order.* All which the General, being present, heard, but said not a word, tho mad in his mind that he had miss'd his aim. Presently several of the Officers ran with the news to the *Armenians* in the Gate ; but blinded by their Destiny, instead of going home, they thought it had been a snare only to draw 'em thence, and arrest 'em when they had got 'em out of the Sanctuary ; so that they would not stir, till they saw the King's Grace confirm'd under his Seal.

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With this Resolve of theirs, the same Officers return'd to the King : but then the General finding his opportunity, Sir, said he, *had I not reason to represent to your Majesty as I did, that the Armenians were a company of Dogs, a rebellious sort of people that submit to your Majesty more for fear than force ? Does not your Majesty see that they despise your Royal Word ? Refusing to rely upon it, or to obey your Orders ? But they would force your Majesty to give 'em in writing what your sacred Lips have pronounc'd ? Was ever such a matchless piece of Impudence ever heard of ?*

"Thou speakst reason, repli'd the Prince ; they deserve my displeasure, and to be punish'd. Send, and let their Guts be ripp'd up ; They are Dogs.

Upon these words the Officers were ready to execute the Monarchs Sentence ; but the General made 'em a sign to stay a little. For besides that he had no design upon their Lives, but only upon their Purses ; he consider'd that such a bloody Execution, and the loss of so many industrious and understanding Merchants would be very prejudicial to the Kingdom ; and therefore falling upon his Knees, and imploring his Majesties Pardon in behalf of those miserable Creatures. Sir, said he, *they are unworthy your Majesties displeasure ; Let 'em live ; it will be a sufficient punishment to bleed their Purses of a round Sum of Money.* "Well then, said the King, let their Fine be four times the value of the Meal which was demanded of 'em. Which came to fifteen thousand pound sterling. Immediately, contrary to any precedent that had ever been seen in *Persia*, the *Armenians* were hurri'd from their Sanctuary, which till then had bene always held inviolable, and committed into the hands of their Enemy, who sent 'em prisoners to a fair Palace formerly belonging to the *Mir-aab*, or the Prince of the Waters, where they had order to remain till they had paid their full Fine.

This Imprisonment made 'em look about 'em, so that they petition'd the General the same day for their Release, and that in acknowledgment of his favour they would give him the *two hundred Tomans* which he had formerly desir'd to borrow, and that for their Fine, they would summon the whole Town of *Julfa*, and cause a Contribution to be made for raising the Sum impos'd ; for that as for themselves they were not able to pay it. "How ! cri'd the General, Dogs as they are, do they think the Sum impos'd is to be paid by any other then themselves ? Do they imagine, that they who are rich shall be exempt from the Burthen for the Poor to pay it ? They talk
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“ of making the Burrough contribute, but 'tis his Majesties pleasure that the Rich shall pay, and not the poor Mechanicks and such as have no Trade. The Merchants alone are able to pay a Fine of fifteen thousand pounds; and therefore no more words, nor no more contending, unless they intend to have this Fine doubl'd.

Nevertheless the *Armenians* persisted to plead their want of Money, and that it was impossible for 'em to raise such a Sum. But at length there were two *Indians*, who whether out of their own good Nature, or whether it were at the request of the *Armenians*, who went to the General, and offer'd to advance the said Sum of fifteen thousand pounds for the *Armenians*, provided they would engage to repay it with Interest, to which they agreed; and so the business was concluded in four days; and all the rest were releas'd but only the Governour, who remained a Prisoner still for some Weeks till the whole Sum was fully paid; that is to say, four thousand *Tomans* for the King, and five hundred to the General of the Army, which make some eighteen thousand pounds. And thus you see what these People got by being wedded so stiffly to their own Interests, for refusing the crafty old General the thousand Crowns, which was all at first by him desir'd.

This Fine so considerable was not paid neither by all the *Armenians*, but by those only who are call'd *Giculfali*. And here for his better Information, the Reader is to understand, that *Giulfa*, which is a part of the Suburbs of *Ispahan*, is inhabited altogether by Christians that came out of *Armenia*, tho not at all from one part, and therefore they are divided into two sorts of Colonies. Of which the Principal is the Colony of the *Giulfali*, so call'd as being once the Inhabitants of *Jiulfa* a small Town in *Armenia*, built upon the Banks of *Araxis*, who built this Burrough when they were transplanted to *Ispahan*, and gave it the name of their former Habitation. Since, and in these latter times the other *Armenians*, being constrain'd to remove from the Village where they had before seated themselves at one end of *Ispahan*, came and settl'd at the end of this new Town, adding new buildings to it, which make four distinct Quarters, the one call'd the Quarter of the *Hirvanli*, the other of the *Nakshivanli*, as being Peopl'd by the Native Inhabitants of two Cities in *Armenia*, *Nackchivan* and *Hirvan*. The other two are call'd *Shams-abadi*, *Sheik-Sabani*, in regard that they who inhabit 'em formerly liv'd in the two Suburbs of *Ispahan*, *Shams-abad*, or the Habitation of the Sun, and *Sheik-*

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Sabana, the Habitation of the *Ancient Masjon*. Now this Fine of eighteen thousand pounds was only paid by the first; the rest, against whom the General had no such Antipathy, were discharg'd all together from the Imposition of Meal only for fifteen thousands pounds weight.

The *Guebres*, who are the ancient *Persians* or Fire Worshipers, and who live at the farthest end of the Town, were wholly discharged upon their pleading Poverty; it being well known that they were a miserable sort of People, and under great distress.

The General of the Army, within a small while after caus'd a Fine of thirty thousand pounds to be paid to his Majesty, and indeed upon a much more rational and juster score, by the *Multani*, who are a sort of *Indian Banians*, so call'd from *Multan*, one of the chief Cities of *India*, and the first that lies next to *Persia* toward *Kand-Dar*, because the first that frequented *Persia* came from that City. Now two of these *Indians* had Intelligence several years since with the Ministers of the *Indian King*, and serv'd him as Spies at *Ispahan*, to give him private intelligence of all the Affairs and Intrigues of the *Persian* Court and Kingdom: nor did they fail to write upon all opportunities, and at that time taking hold of the opportunity of the Caravan which in the Spring time goes to the *Indies*, they sent Letters by that Caravan, among other things, that *Aureng-Zeb* (for that was the *Indian Monarchs* name) should not let slip this advantage of invading *Persia*; That he could never desire a more favourable Conjunction, then that which now invited him; That there was nothing to hinder his Victorious March even to *Ispahan* it self; for that the Prince himself was very Young, wanting both Experience and Courage: that he who bore all the sway under him, was an old Tyrant, the General of the Army; but in regard of his Age unfit for War; and for his other Ministers, besides that they were persons that had neither Courage nor Conduct, they were disgusted with the Government. More then this, that there was a very great scarcity in the Country of all things necessary for humane support, especially in the Metropolis, where there was a general murmuring against the disorders and bad management of the Government; and that the general Rumours were, that *Persia* was attack'd in several places. In a word, that the *Indians* could never have such an opportunity to conquer the Kingdom, and retake *Kand-Dar*. In these Letters also were enclos'd the Portraitsures of the King, and all the Principal Ministers and Officers

Officers of State, which those *Indians* had prevail'd with a Painter to draw for a good Sum of Money, on purpose to send to the *Indian* that they might be known to the Monarch of that Country.

This Plot was discover'd by a little Slave belonging to the Painter. For about six Weeks after the setting forth of the *Caravan*, his Master having beaten him to excess, he attempted a Revenge above his Age and Condition. He ran to the General of the Armie's house, and desir'd he might be admitted to speak with the General in private. But the Servants at first would not permit him with a trifle of no importance to interrupt the *General*, who had always an incredible Crowd of People waiting upon him, and a multitude of business upon his hands. Till at length being importunate to speak with him, and urging the weight of the secret which he had to discover, the Guards inform'd the General, who sent for him into his presence, and demanded what he would have. To whom the Slave made answer, with an undaunted courage, that it was not a secret to be discover'd, but if he pleas'd to order the People to withdraw, or to retire himself, he should know his business in private. Notwithstanding all this the General at that time made little reck'ning of what he said, and they assur'd me that it was three days before the General would trouble himself to examine him. Till at length the Slave persevering in his resolution never to discover any thing but to himself in private, the General mov'd by his perseverance, sent for him into a little Cabinet, where he discover'd that his Master had drawn the Portraits of the King and all the Grandees of the Court, and had sold 'em privately to the *Indians* to send into *India*; that three *Dervicks* (such are those that out of a Religious Motive make a profession of Poverty) carri'd those Portraits into *India*, and that they came to his Master with the *Indians*, and hid 'em under the tatter'd Garments that they wore: that they hid certain Letters also in the same manner at the same time, but of which he knew not the Contents, and that they went away with the *Caravan* for *Caudar*.

The General of the Army was at a stand whether he should give credit to the Deposition of this Slave or no. He tri'd him sometimes with threats, sometimes with promises to see if he could find him any way tripping or various in his story; not knowing but that it might be a falshood of the Slaves Invention. But when he found him resolute in the same tale, and still affirming Positively the same thing: and that he

affirm'd it with all the Oaths which among the *Persians* are esteem'd to be most dreadful, and that he offer'd his Life as a Gage of what he had said; the General resolv'd to dive into the bottom of the Affair. Thereupon he dispatch'd away two Horsemen after the *Caravan*, with a Warrant under the Kings hand to seize the persons that were accus'd of carrying those Letters and Portraits. Which two Horsemen in a months time overtook the *Caravan*, and knowing the *Derwicks* by the descriptions which the Slave had giv'n, brought 'em Prisoners to *Isfahan*.

When they were brought to the General of the Army, he sent for the Slave, and ask'd him if he knew those poor people, and if they were the persons that carri'd the Letters and Portraits. The Slave assur'd him that they were the men, and press'd 'em so home that they began to stagger in their Answers. Thereupon the General caus'd their Cloaths to be search'd, and their Tatters to be unripp'd, and there, as the Slave had declar'd, he found the Portraits and the Letters sow'd up in several places. All which were carri'd to the King, who having seen the Contents of the Letters fell into such a passionate Rage, that he resolv'd to put to death one part of the *Multani Indians*, and to exterminate the rest out of his Dominions, tho they were above twenty thousand. But the *Generalissimo*, and the Chief Minister endeavour'd to appease him, and humbly represented to him, that it was not reason to punish the Innocent with the Guilty. In the mean time they could not make any discoveries of the Authors of the Letters; for the *Derwicks*, notwithstanding all the Torments and Tortures they were put to, would discover nothing: constantly affirming, that they knew not who they were, nor their names, nor had ever been at their Houses. That as for what had been found about 'em, they met with those things in their Bundles at the Painters, and that the Indians that brought 'em, never told them either their Names, or their Habitations.

Now in regard their Names were not subscrib'd in the Letters, the General knew not what course to take to sift out the truth. He had caus'd the Principal of the *Multani* to be apprehended, to the number of two hundred, but they were all releas'd again except three, who paid for those that were guilty, if they themselves were not the very persons, (for it never could be made out, and the suspicions were very slight) and therefore being thus in the dark, it was thought sufficient to confiscate a part of so much of their Estates as they could discover, which they

they found to amount to vast Sums; of which nevertheless, out of meer pity they took no more then eight Thousand *Tömans*, or thirty thousand pounds: The rest was left 'em upon their pleading that what seem'd to be theirs, belong'd to Merchants that liv'd in the *Indies*. As for the three persons that carri'd the Letters and Portraitsures, and the Painter, they were drubb'd with a witness; nor were they releas'd till their Feet were swell'd as big as their Heads with the violence of the blows.

At the same time *Sha-Naavaz-Kaan*, Prince Governour of *Georgia*, sent his Son to the Court of *Persia* to desire the King to bestow upon him the Employment of *Daroga*, or grand Provost of *Ispahan*, which appertain'd to him of right, according to former agreements between the Kings of *Persia*, and the Princes of *Georgia*. To which demand his Majesty was very unwilling to condescend, because he had already given away the Place: but his Ministers of State acknowledging the justness of his claim, spake so effectually to the King, that the *Georgian* was invested in the Employment, and *Kelb-Haly-Bek* was order'd to resign, who was recompens'd with an Employment altogether as considerable.

For the better understanding of which passage we must observe, that when *Habas the Great* became the Master of *Georgia* (which he obtain'd rather by slight then by force) by those snares into which he drew poor *Temuraz-Kaan*, who was the last King of *Georgia*; he propos'd to him great advantages, provided he would submit himself to his Empire, and acknowledge his Sovereignty; and among the rest that the Employment of Grand Provost of *Ispahan* should for the future belong to one of the Children of the Prince of *Georgia*, and that it should descend by inheritance to his Successors to perpetuity. Which has been faithfully all along observ'd to this time, and the Son of the Prince of *Georgia* always holds that Employment.

A third Vacancy was also suppli'd, that is to say, the Government of *Shamaky*, which encompasses one part of the Southern *Media*, and another of *Hyrcania*. And this was giv'n to *Sepher-Kouli-Kaan*, or the Princely Slave of the Armies. It became vacant by the Death of *Negef-Kouli-Kaan*, one of the bravest Lords of *Persia*, generous and stout, who by his Resolution and Courage had rais'd himself to that high Dignity. The *European* Merchants trading in Jewels have often tasted of his generous Liberality; for he did not only satisfie 'em for their Jewels, but carrels'd 'em with Habits, Presents, and good Chear.

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During these Transactions in the Capital City of *Persia*, the Frontiers were greatly apprehensive of a War, that threaten'd 'em from all parts. Courtiers came thick and threefold to *Ispahan*, some from the Confines of *Bactria*, *Hyrcania*, and *Media*, who brought intelligence of several designs which the *Kossacks*, the *Yusbeks*, and other *Tartars* were suspected to be forming against the Empire. Others from the Confines toward *Turkie* and *India*, who brought no less unpleasing Tydings. However at Court they fear'd no War but only from those two sides, especially the latter: for the *Turks* had their hands full at *Candy*.

As for the *Indian King*, all concurring Probabilities made 'em conjecture that he would engage in a War against *Persia*. For besides that he was naturally of a haughty and Ambitious Disposition; that he was quiet at home, and had nothing to fear from abroad, he had a fair pretence to revenge the Affronts which his Embassadour *Terviet-Kaan* had receiv'd in *Persia*. For in the Life of *Habas II.* we shall give a full account of that Embassadour, who came to *Ispahan* in the year 1664. according to our account, with a Train of eight thousand men: as also of the Presents which he brought, so rich as is hardly to be believ'd, as well in respect of those which the King accepted, as those which he refus'd. We shall also there declare the Occasion of his Embassie, and of his stay in the Court of *Persia*, the publick Affronts which *Habas* put upon him, on purpose in his Own to affront the Person of his Master *Aureng-Zeeb*, and to revenge himself for his delay in not sending his Embassadour before; and lastly, we shall describe the Presents which the King of *Persia* gave the Embassadour to carry to his Master.

Habas II. di'd about fifteen days before the *Indian Embassadour* arriv'd at his own Master's Court; who therefore not knowing as yet of his Death, and having had an account from his own Embassadour of the bad usage he had receiv'd in the Court of *Persia*, testifi'd his resentment with a more than ordinary fury. He presently degraded *Terviet-Kaan*, upbraiding him for a Coward, and telling him he should rather have di'd then have suffer'd such affronts. He caus'd all the goodly Horses which the *Persian* had sent him, to the number of Sixcore, to be brought out into the great *Piazza* of *Dehly*, his Royal Residence, and there cut off their Legs. Afterwards, he caus'd all the costly Stuffs of Gold and Silk, the *Turquoises*, and all other Presents sent him by the *Persian Monarch* to be publickly burnt, and,

and, as if he resolv'd to declare open War, he forbad his Subjects all manner of Commerce with the *Persians* either by Land or Sea, and sent exprefs Orders to all the Ports of *India* that no *Indian* Vessels should stir out of the Kingdom. The news of these proceedings coming to *Ispahan* made most people believe that nothing but a War was intended, and every one prepar'd for it. But they that had a deeper reach, were not so positive in their judgments, tho they durst not discover their thoughts. But he who most upheld this news of an *Indian* War, and gave most credit to it, was *Gemshid-Kaan-Koular*, *Agacie*, General of the Slaves, a great Favourite at Court, and as a Friend esteem'd by the General of the Army. This same *Grandee*, being one of the falsest persons that ever were, during the first nine Months of the New King's Reign, had contriv'd so many dangerous designs, as well against the Meaner sort as against the *Grandees*, that at length some of his practices being discover'd, he became odious to all, and had drawn upon himself the Universal hatred of the Courtiers; so that he was sufficiently apprehensive that he could not resist so many Enemies. True it is, that he had the favour of the King and the General of the Army; yet was it not so assur'd that he could promise himself the continuance of it for any long time. Therefore he thought the safest Course he could take at such a ticklish conjuncture was to retire as far from the Court as he could under a specious and very honourable pretence. And in regard the Government of *Candabar* presented him an opportunity so favourable to his design he endeavour'd to have the Grant of it.

To that purpose he labour'd the confirmation of the false reports that were spread of the War which the King of the *Indies* threaten'd against *Persia*. He gave his Majesty Intelligence, which he said was most certain, that the *Indian* Prince was coming to besiege *Candabar* with a mighty Army; that the better to accomplish his designs, and draw the *Yusbees* to his Party, he had sent 'em fifty *Lacres* of *Roupies*, amounting to about six hundred thousand pounds sterling, upon condition that they would declare open Hostility against *Persia*: that *Aureng Zeeb* himself had already tak'n the Field. In a word, he knew so well how to lay his Stories so cunningly together, and to render the Terrors and Affrights which he forg'd so probable, that all the business was now to apply remedies to those Mischiefs that were thought to be so near approaching, and so dangerous. Thereupon he counterfeits himself to be the most faithful

faithful Subject, and most passionate for his Countries welfare in the World. He vow'd that he himself should be the *Korban*, as they call it, or the Sacrifice that would be offer'd for the safety of the People, and that he would go himself to *Kandaar*, and there expose his own Person to the first Assaults of his Enemies. He also engages the General of the Army in this Intrigue; who besides was willing enough of himself to return him like for like, and to repay him for the kindness he had done him, as we have already related. The King therefore persuaded by these two Lords that were his Confidants, the one the General of his Armies, and the other General of his Slaves, granted to the latter what he contended for with so much heat, and gave him a Commission to raise men for *Kandaar*, with hopes of the Government it self in a short time. Which was no small joy to this same contriver of Wiles and Intrigues, who thereby thought himself safe shelter'd from all those mischiefs which his turbulent Spirit had brought upon him.

We have already told ye that this Lord was always look'd upon as a notorious Cheat, and that in the Reign of *Habas II.* being supported by the favour of his Prince he had put a hundred tricks upon the Court: that he took money at that time of all that offer'd it him: promising to help 'em to the Offices and Employments for which they su'd: but that when he had their money, he presently forgot all his Promises: that it was his pastime to sow discord, and kindle the Coals of Dissention: that he forg'd dangerous Calumnies and Accusations against his Competitors, and with a brazen forehead utter'd 'em to the King for real Truths. As to other things he was a comely well proportion'd Person, a man of great Courage and Wit, dextrously handl'd his Arms, and liberal to Magnificence: so that he might have pass'd for one of the bravest men in the World, had it not been for that same black Malignity that infected all the rest of his Actions. In a word, there never was in one man a greater Medley of good and bad Qualities.

His good Qualities gain'd him the affection of his Masters; his bad ones render'd him odious and formidable to his Equals: and having gain'd the Affection of his Young Sovereign, as he had won the favour of his Father, he practis'd the same fooleries under the new Prince as before.

One of the first mischievous Pranks fell upon *Mirza Ibrabim*, or *Abraham*, *Vazier*, or *Royal Farmer* of *Azour-beyan* or *Media*; which is one of the richest in all *Persia*. From this person he

he squeez'd four thousand pounds, and withal brought him into so much trouble that he caus'd him to lose the greatest part of his Estate, and to fall under that displeasure of his Prince, that he could never since recover himself, nor is it thought he ever will. And thus it hapned: The General of the Slaves having a design to get that Sum of four thousand pounds, addressees himself to the Nephew of that rich Farmer; for the Uncle was then at *Tauris* where his Employment lay. This was a young Gentleman, the Son of *Mirza Sadek* or *just Lord*, Farmer also of the Province of *Fars*, not inferiour to the other for profit. And this Young Lord had also at Court the Employment of *Erbaeb Tahuel*, or Chief Surveyour of the Kings Buildings and Houses in *Ispahan*. To whom the General of the Slaves one day, taking him aside thus delivers himself. *What makes thy Uncle Mirza Ibrahim now at Tauris? Why does he not come to Court? Is there any more fit than he to supply the place of Prime Minister? Mahomet Mekdy who enjoys it at present is a Buffehead, and a Changeling, unfit to manage publick business. I partly know the King intends to confer his Employment upon some body more worthy; Nor can I tell where there is a person more fit for such an important Trust than Mirza Ibrahim. And I believe I could with little trouble procure it for him by the help of some Presents, which should not be very expensive neither. If thou wilt give me a thousand Tomans (or four thousand pounds) I dare undertake, instead of a Vazier of a Province to make him Grand Vizier of all Persia.*

To this the young Lord replid, that he would consider of it: and no sooner had he left the General, but he dispatches in all hast a Courier to his Uncle, to let him know what the General of the Slaves had propos'd to him. Upon which the *Vazier* by the same Courier sends an Order to his Nephew to pay the Money demanded; which was done accordingly. Soon after another Courier arrives at *Ispahan* from *Myrza Ibrahim*. For he assur'd himself of his advancement to the Chief Ministry, and so much the rather, because he conceiv'd himself fit for such a Dignity, as indeed he was; and therefore to facilitate his Preferment, by the same Courier he besought leave of his Majesty that he might come and kiss his Feet; since it could be no prejudice to his Majesty, in regard his Son was able to supply his Place. The other Ministers, who knew nothing of the Intrigue, never imagin'd that such a permission could be any way prejudicial to their Interests, or that it was only a pretence for the foundation of a more Important Design. So that his Request was granted, and an Order sign'd for him to come and kiss the Kings Feet, leaving his Son to supply his Place.

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While

While these two Courriers were coming and going, a report, that was only whisper'd about, came to the Ears of *Mirza Ibrahim's* Nephew, that the General of the Slaves was ready to depart for *Candaar*. Thereupon he labours more exactly to inform himself, and understanding it was too true, he bethought himself of the Thousand *Tomans* which he had paid him in his Uncle's behalf, which were like to be lost if he did not speedily look about him. Thereupon he went and gave the General of the Slaves a Visit, and civilly hinted to him to be mindful of the promise which he made to bring his Uncle into his Majesties favour, and of the Money which he had paid him upon that consideration: that he understood the General of the Slaves was going to leave the Court, to the ruine of his Uncle's Interest: or at least if the business should succeed it would not by his procurement; and therefore besought him to return the four thousand pounds which he had paid him. At which request the General of the Slaves did not seem to be in the least offended; but made answer, that 'twas all the reason in the world, and so appointed a certain time to repay the Sum. Which time being come, he sent him away again with the same answer from one day to another. Still *Mirza Ibrahim's* Nephew follow'd him close without letting any opportunity slip: but still the young Lord was as careful to speak softly, or when he was alone, for fear of divulging a secret that would have been the ruine of his own and his Uncle's Family. At length the General of the Slaves, ashamed of having put off the young Lord so many times, and now being run to the end of his Rope, as one that had no more Excuses to make, he resolv'd to break off at once with the *Vazier*, that he might deliver himself from his importunate Solicitor. To this purpose, one Evening, at the time that he was ready to go to his Prayers, and from thence to Court (for 'tis the Custom of the *Mahumetans* to say their Prayers in Publick) perceiving the young Lord at a distance advancing toward him, he took that opportunity when there was a great number of People and several persons of Quality to hear him; at what time, as soon as the young Lord came near him, fetching a deep sigh, and lifting up his Eyes and Arms to Heaven, Good God, said he, what shall I do with this man, he pursues me every where like a Criminal, he will not give me time to say my Prayers; he haunts me, going into my *Haram* among my Women; I find him at my heels wherever I go; prithee Friend what wouldst have me do to satisfy thee? Am I King of Persia, to create thy Uncle Prime Minister of State?

Prithee

Prethee go to his Majesty; the business does not lie in my Power.

You may easily judge what a Thunder Clap this was to the young Lord: he would not for ten times the Sum that he had provok'd those Expressions from a man so ill principl'd; he repented with all his heart that he had press'd him so close, but 'twas too late: for *Mirza Ibrahim's* Plot was thereby discover'd; and all the Court that knew him rightly, believ'd 'twould cost his Ambition sauce; as indeed it fell out.

By a Quirk of the same nature, the General of the Slaves had already formerly hook'd out of the *Nazir* or Lord Treasurer's Pocket three hundred *Tomans*, which make a thousand pound, at the time that the Court return'd to *Ispahan*. To which purpose the cunning Fox went to him at his house, all in a heat, and after he had drawn him aside, Sir, said he, *I come to assure you, that your Head, which the practice of your Enemies had endanger'd, is now secure. The King at first began to listen to their Calumnies, so that had not I interpos'd for your safety, the King was resolv'd neither to have sent you the Habit, nor the Patent Royal. The General of the Musquetters was he that did you the most prejudice, which caus'd a Quarrel between us; I suppose you will acknowledge the kindness we have done you.*

The same Prank he plaid *Mirza Moumen*, that is, Lord without Blot, the *Nazir*, or Superintendant of the Stables, who was drawn in by him for about nine thousand pounds by making him believe that he had protected him against Potent Accusers, who sought to bring him under his Majesties displeasure. But that was not all, for that he was resolv'd to imploy his Credit with his Master, as to raise him from being Treasurer of the Stables to be Treasurer of the Kings Demains, in the room of *Mac-Soud-Bec*, who undeservedly enjoy'd the Employment, and whose head already totter'd upon his shoulders; for that the King was resolv'd that none of those should live who had oppos'd his Advancement to the Throne.

Upon his Departure also, that he might leave some marks behind him of his malicious Cunning, he resolv'd to set the King's two Chief Eunuchs (who are petty Kings in the Palace) together by the ears to the mutual perdition of each other; that is the *Mehther* or Lord Chamberlain; and the *Aga Moubarek*, or Overseer of the Queen Mothers Household.

To that purpose he went to the High Chamberlain, to tell him as a secret of great Importance, and which the Friendship

he had for him, oblig'd him to reveal, that *Aga Moubarek* took all opportunities to slander and accuse him to the King, but that his wickedness fell upon his own head: for that he had often heard his Majesty say, that he could no longer endure the Backbiting Tongue and Malignity of that person; that he was resolv'd to have put him to death, and had done it already, had it not been for some remainder of kindness he has for him; for the service he did him at his Fathers death stopt his displeasure. At the same time he went to *Aga Moubarek*, and told him also the very same Story of the Chamberlains Inveteracy against him. So that the two Eunuchs foster'd for some time a secret and implacable hatred one against the other: both expecting when the effects of the Princes Anger would break out to the ruine of his Enemy, according as the General of the Slaves had fed their hopes. But the time being elaps'd, and nothing hapning of what they were made believe; they began to doubt the truth of what he had inform'd 'em. And therefore knowing the Author of the Story to be a great forger of Lies, they resolv'd to find out the truth.

The *Mehther* or High Chamberlain was the first that discover'd it. For being saluted one day with the usual Complements, the Great Chamberlain coldly repli'd, *There's a Tongue that coldly salutes my Ears, but stabs me to the heart, and then drawing him aside, What unkindness, said he, have I done you, that you should go about to procure my death, by rendring me odious to the Prince as you do every day: all my comfort is, you will not be so successful in your enterprize as you think for.*

Aga Moubarek finding thereby a Gate opened for discovery, 'Tis not for you, said he, but for me to complain. For is it not you that have been continually pealing in the Kings Ears such and such stories concerning me; which had been enough to have taken away my life, had his Majesty given credit to your Tales, but thanks be to God they were not believ'd.

The two Eunuchs were so strangely surpriz'd to find themselves upbraided with the same unkindnesses, that they began to compare their accusations of each other, with which they were charg'd, and that Examination at last discover'd that it was but a *Romance*, tho a pernicious *Romance*, which the General of the Slaves had compos'd to set those two Lords together by the Ears, and to make his advantage of their quarrelling. Nevertheless seeing the dark contrivance had not succeeded altogether, they dissembl'd their resentment at present, and said nothing: resolving to wait for an opportunity of Revenge,
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which they vow'd should never escape 'em, whenever it offer'd it self.

These Eunuchs are very ready at these kind of dark Contrivances : there being no people in the World that know how to carry on a private Revenge by close and covert means, and then give fire to the Mine of a sudden, so well as they do : nor did they fail to pay this crafty Deceiver in his own Coin ; For it is thought that they were the persons who mainly contributed to his disgrace and death.

But now so soon as the General of the Slaves had receiv'd his Commission for the Government of *Cand-daar*, and to withstand the Invasion of the *Indians*, he began to raise Soldiers at *Ispahan*, which he caus'd to be exercis'd every day, with so much exactness, as if the Enemy had been at the Gates : and after he had muster'd together four thousand, all stout proper fellows, he declar'd he would raise no more, that Recruit being sufficient : and he order'd his business so well by the assistance of the General of the Army, that the King, whom they assur'd that the Enemy was at hand, caus'd his dispatches to be made for *Serdaar* or Chief General of *Kandar*, and the Territories belonging to it, and made him Governour of the Province and City it self, being a famous Garrison, and the Key of the Kingdom toward *India*. It is seated upon three rising Grounds, which defend each other ; the *Persians* esteeming it impregnable, and it is a Proverb amongst 'em, *Who shall take the Habitation of security?* Alluding to the word *Candaar*, which signifies the same thing.

Before this Lord departed he obtain'd of the King, that his Brother *Phereidon-Bek*, should supply his Place of General of the Slaves, as his Lieutenant, till his Son, to whom the Prince had granted the Reversion, should be of years to manage it himself : and not content with that, he also procur'd an Order from the King, by which his Majesty gave him leave to come to Court when he pleas'd, without asking leave. And thus *Gemshid-Kaan* departed well satisfi'd, conceiving with himself, that he had craftily disintangl'd himself from all those troubles which his ill management had brought upon him at Court.

Some few days after this Lord was thus departed there was no more talk of the War ; on the other side it was evident there would be none. For the report ran about, that *Aureng-Zeeb* understanding that *Habas II.* was dead, and that his Successor was but young and unexperienc'd, scorn'd the Encounter of so trivial an Enemy. Which *Rodomontado* of the
Indians

Indian Prince to save his Honour might have held good in the time of the *Rustans*, who were the *Amadis's* of *Persia*, at what time they never enter'd into Combat but for Honour. But now Monarchs never fight hand to hand, nor in single Duels to try each others strength. But they fight Army against Army, and their only aim is the Conquest of Cities and Provinces, assailing whatever they think they can master.

All the World knew that for three months after the death of *Habas II.* was known in the *Indies*, the Prince of that Country still continu'd his preparations of War, in order to the besieging of *Candaar*; of which this was an evident proof, for that all that while, all Commerce was forbidden with *Persia* as before. Which would not have been, had the *Indian* Prince abandon'd his designs of the War, in derision of his feeble Enemy, whom he thought too young to be the subject of his Triumphs.

The truth was, as I have heard from very Intelligent persons. that *Aureng-Zeeb* was diverted from his Enterprize by the Princess his Sister, who us'd these Arguments to him, That it was not proper for him to hazard the Honour he had won; that till that time he had Reign'd in high Reputation, which he could never lose so long as he kept himself quiet. That Fortune could not make him greater then he was, but that she might prove froward to his prejudice. That the taking of *Candaar* was no such easie thing, which his Father had twice with two potent Armies attempted in vain. That the chiefest part of his Courtiers being *Persians*, they would serve him very unwillingly, and assist him but coldly; and in a word; That if he did not succeed in the War, it would be a stain to his Reputation, which he would never be able to wipe out. Especially since his Reputation had no need of this Conquest to aggrandize it self, as being sufficient to support it self without it. To which reasons of his Sister the Prince submitted: and without doubt he did wisely: there being nothing so true as what the Princess told him, that there was little to be got by the Enterprize, but much to be lost.

The General of the Slaves before, now General of the Armies, had not been gone above a Month from Court, when *Mirza-Ibrahim* arriv'd at *Ispahan* in a trembling and quivering condition, after he had been put in such great hopes. For he had been inform'd at *Tauris*, what a Trick the General of the Slaves had put upon him, and how he had discover'd the whole secret of his Project. However having receiv'd a permission to come

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to Court, there was a necessity for him to go: so that being reduc'd to this extremity he was not so eager upon his journey: he made but slow preparations, and delay'd his departure as long as possibly he could: excusing himself sometimes by reason of the bad weather, the bad *Position* of the Planets, or his own Indisposition of body. But at length go he must, but he travell'd such easie days journeys, that he spent double the time that he needed to have done; and perhaps he did it to shun his meeting with the General of the Slaves upon the Road, being upon his march to his New Government.

How he was receiv'd at Court you may easily judge: for there was not one living soul that vouchsaf'd him a kind look. So that to mollifie the hearts of the Grand Ministers and Potent Lords, he was forc'd to expend a good part of the Treasure that he had hoarded up, and to suffer himself to be despoyl'd of that which he had pillag'd from the People.

And as for the Grand Ministers the better to accomplish their design of squeezing Rich Presents out of his Coffers, they back'd all Complaints that were made against him at Court. For you must understand that in *Persia*, every private Person, let his Condition be never so mean, is allow'd to bring his Complaints against the Governours, Royal Farmers, and other Persons, who have any Authority over 'em. So that when the Grandees at Court have a mind to ruine any great Personage in the Provinces abroad, there usual Policy is to support the Complaints of the Oppress'd; and to make 'em the more Ponderous, they invite all that will come, and then cause 'em to appear at the Palace in shoals to demand Justice. Which course was taken with this same Lord. But in regard the Principal Courtiers had no mind utterly to ruine him, which had been only a particular benefit to the King; but rather to shew him, that it lay in their power, to the end they might make their best advantage of him themselves, they would not suffer the Clamours of his Impeachers to run too high; but satisfi'd the greatest part, by causing him to restore to his most dangerous Accusers a part of what he had extorted from them.

But among all the rest his greatest Enemy at Court was that Brutish Old Signior, the *Generalissimo*, *Hali-Kouli-Kaan*, who mortally and so openly hated him, that he would neither accept of his Visits, nor his Presents. The reason of which animosity was, because that in the Reign of *Habas II.* about twelve years before his death, when the General of the Army, being
then

then in his Government of *Tauris*, fell a second time under the displeasure of his Prince, for the reasons already related, and after a Confiscation of all his Goods, was sent a Prisoner to *Casbin*, *Mirza-Sadek*, Brother of this *Mirza-Ibrahim*, being at that time *Farmer Royal* of the same City and Province, was appointed Commissioner by his Majesty for the sale of those Confiscated Goods: At what time he carri'd himself so rigorously that he took away the very *Tombans* or Linnen Drawers belonging to his Wives, and sold 'em in open Market: for in regard the disgrac'd Lord had several Wives, and for that the *Persian* Ladies are all sumptuously habited; there are some of these under-Drawers that are worth thirty or forty Crowns; so that a good number might come to a great deal of Money.

This Affront touch'd the General to the Quick, and enrag'd him to that excess against the whole Family, that he gave it its full swing, first against the *Vazier* himself, who had given him the Affront. For after he was restor'd, and found he had power to do what he pleas'd, he sent for him, and not so much as vouchsafing to see him when he arrived, he caus'd him to be shut up in his Stables; where to do him the greatest Injury that could be done him in *Persia*, he expos'd him to the beastly Passion of six lusty Grooms.

Mirza Ibrahim was not ignorant of all this, and knew how far the Transports of his Pride and Cruelty was able to carry him: he saw him newly restor'd, and advanc'd to the third dignity in the Kingdom; and that which was of more importance, that he was the Chief in favour, and that the King listen'd to him as his Governour. For those reasons he conjectur'd rightly that among those that sought his ruine, there was not any one who had more Power, or a greater good Will. Therefore he resolv'd to purchase his favour, whatever it cost him; or if he could not oblige him to do him a kindness, at least that he would be pleas'd to hold his tongue. To which purpose he went to give him a Visit, desiring he might be admitted to pay him Reverence. At first when the *Vazier* enter'd the General of the Army pretended not to see him, but feigning as if his head ak'd, call'd for a Couch to lie down, where after he had lain about two hours, he retir'd into his Palace, leaving a great throng of People that waited without to come another time, and among the rest *Mirza Ibrahim*.

However *Mirza Ibrahim* would not take this for a denial, but return'd the next day; To whom the General, taking no notice

notice that he had demanded leave to be admitted to make his salutation in the great Hall where he dispatch'd all Comers and Goers, gave him no Answer, so that the poor Lord was forc'd to stand three hours together among the Officers and Common Persons; and after that he pass'd by him without so much as looking upon him, and so took horse before his Palace Gate. *Mirza Ibrahim* follow'd him; and keeping close to him, ever now and then gave him the usual Salute of *My Lord, peace be with yee*, and that so loud that he might easily be heard. At first the General of the Army said nothing to him; but finding the other still pursue him, tir'd with his importunate Complements, turning about, *Gidi segh, Cursed Dog*, said he, *what have I to do with thee, or thou with me? Go to the Devil, and let me never see thee more.* And having so said, he caus'd his Servants to thrust him away.

Poor *Mirza Ibrahim* seeing himself so courtesly us'd, made trial of Presents, the great Spring that moves the whole Court of *Persia*. To that purpose he sent the General two thousand *Tomans*, which the General refus'd: the other believing 'twas too little sent again two thousand five hundred; which were sent back as before; then he sent three thousand, which had no better acceptance; after that four thousand, which still could make no impression in the haughty Spirit of the Exasperated Lord: So that at length he sent five thousand *Tomans*, which comes to twenty thousand pounds. And then, somewhat suppl'd, he invited *Mirza Ibrahim* two days after to his *Megeles*, or Publick Feast: nevertheless he shew'd him no particular Civility, nor said any thing to him, more then what is usually spoken to all the Guests, *Kochs-Geldi, I are welcome.* I question'd the truth of this Present of twenty thousand pounds when I heard it related the first time, not believing that any person would purchase any mans favour at so dear a Rate, but afterwards upon farther examination I found it to be really true. And I the rather give this Advertisement to the Reader, that he may not mistrust the fidelity of my Relations, or think that I speak by *Hearsay*, and not upon any exact information.

All this while the Kings distemper increas'd upon him, that he could ride no longer, so that he never went abroad with his Wives but in a *Kagia veh*, which are little wooden sheds carri'd by gread Camels, wherein they usually put their Women, when they go to take the Air.

In this Condition he continued a month: tho all the while he would not forbear his usual recreations with his Wives. The

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Kourrouks

Kourrouks continu'd in all the parts round about *Ispahan*, where the Prince caus'd all the handsom women to be taken up, and brought to his *Haram*.

One day the Queen Mother had a desire to see the Fortrefs of the City, where are kept all the Curiosities and rarities belonging to the present Monarch, and his Ancestors, whether Presents, or Purchas'd, or Trophies of their Conquests. To which purpose she perswaded her Son to carry her thither; so that there was a *Kourrouk* proclaim'd all over one part of the City, which was never known, or at least never remembered by any body then alive.

Now it haepn'd that one time, as the King was thus sporting himself abroad with his Wives, an Accident fell out, that render'd 'em still more unsupportable to the People. His Majesty at that time lay in the Fields without *Ispahan*, under Tents, in Harvest time, when the sheaves lay heap'd up one upon another in the Grounds, and as he was one that greatly delighted in Fireworks, some flying Rockets were presented him one Evening of an extraordinary weight (for there are some that weigh forty pounds) of which he order'd a trial to be made. But their extraordinary weight hindering the Massie Squib from mounting directly upwards, as it should have done, and so not flying very high, they made a kind of a Semicircle at a distance, which carri'd 'em a great way into the Fields, where they set the Sheaves on fire, and burnt the Corn together with some houses that stood not far off. So that the loss was valu'd at sixteen thousand pounds; and the misery was, that this accident happen'd when there was great scarcity of Corn.

Here I cannot omit a small Circumstance, which has some affinity with what I have already spoken concerning that spacious place full of Trees, and Alleys that compose the Avenues to the Palace; through one of which, call'd the Royal Alley, the King and his Train went always in and out, to avoid passing through the City. The other great Alleys were adorn'd with Beds and Borders planted with Flowers and sweet smelling herbs, which together with the Fountains and Rows of Trees caus'd a very pleasant prospect.

In the mean time came certain intelligence that the *Yusbecks* were enter'd into the Province of *Corafon*, or *Bactriana*. The Governour of the Province sent Courier after Courier to the King for Orders; for that the Enemy was already enter'd the Kingdom, burning and spoiling all before 'em; and that unless speedily oppos'd, the Province would be in danger to be lost.

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The *Yusbecks* are a People that inhabit to the North of *Persia*, Possessing all that Country between the *Caspian Sea* and the *Indies*; under several petty Sultans or Princes, absolute within themselves. They are called *Yusbecks*, at least if the *Persian* Etymology be true, by reason of the great number of Sovereign Princes by which the Tartars are Govern'd; for *Yus*, as well in the Language of the Tartars as Turks, which is but a Dialect of it, signifies a *hundred*, and *Bek*, Lords; to shew the great number of Masters by which they are Rul'd. But those People reject that Etymology, which they say is both false and injurious to 'em; That the true Etymolgy is *Yusi*, which signifies *He* in both Languages (tho pronounc'd *Yus* by cutting off the last Vowel) and *Bek*, Lord. So that when they say *Yusbek*, 'tis as much as to say, *He the Lord*, or *He is the Lord*; as if these People were the only People upon the Earth that are truly Lords. Such is the pride of this Nation, and the high conceit they have of their own merits. One of the principal Lords of the Persian Court, when he told me this he gave me an account of a certain petty King that Reign'd in the *Molucca's* in the time of *Habas* the Great, who nevertheless assum'd to himself a Grandeur almost equal to his: For he look'd upon himself to be the only lawful Lord of the East, and assum'd to himself the Title of sole Monarch of it: Saying withal, that he knew not whether there were any other in the West; but that he was well assur'd, that He himself was Master of that part of the World where he inhabited. For which reason he caus'd his Dominions to be call'd by way of Excellency *Moulouk*; that is to say, the true Kingdoms; for tho we pronounce the word *Molucca's* after our Manner, over all *Asia* they write and pronounce it *Moulouk*.

But among all those petty Princes that Govern *Tartary* the less, there are three who are accounted the Principal. That is to say, the Prince of *Bokora*, the Prince of *Balke*, and the Prince of *Carechme*, or *Orquenge*, upon which the rest in some manner or other have their dependence. In the Reign of *Sephi* the Second, which the *Persians* for distinction sake call *Mazi*, the pass'd Reign, he being Grandfather to the present King; these *Yuzbecks* overrunning the Territories of *Corasson*, or *Bactriana* and *Margiana*, were pursu'd by the *Persians*, who made a dismal slaughter among 'em; after they had gain'd a most signal Victory over the Enemy, killing twelve of eighteen Thousand, of which their Body consisted, and taking the rest Prisoners. Among these Captives there was a young Prince, one of the Cheistaines of the *Tartars*, descended from the Royal Line of

Ppppp 2

Karechme

Karechme or *Orquenge*, who was call'd *Abouel-Kazi*, or the *Father-Arbiter*. This Prisoner, being known to be what he was, among the rest of the Prisoners was carry'd to *Ispahan*, but his usage was quite different. For *Sephi* did not look upon him as a Robber, but as a Prince who was only a Prisoner of War, and paid him all those Honours and Civilities due to a Personage of Royal Birth; assign'd him a Revenue of fifteen hundred *Tomans*, which amounts to six thousand pounds; gave him a stately Palace furnish'd accordingly, a number of Officers, and a suitable Train to attend him. And it was his Pleasure, that the *Vazier*, or Treasurer to the Governor of *Ispahan* should take care of his Person, and perform the Office of a *Mehmandaar*, who is the Person, as we may say, that takes care of the Guests, and is the Master of the Entertainment. This *Mehmandaar*, for ten years together paid this *Tartar*-Prince by his Majesties Order all the Respect and Service which the rights of a most tender Hospitality could reasonably claim; and such as there could not be any thing shew'd him more obliging in our best civiliz'd Provinces. On the other side, the Prince understood so well how to disguise the natural Savageness and Barbarity of the *Tartars*, that you would have taken him for a *Persian*, he behav'd himself with such a Grace, and so much affability in all things: So that his Majesty observing him endow'd with so many rare Qualities, strain'd his affection for him so high, that he admitted him into his *Megeles* or Royal Assemblies, where he rank'd him equal with the *Grande*es of his Kingdom, and for his maintainance assign'd him Pensions that were no way inconsiderable.

During his abode at *Ispahan*, where he had liberty to go and come as he pleas'd, only attended by his *Mehmendaar* and the Guards that were assign'd him, more in honour to his Person, then for a Watch on his Freedom; he had still in his mind a natural hankering after his own Country, his Kindred, and that Sovereignty to which he was lawful Heir. The Magnificence, the Mildness, the Beauty and delights of *Persia* could not eradicate out of his Breast this violent affection for the place of his Nativity. For tho it were true, that nothing but Barrenness and a hideous prospect overspread the Country for which he had such a lingring desire, however, it was the place where he was born, and where he was to change the condition of a Slave for that of a Master. Importun'd therefore by his own ardent desires he wrote privately to the King of *Orquenge* his Father, and besought him to endeavour his Liberty. Who having consulted what course to take, pretends an occasion to send an Ambassador into *Persia*,

sia, who brought to the Prince the King his Fathers answer. And at length the Prince and the Embassador agreed upon the manner of his escape; And then the Embassador after a stay of six Months took his leave of the Court. But then it was that the Prince, when he thought the Embassador was got beyond the Bounds of *Persia*, and that it was seasonable for him to make his escape, laid his Plot in this manner.

He feign'd himself one day to be very ill, and gave notice of his Indisposition to the King: He added, that he had try'd several medicines to no purpose, and therefore by the advice of his Physicians, he believ'd there was no other cure for him but by the hot Baths about a days journey from *Ispahan*, whither he easily obtain'd leave to retire: at what time the Treasurer to the Governor of *Ispahan*, whose Employment would not permit him to stir out of the City, gave him for an attendant in his Room one of his Masters Domestick Servants, with a Convoy of fifteen or sixteen Persons.

At the time prefix'd there appear'd under the Trees without the Village, near the Baths, whither the Prince pretended to go for his Health, about twenty *Yusbees* all young chosen fellows, nimble, well Mounted, and well Arm'd with certain Led-Horses. Presently the Prince knew 'em, and without any further Consultation, leaving the small number of *Persians*, which were then with him, up he gets a Horseback and putting Spurs to his Horse, away he gallops directly forward before his own Troop. There was not any one unless his Persian Guide that follow'd him, as dreaming of nothing less then the accident that had fallen out, neither had they men enough, nor time to call for more aid. And therefore the Deputy *Mehmandaar*, seeing he had lost the great Trust that was committed to his charge, all that he could do, in such a surprize, was still to follow him, and try if his prayers and intreaties could move him to return. Sir, said He, *what is my Crime, what is my Ill-fortune, or what Offence have I committed against you, that you thus go about to endanger my Head if I return to Ispahan without your Person? What can I expect less then to loose my Head? Nay, I fear the King will not be satisfied with that slight punishment, but without doubt in the excess of his Anger, will order my Bowels to be ripp'd out of my Belly.* To whom the *Yusbeck* Prince thus briskly answer'd; *I am highly oblig'd to the King of Persia, but I owe more my own Country and Relations that call me back. 'Tis my Father that sends me these Men, to facilitate my return to my Native soil, in expectation of that Crown which he designs me after his death: if thou wilt go along with me, I will repay thee for all those kindnesses I have*

have received in Persia, and I will make thee one of the Lords of my Kingdom; If not, return in time, and tell thy King that I return him thanks for all his Favours, and that I shall always be his Goulom or Slave, and shall believe my self oblig'd to him as long as I live: and that in time I will make him sensible of the truth of my Promises. Having so said, he put spurs to his Horse, and flew away with that swiftness, that the Persian *Mehmandaar* soon lost sight of him. For there is not any Nation under Heaven that ride more swiftly then these *Yusbecks*.

When this escape was known at *Ispahan*, a great number of Horse-men were sent after the Prince, but all to no purpose, he having got the start so far before 'em: the Court was in an amaze, especially the King, who never dreamt that *Abouel-Kazi* ever dream'd of *Tartary*; being verily perswaded that after ten years, that he had liv'd in his Court, he could never have any more remembrance of his own Country.

But as the Tartar Prince could not forget his own Country, so neither did he forget his obligations to Persia and the Persian Monarch. For all his life-time he had a particular affection for that Kingdom, more especially when he came to succeed his Father; which was presently after his Return. And so long as he Reign'd, he was not only careful to keep a good correspondence with *Sephi* the first, and *Habas* the second, but he also kept in such awe *Sub-haan-Kooli-Kaan*, The Prince, the Slave of the Praise-worthy, by which they mean God; and *Abdul-hazize-Kaan* or the Servant of the Majesty, understood Divine, King of *Bokora*; the only two Princes which sometimes infested the Confines of Persia, that they were not able to undertake any considerable Enterprize. For when either the one or the other enter'd Persia, presently he was in the Bowels of their Territories, thereby constraining 'em to return with more hast then they went. And thus all the Frontier Provinces, as *Bactriana*, *Margiana*, *Drangiana*, and the Caspian Coasts enjoy'd a profound Peace. So that *Habas* won by his grateful and constant affection, with the same gratitude repaid the Prince's perseverance, allowing him all along, as a mark of his esteem, the large Pension which he enjoy'd in Persia.

But after that, upon the death of *Abouel-kazi* the Crown descended to his Son *Enouch-Kaan*, or the Lord of Profit, *Habas* the Second, who had not that esteem for him which he had for his Father, thought himself no longer oblig'd to continue the Pension, which he had given his Father meerly in kindness. Whereupon *Enouch-Kaan*, who look'd upon that Pension as a sort of
Tribute

Tribute which the Persian Monarch paid the King of *Careckme* or *Orquenge* to keep him from Plundering his Territories, finding himself frustrated of his expectation, thought the surest way to recover it, or at least to recompence himself for his losses, would be to carry the War into the Empire, and to Ravage the Frontier Provinces. To which purpose he enters into a League with the two other *Kaans* against Persia, and the better to cement it, he espouses the Sister of the Sovereign Prince of *Balke*, and gives his own Sister in Marriage to the King of *Bokora*; which done, the three brothers-in-law resolve to fall altogether into the Persian Dominions.

There was only one scruple that troubl'd the Prince of *Balk* and *Bokora*, which was, that the deceas'd King of *Orquenge*, the Father of the present King, was a *Shia* Mahumetan, according to the Persian Worship, and not a *Summi* Mahumetan according to the Worship both of the Turks and Tartars. *Enouch Caan* therefore makes open Profession of the Religion of his Country, and of having quitted his Fathers belief. But the two Princes mistrusting his sincerity, and fearing he would play 'em some scurvy trick or other, the better to assure themselves that he was a true *Summie*, that he was real in his proceedings, and that he was from the bottom of his heart a declar'd Enemy of Persia, they were desirous that he should first begin the War, and fall in with all his Forces into the Kingdom, and the next year they agreed they would all three joyn together to advance their Conquests. According to this Resolution the Prince of *Orquenge* enters the Kingdom, but met with too powerful a resistance. For *Habas II.* being inform'd of the Conspiracies of these pettie Kings, had Vow'd their Ruine, and not only to repel their Incurfions, but to make an absolute Conquest of their Territories, to deprive them of Life and Scepters both together, and unite the Province of *Balk* to the Empire. For this reason it was that in the year 1665. according to our account he undertook his Progress into *Mazenderan*, and march'd against 'em. The *Yusbecks* perceiving the King of *Persia* at hand, and apprehensive of his Power, fail'd in the great Courage which they pretended at the beginning, and thought it their better course to submit. So that the next year, 1666. they sent every one their Embassadors to beg a Peace, and by that means in some measure asswag'd the Indignation of that Prince, and suspended those designs which he had contriv'd in his thoughts, and which by his death not long after happening, prov'd altogether abortive.

After

After his unfortunate death, the *Tartars* took heart again. Besides, the weak Government of a young Prince whose age and want of experience render'd him incapable to oppose their designs, was such a favourable Opportunity that they could not forbear to take the advantage of it. And therefore the Prince of *Orquenge*, like a hungry Lion, in the year 1667. enter'd *Merve Sava*; and the Country round about; where finding no resistance; he made strange Havock, and carry'd away whatever he found to be of value, not one *Persian* Governour daring to oppose him. Nor indeed could the Governours prevent it, for these *Tartars* are like Birds of Prey, flying from the Place they have plunder'd with that swiftness, before a man can suspect 'em to have been there; besides that they had not a sufficient force to oppose a furious Multitude, whom Revenge and hope of Booty had flesh'd and animated beyond the sense of fear or danger.

The Court having intelligence of these disorders took a resolution to apply Remedies; but it was so remissly and slowly executed, that they who had an insight into things foresaw it would come to nothing, as indeed it came to pass.

The Council of *Persia*, under the Kings name, made choice of two Lords, esteem'd to be Personages of the greatest Experience in the Kingdom, the one called *Clichs-Kaan*, and the other *Sheik-Hali-Kaan*, both the one and the other already provided of two of the best Governments in the Empire; the first of the Province of *Kirmaan*, or *Caramania*, the other of *Kirmoon-Sha*, which is *Caldea*. These Lords were sent for from their Government, which were dispos'd of, the one to the Brother, the other to the Son of those Lords; and they themselves were sent against the *Yusbeck*, with the Title of Generals of the Army. They march'd with four thousand men from *Jspahan*, to joyn the Army that lay ready in the Province of *Corasson*; and in regard there was no more talk of the *Indian* War, the Governour of *Candaar*, had order to supply the Generals with what Recruits they should think necessary. Six weeks after the departure of these Lords, with their small Body of four thousand men; several Sums of Money were sent to *Corasson* to pay both the Armies, as well that belonging to the Province as the *Indian* Recruits. This Treasure was convoy'd only by two hundred Men, in regard there was no appearance of any danger upon the Road; and yet, however it came to pass, the *Yusbecks* had intelligence of it. Thereupon they sent out a Party to observe the motion of the Convoy, and took their opportu-

opportunity so well, that with three thousand of their own People they carri'd off the Booty, notwithstanding all the speed that was made to overtake 'em.

During these Troubles *Hali-Kouli-Kaan* departed this Life of a stoppage in his Breast, for which no remedy could be found, after he had kept his Bed four days. In the Story of *Persia*, which we intend one day for the Press, we have given an account of his Birth, and his Misfortunes; for it was a wonderful thing, that whatever faults he were guilty of, and he committed a great many, *Habas* II. still pardon'd him: he never would reduce him to utmost misery, much less put him to death; because of the good tydings of which he had been the Messenger to him. For this same Lord it was, whom *Sephi* I. the Father of *Habas*, perceiving his Distemper grow upon him, sent to fetch the young Prince out of the Womens Palace, to the end he might have him ready near his person, out of a design which he had to present him to the Lords for his Successour. Never had any man run through so many strange adventures in fifty years that he belong'd to the Court, and seventy of his Life; nor did ever any man experience the fickleness of Fantastick Fortune in her sports of Prosperity and Adversity so much as he did.

At the time of his Decease he was advanc'd to the highest Pinacle that ever his good fortune could raise him. He was in the entire possession of the affection and favours of his Master, who refus'd him nothing. His Majesty was never weary of his Bounty toward him; and six weeks before his death had presented him with a Sword, a Dagger, and three Heron Tufts, valu'd in all at fifty thousand Crowns. But these outward Marks of Favour were of little value to the high-priz'd Power which he had over the thoughts and actions of the Prince, who dispatch'd no business of Importance before he had taken his Advice. So that it might be said, that the General was the true Monarch of the *Persians*, while he that carri'd the Title was but the shadow of the Sovereign. And therefore it was that he liv'd like a Monarch; there being nothing that appear'd about him, that betray'd the least discovery of a private Fortune; for he entertain'd fifteen hundred men about his Person, besides Officers and Eunuchs, of which three hundred at a time mounted his Guards. He got by his Government of *Tauris*, and his Fees, as *Generalissimo*, thirty thousand *Tomans*, or one hundred and twenty thousand pounds; of which he laid aside the one half for the payment of his fifteen hundred men,

Qqqqq whom

whom he always took care to have in good Equipage; the rest went to defray the charges of his House-keeping. He had also set up for his own use in his Palace several *Kaar-Kaane* or Work-houses for all sorts of Manufactures, where he had muster'd together Workmen and Artificers in all manner of Trades; Goldsmiths, Tailors, Sadlers, Armourers, Burnishers, &c. besides Riders for his Horses, and Masters to teach his men how to handle their Arms. In a word, his Palace was altogether Royal. And in this manner was he at continual Expences; inasmuch, that notwithstanding his large Revenue he always was poor and in debt. For besides that he was of a prodigal humour, having neither Wives nor Children to provide for, he never spar'd for Lustre and Pomp upon all occasions that requir'd it. Nor will it be amiss, considering the high degree that he held in *Persia*, and the Fantastick Traverses as well in his Fortune, as in the Consequences of his Conduct, to give the Reader a Portraiture of his Person.

He was of a middle stature, rather enclining to be tall than low: his Aspect grim and terrible, yet without any deformity. He wore his *Mustachios* very thick, and about three quarters of a foot long: and tho three score and ten years of Age he never us'd Spectacles, and all his other Senses equally as vigorous as his sight. He perform'd his Exercises as dily as the young men: nor was he inferiour to any other person whatsoever in handling his Bow, his Sword, and other Weapons; which made him always to be look'd upon as a brave Souldier: but the more Intelligent sort never believ'd him a good Captain; looking upon him to be fitter for Counsel than Execution. He was endu'd with a mixture of Qualities that rarely meet together: on the one side haughty and Cholerick; on the other, subtle and a deep dissembler; he knew the proper season to shew the violence of his Revenge, and how to take his Measures to the ruine of his Competitors. He could not endure to be contradicted: and it was the misfortune and the greatest trouble in the World to his Servants, that when he ask'd for any thing, it was a crime to tell him it was not to be had: for without reply they must either put a force upon the very Seasons of the Year and Fortune her self to satisfy him, or else expect to have their bones broken with Bastinadoes. Setting that humour aside, he was affable enough, especially to strangers: to them he was easie of access, and readily granted 'em the favours which they requested. He could neither write nor read in any other Language than his own Natural *Georgian*. He was a lover of Sciences, tho he understood 'em not. He

was very much addicted to Predictions and Fortune-telling. And out of an extraordinary want of judgment gave more credit to a Prognostication then to sound Reason.

The same day he di'd he was laid in a Mosque close by his Palace; from whence some few days after, he was carri'd to *Metshed*, there to be interr'd under the protection of that great *Mahometan* Saint, who formerly had liv'd there, and made choice of that place for his Sepulchre. It is a thing which we may well wonder at, were it not a thing frequent among us, in regard these sudden alterations are to be seen as well in our own as in the Eastern Courts. For as soon as his dead body was carri'd out of his Palace, about six hours after he had giv'n up the Ghost; that very House which the day before could hardly contain the Croud that resorted to it, was so wholly deserted that there was hardly one of all that numerous Family that environ'd him while alive, left to tell a man what was become of their Master.

His death caus'd a great alteration at Court, tho no body was troubl'd at it but the King, who had a particular kindness for him. But there were an infinite number that rejoyc'd at it; especially they who having some share in the favour of which he depriv'd 'em the full Possession, now hop'd to make more room for themselves. So that the Grandees at Court began to take new Measures, and in the midst of those delusions with which their Ambition flatter'd 'em, every one fanci'd to himself more daring hopes.

The Death of this Person, which did not a little afflict the King, was accompanied with other Tidings no less unwelcome; That the *Kalmachs*, a fierce and untameable People, had declar'd open War against *Persia*. Whereupon the Governours of *Ester-abaat*, which is the Eastern *Hircania*, besought his Majesty to send 'em requisite Assistance. And here it is necessary that we should say something concerning the People, and the occasion of the War.

The *Kalmacs* derive their Name from *Kalmack*, the principal City of the Country which they inhabit, upon the Confines of the greater *Tartary* toward the *Caspian* Sea upon the East side. Sometimes they are called *Yusbeck-Kalmaki*, but for the most part no otherwise then barely *Kalmac*.

Now some years ago it hapn'd that a great number of *Turk-mans*, or *Shepherds* that wander together by thousands up and down the fields, and live in Tents, like Swallows, changing their Habitations according to the Seasons, got together upon

Qqqqq 2 their

their Frontiers, between *Orquenge* and *Efther-abaat*: and these People our Modern Authors call *Tureomans*, which are properly *Turks*. For these People, and those that hold the Empire of *Constantinople* came at first from *Turq-Eftaan*, that is to say, from those Provinces of *Tartary*, which are very vast, altho we have but little knowledge of 'em. And this is also that Country which ought properly to be call'd *Turkie*, and not the Provinces of *Asia* and *Europe*, possess'd by the *Ottomans*. For the Eastern People never call by that name the Inhabitants of those Provinces, nor the Monarch that Commands 'em, *Great Turk*. And therefore it is an error of our Europeans; in regard the People of *Turkie* acknowledge no such appellation, deeming it Barbarous. For that among them *Turk* signifies one that comes from those High-lands of *Tartary*, let it be from what part it will. The *Persians* therefore to define those *Turkmans* more distinctly, call 'em *Sara-Netshin*. *Sara* signifying a Plain or Down, and *Netshin* those that abide there, from the Verb *Netshinen*, to rest or *Repose*. So that *Sara-Netshin* signifies those that abide and repose in the Country. Now ancient Historians, and writers of Travels, who understood not the Eastern Languages or at least had but a smattering understanding of 'em, call these People *Sarazens*, which word was never pronounc'd at first by a French-man, who would surely have pronounc'd it *Sarashins*. In regard French-men pronounce with less trouble the *Shin* of the Asiatics then some of their Neighbours, especially the English; who every where write it *Zin*.

But to make a true relation of a Country, it is necessary that they who describe it should know the Language; else they must commit a thousand errors not passable among persons of Judgment, of which there needs no other proof, then such Relations of Travels which we have seen printed in this Age: Not to mention any other then those of *Persia*, of which there are two which are indifferently tolerable; *Valle's* and the Travels of *Olearius*: though the first be full of faults, which may be said to be Monstrous; and the latter be not altogether exempt. And yet they are better then the rest, in regard those Authors understood the *Persian* Language; and therefore it is my Opinion, that whoever publishes his Travels, and Observations of a Country, of which he has not learnt the Speech, shall never make any perfect and accomplish'd. And this digression I did not think would be displeasing to the Curious.

But to return to our story, this Colony of *Turkmans* was formerly Tributary to the *Calmachs*; but about thirty years ago they took Sanctuary in *Persia*, submitting under the Government
of

of those Princes who commanded the *Persian* Empire, to avoid the oppression of the *Calmachs* and to find out a less Barren Region, and more proper to feed their Flocks. During all which Interval of time the *Calmachs* had taken no notice of the *Turkmans*, but in the year 1667. judging *Persia* to be in a weak condition, under a young Prince, to the end they might have a pretence for a War, they sent to demand Restitution of the Tribute which the *Persian* Monarch had receiv'd for thirty years together of the *Turkman*, whom they alledg'd to be their Subjects. So soon as their Commissioners were arriv'd at *Esther-abaat*, which is the first considerable City of *Persia* on that side, the Governor detain'd 'em, and assur'd 'em he would both send to inform the Court of *Persia* concerning the occasion of their coming, and give 'em an account of the answer back. Immediately the Kings Council were all of opinion to reject with scorn a demand so affrontive to the Grandeur of the Empire. Which Resolution was without doubt the most honourable and made most noise, but not the wisest. For the *Calmachs* no less highly offended when they understood the answer return'd, came towards the end of the Campagne to the Frontiers that separate the two Dominions, and there in a most solemn manner shot an Arrow into the Territories of the *Persians*, which is the Signal they use in declaring open War against any of their Neighbours. To which War, what issue Heaven ordain'd we shall below make known.

All those Wars that threaten'd *Persia*, in this same languishing and feeble condition wherein it was, were the reason that the Court would not listen to the Propositions of the *Basha* of *Basra*, vulgarly tho erroneously call'd *Balzura*, a City seated at the mouth of the *Persian* Gulph; wherein for several years together the said *Basha* had assum'd to himself a kind of Sovereign Dignity: while he, acknowledging no Supreme, so well manag'd his affairs in the midst of those two Monarchs, between whom he lay, the Turk and Persian; that the desire which both had to ruin him, made for his preservation. For when the Turk had a design to fall upon him he offer'd himself to the Persian; at what time the Turk being unwilling that the Persian his Enemy should become Master of such a Territory, and rather choosing that they should remain under Subjection to a Neuter Prince, forbore to molest him; and when the Persian summon'd him to give an account for breach of his promises, with the same policy he threaten'd to surrender to the Turk. And then the Persian fearing lest the Turk, already two potent, should enlarge his Empire by the addition of these Territories, were unwilling to give him

him a disturbance so highly provoking: and several of these tricks did the *Basha* play during the Reign of *Habas II.*

After his decease, the Turks desirous to take the opportunity of *Sephie II.* being come young and newly to the Crown, to make an attempt upon *Bas-ra* in the same manner as thirty years before. Sultan *Mourad* whom we call *Murat*, took hold of the occasion, *Sephie I.* being newly advanc'd to the Throne, to Besiege *Babylon*; so that altho he were then busied in the War of *Candia*, he undertook that Conquest also, and to that effect gave orders to the *Basha*s of *Diarbekre*, *Mouffol*, *Alep*, *Merdin*, and other Governors on that side, to march against *Bas-ra*, every one with an embody'd Army, of which he appointed the *Basha* of *Bagdat* or *Babylon* to be General.

Hossein-Basha (for so was the petty Sovereign of *Bas-ra* call'd) sends away into *Persia* to make the same Offer which he had already made so many times before to *Habas II.* But he was not in being; and his Successor minded only his pleasures, and had no inclination for War. However, the chief Ministers, unwilling to discover the weakness of their present condition, answer'd the Ambassadors that they had no encouragement to hearken to their Propositions, after the *Basha* their Master had so frequently and so insolently baffled the *Persian* Monarchy. That he had drawn his own misfortunes himself upon his own head, and that his sufferings were no more then what he well deserv'd. However, the *Basha* nothing discourag'd for having miss'd the Succours which he expected on that side, betook himself to another Stratagem, and being a person that had heap'd a vast Treasure together by his Merchandize, he now employs it to corrupt the *Basha* of *Bagdat* General of the Turkish Army and the rest of the Grand Officers. Thereupon he treats with 'em, upon condition of being Tributary, for the future, to the Grand Seignior, to pay him every year a hundred thousand Crowns, and to give him in ready Money two hundred thousand upon the naile: some other conditions were likewise added of small importance, and so the Siege being rais'd, and the *Basha* sent his Son-in-law to *Constantinople* to have the Treaty ratifi'd, which was all that happen'd in reference to this War in the year 1667.

Toward the end of the same year arriv'd sad tidings at *Isfahan* from the Provinces adjoyning to the *Caspian* Sea, that at *Shirvan*, the Capital City of a Province of the same Name, and which makes a part of *Armenia* the greater, were *Teffis*, the Capital City of *Georgia*, an Earthquake had overturn'd the greatest part of that City, and ruin'd four Villages near adjoyning: and that

and that above thirty thousand *Persians* had perish'd in the Ruines. That in another City call'd *Shama-Ki*, in the Province of the same name, which is the Southern *Media*, another Earthquake altogether as dreadful as the former, had occasion'd the loss of twenty thousand Persons, and swallow'd up three fourth parts of the City; which two accidents had reduc'd those two Provinces to utter Desolation.

I do not believe there was any more then one person in the World that could rejoyce at these dismal tidings, and that was *Mirza-Ibrahim*, already mention'd; although as being Royal Farmer of the latter Province he ought to have been afflicted rather at his loss. However, he look'd upon the sad event with a joyful heart, as being that which offer'd him more an opportunity to get rid of his troubles and persecutions which he sustain'd in the Court of *Persia*, and to get out of *Ispahan*, which he lookt upon as a kind of confinement, or to speak more truly as his place of Torment; nor did he neglect the opportunity, but presented forthwith a Petition to the King and the Chief Ministers, wherein he declar'd that *Shamaky* was dependent upon his imployment, and therefore besought his Majesty that he might return thither to see what might be done to recover it out of its Ruins.

He back'd his Petition with several considerable Presents which he made to the chief Ministers, and by that means obtain'd a Grant of his desires. And thus did that unfortunate Lord delay for a time the bad effects of his unfortunate Ambition. Certain it is that for six months that he staid at Court, the King and Prime Ministers under various pretences got from him above sixty thousand *Tomans*, which amount to two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and all the while they contemn'd him as a Cully and a Person of no value. Infamy attended him every where; and not only the Grandees but persons of ordinary condition took delight to make sport with him, as if he had been one of the dregs of the People. For being a man that was very Covetous, and yet one that his misfortunes had rendred extremely fearful, they who had any thing to receive of him, and to whom he had made over Assignations upon his Farm, could find no better way to make him bleed then to abuse and affront him. And I was inform'd by some persons who were able to tell me, that upon some disorder at Court how to raise money, the *Divan Beki*, or Chief Justice gave the King to understand in a Memorial which he presented him, that if his Majesty would but deliver up into his power *Mirza Ibrahim*, and *Mirza Sadek* his Brother, he would lose his head, if he did not raise him a Sum of six hundred thousand

thousand *Tomans*, which are two Millions and a half Sterlitt. It happen'd that at the same time when this Memorial was deliver'd this unfortunate Lord was in the Hall, where his Majesty sat, who thereupon caus'd the Memorial to be read aloud. It may be easily judg'd in what a taking he was; but without answering a word, he patiently endur'd the punishment of his rash Ambition, and want of Conduct. In a word, he was a lost man, and his misery had encreas'd to its full height, had not the conjuncture of the Earthquake furnish'd him with an opportunity to beg leave to retire. So that in some measure his good fortune proceeded from an event which at another time might have prov'd most prejudicial to him. Yet as I have already said most prudent persons believe, that he has only delay'd his evil Destiny for some years, that his ruin is infallible, and that upon the least want of money, he will still be the Prey in the eyes of the Hungry Courtiers.

The year 1668. according to our account, and 1079. according to the Mahumetan Computation, began with great Rejoycing, the Prince imagining that the rest of the year would be no less happy than the beginning. But it fell not out answerable to his expectations: nor that of the *Grande'es* of the Kingdom, as well as those of meaner Condition, who had any insight into Affairs: tho' to outward appearance they attended at the Festivals with a chearful countenance, yet their hearts were not so light: for they found the condition of the Empire grew every day worse and worse; that the Enemy was in the Bowels of several Provinces, while others were laid desolate by Earthquakes: little Money in the Kingdom, a scarcity still continu'd at *Ispahan*, where tho' there was no want; of any thing, yet every thing was sold at an excessive rate. The Exchequer moreover was exhausted, while the new Prince in eighteen Months had drain'd all the Treasures of the Empire. Which happen'd through his Profusion on the one side, either by reason of the prodigious Expences that he delighted in, or through the excessive Presents which frequently, and many times without any Reason at all, he heap'd upon his Favourites. And on the other side, through the little care that was taken of the management of his Revenues: For indeed he had not made the third part of what his Father was wont to make of 'em; as having without considering the consequences, fill'd up all the vacant Employments both in the Court and in the Countrys. Whereas his Father never supply'd those Vacancies unless he was thereto compell'd by necessity, to the end he might have the Money himself which was due to his Officers. But the young Monarch little experienc'd

experienc'd in Government, imagin'd that the Coffers which he found full would never be empty. Nor durst any body be so bold as to tell him 'twas much more easie to empty then to fill 'em. But at length when they found him wondring that Money was not plentiful with him as it had been, they were constrain'd to let him understand the reason.

The Dutchess his Mother, for whom he had an extraordinary respect, and who might be said to be more then his Governess, spoke with more freedom to him then any other person, and made him condescend to let her act in the publick management of Affairs. Thereupon she took upon her the Government of the Empire, and to shew her first Master-piece of Policy, she reduc'd the Monarch her Son from one extremity to another. Insomuch that whereas he was so extremely liberal before, that he was always and upon all occasions giving, afterwards he became covetous even to pitiful sordidness: and was so far from being bountiful that he hardly rewarded those that did him extraordinary services. So that it might be said of him, that he was like some Torrents that overflow the Meadows to day, and the next leave 'em quite dry.

All these disorders oblig'd the *Persians* to look backward, and to wish for the days of the deceased Kings Reign. And they were taken with the Answer which the late General of the Armies, when he liv'd in such splendour and high favour at Court, made the King; For one day the Prince and he being private together, *Hali-Kouli-Kaan* said the King to him, *Dost thou not know who they were that rejoyc'd at the death of the King my Father? If I knew who the Dogs were, I would cause their guts to be ripp'd up.* To whom the Lord with his usual boldness said: *Your Majesty will do well to take care what you do, lest you begin with your self and me: For I know none but our selves to whom his Death could be acceptable; by which, of Prisoners that we were, we became Kings of Persia.*

Nor had the King his Health this year any better then the year before. His Distemper still perplex'd him, tho his fits were always alike, some quickly off, others more tedious. Sometimes he lay whole Weeks together languishing in his *Haram*, whence he never stirr'd out at his usual times, but a little now and then in the Evening to shew himself: Sometimes he took the Air a Horseback with a Handkerchief ty'd three or four times about his neck, which in *Persia* is the certain sign of a sick Person. However all this while he forbore nothing of his debaucheries,

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and always carri'd his Women along with him; his most usual Walks being upon *Giulfa*-side, a Town belonging to the *Armenians*, out of which he pick'd all the handsome Virgins to fill his Palace. It is said, the first time that he caus'd the young Virgins under twelve and above ten years of Age to be thus cull'd out, of twenty that were carri'd to the Palace there was but one that shew'd the least joy in her Countenance for her good fortune, and she was detain'd; the rest who fell a weeping, either because they were thought too Innocent, or else believ'd to be too cunning, were restor'd to their Parents. But to the Father of her that was detain'd the Sum of Eight *Tomans*, or thirty Guinees Pension was presently order'd. For it is the Custom of that Court, when the King makes choice of any Virgin out of a Family that is not very well in the World, he assigns the Father a Pension to that value, or near it, during his Life. I say, when a Family is low in the World: For as for the *Grandees*, they count it a great happiness to have a Kinswoman in the Kings house, where she may be useful to him in his advancement, and do him a thousand good Offices near his Majesties Person.

Nevertheless the Young Prince had forborn Wine all the last year, by reason of an Inflammation in his Throat occasion'd by his hard drinking; with which his Father also had formerly been troubl'd for the same cause. Which was the Reason that the *Kourouk* or Prohibition of Wine was renew'd, to the end there might be no more sold. For it is the Custom of the *Grandees* in *Asia*, when they have an Intention to abandon Wine, they send Orders to throw away all that they have, and to knock out the heads of the Vessels, to the end that if they should have a desire to drink it again, they might not have an opportunity to satisfie themselves; not looking upon themselves to be Masters of their Passions.

But notwithstanding all this Abstinence of the Young Prince, his Distempers nothing abated. His pale and wan Colour, and his Stomach loathing all manner of Food, were certain Symptoms of his disorder'd Body.

His Chief Physician knew not what to think: he had essay'd in vain all the secrets of his Art: which was no small affliction to him, in regard his life depended upon the Kings: Or if his life were spar'd, yet he was sure to lose his Estate and his Liberty: as happen'd to the two Chief Physicians of *Habus II.* and as it happens to all those that attend the *Asiatick* Sovereigns, when they die under their care.

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The Astrologers also began to whisper one another in the Ear, and tell their Confidants, as a great secret, that the King would never recover; that they could not find in his Horoscope that he had above six years to live after his Coronation, of which he had already surviv'd a third part; and that he should languish out the two others in perpetual misery.

The Queen Mother, press'd by her natural affection, and blinded by the transports of her Passion, forbore to lay the fault upon her Sons distemper; but quarrell'd with the Physician, asking him how it came to pass her Son was sick, accus'd him of Treason or Ignorance, believing that since he was her Son's Physician, he was oblig'd to cure him. This made the Physician at his Wits end, so that all his Receipts failing him, he bethought himself of one that was peculiarly his own Invention, and which few Physicians would ever have found out, as not being to be met with neither in *Galen* nor *Hippocrates*. What does he then do, but out of an extraordinary fetch of his Wit, he begins to lay the fault upon the Stars, and the *Munshi-Zumes*, or Kings Astrologers, crying out that they were altogether in the wrong. That if the King lay in a languishing condition, and could not recover his health, it was because they had fail'd to observe the happy hour, or the Aspect of a Fortunate Constellation at the Time of his Coronation. Which Fable was back'd by all the friends which the Physician had at Court; and besides that, by one of the Kings Astrologers himself, call'd *Mirza Mougim*. For this person either out of Emulation, or for what other reason I know not, bearing a private grudge to the Prince of the Astrologers, whose business it was to observe the favourable Conjunction for the Coronation of the young Prince, and perceiving so fit an opportunity to discredit the Chief of the Astrologers, and advance his own Reputation, fail'd not to lay hold of it.

He therefore made it out, or at least seem'd to make it plain by long disputes full of Astrological Reasons, in all the chief Assemblies of the chief Courtiers, that the Moment design'd for the Coronation of the King signif'd nothing; and afterwards by Arguments as strong as the first, he labour'd to prove that the defect of the Kings health proceeded from his Coronation which had been solemniz'd under an Inauspicious Aspect.

The first that gave credit to his idle stories were the Mother and the Son; and the Women that were suffer'd to be near his Majesty were of the same opinion likewise, that it was the fault

of the Star-Gazer, who had not taken notice that the Aspect was not favourable at that time. The Eunuchs also were drawn into the same belief, and the Courtiers who are still ready to comply with the most extravagant Proposals, to please their Master, declar'd no less. In short the Physician got the day, and by this Chimera sav'd his Credit and his Estate.

'Twas in vain for the Astrologer, by the most convincing Arguments he could alledge, to maintain the contrary. No body gave ear to him; so that he was constrain'd, for fear of running himself into farther danger, not only to hold his peace, but at length to applaud the Sentence pronounc'd against him.

Therefore there was nothing now to be done but to repair a pretended defect, and to seek out proper remedies for the mistake: nor could they find any other Expedient but to proceed to a second Coronation of the King, as if he had never been Crown'd before. It was resolv'd also at the same time, that his Majesty should quit the name of *Sephiè*, as carrying in it somewhat I know not what of unfortunate; and that he should make choice of another. They gave his Majesty therefore to understand, that the beginning of his Grandfathers Reign had been accompani'd with the same accidents as his own. That there was a great scarcity of Provision in *Ispahan*; that the Turks had declar'd War against him, and that he had never enjoy'd a perfect health.

These two things being thus resolv'd, the next thing was to pitch upon the day. Upon this Point there was a long deliberation, and many Contests about it. The Astrologers were consult'd: and at length after many Consultations and serious Enquiries, they agreed that the happy Hour which was to be attended by so many fortunate Events, would be toward the time of the year that the Sun enter'd the *Ram*: which according to our account was *Tuesday* the twentieth of *March*, about nine in the Morning.

At for this second Coronation, in regard it vari'd little or nothing from the former, it will be needless to make a second description of it: All the difference was, that this second Coronation was solemniz'd in the great Hall, call'd *Tshebel Setoon*, or the *Hall with forty Pillars*. Which is that Magnificent Apartment, the most stately in all the Royal Palace, by us describ'd with all possible exactness in our description of *Ispahan*. There the whole Court met at the time prefix'd by the Astrologers with all the Pomp that such a glorious Ceremony requir'd. All the

the Grandees of the Court who had the privilege of sitting before the King, plac'd themselves upon the Right hand. The two Pontiffs, the most eminent Interpreters of the *Alcoran*, and all the Tribe of *Molla's* stood upon the Left. When all the Court was sate, and that there was no body else to come, every one observing a profound silence, the King enter'd from the farther part of the Hall, and sate down: In a short time after, upon a signal given, they all rose; and then the Ceremony it self was perform'd as before related. *Mahamed-Baquer-Corasini* made the Sermon of four parts, and the *Kothé* the Prayer, at the end of which, exalting his Voice, he gave the Prince a new Name, which was that of *Soleimaan*. Which name being once pronounc'd, every one, as at the first Ceremony, gave their *Iush-Alla*, *so God grant it*; and may this Prince surpass in glory and happiness the wise Prince who was the first that bore the Name. For *Soleimaan* signifies the same thing as *Salomon*; in the Hebrew; from whence it was questionless deriv'd. *Solem* in that Language signifies peace, from whence the *Arabs* derive their *Selim*, which signifies *Affable*, *Courteous*, *Peaceable*; and perhaps the name of that famous Legislator among the *Athenians*, *Solon*, might have the same Etymology. And then the Hebrew *Salomon*, the Persian *Soleimaan*, the Turkish and Arabian *Selim*, and the Grecian *Solon* will come to be one and the same Name.

The Doctor compos'd that Prayer with all the Eloquence he was Master of: which done, every one went to kiss his Majesty's feet, and then return'd to their places. Where all the Court staid till it was Noon, and where they were serv'd with a Collation of Sweet-meats, but no meat, by reason of the Kings sickness. And by and by the Loud Musick from the Royal Palace proclaim'd to the whole City the News of the Ceremony. All the rest of the day was spent in Pastimes and publick Shews: and at night Lights were kept burning till Morning, and the Shops order'd to be kept open, for the People to walk the Streets as at Noon day.

At the same time all the Seals and all the Money Stamps were broken, and others made with the new name of *Soleimaan*: and in the space of twenty four Hours some thousands of new Crowns were dispers'd abroad. Moreover, to inform all the Provinces of this new Coronation, a Commission was given to *Mahamed-Salek* the Kings Astrologer, Brother to the Chief Astrologer, and Head of the Society, to write to all the Officers of *Persia*, and all that had any Employment or Command in
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the Empire, and give 'em an account of the reason why his Majesty had chang'd his Name: That for the future they were to acknowledge King *Soleimaan* for Sovereign Monarch of *Persia*; and that they were not any more to write to his Majesty but only by that Name; that in all their Provinces they were to erase the Name of *Sephie* wherever they met with it, as an Ominous Name, that portended nothing but misfortune to the King and Kingdom. Nor was *Mahamed-Saleb* dissatisf'd in the least with this Commission: For the Grandees and Officers, and in a word, all those to whom he directed his Letters, were oblig'd to send him some considerable Present, every one according to his Quality, for the *Moushtelog*, or good News which they had receiv'd.

Royal Habits also were sent presently after the Coronation to the Governours, Lieutenants, and Collectors of the Publick Receipts, and all other Persons of Quality in all the several Provinces. With Patents and Commands in the Name of *Soleimaan*, as if a New King had ascended the Throne: so strangely had a foolish and superstitious Fancy possess'd the mind of this Monarch and his Counsellours. Not but that 'tis very probable they acted meerly out of Complaisance. For they were too wise in my opinion, seriously to appear in an Action so fantastick and extravagant, and which a man shall hardly meet with the like in any other History.

However his Majesty, so soon as the Ceremony was over, fancy'd the recovery of his Health; and whether it were that Opinion contributed to his Imagination, certain it was that the Physick which his Majesty took had some good Effect, and the King grew better; but the Kingdom had no advantage by it. On the contrary, the news of Wars arriv'd at *Ispahan* from all Parts, augmenting the Terroure, with which that dreadful Comet, that year appearing, had possess'd their Minds.

That great and remarkable Comet, which was seen almost over all the earth, appear'd also at that time in *Persia*. The Astrologers call'd it *Niazouk*, or the *Little Lance*, as resembling that Figure. For the *Persians* do not give to Comets, as we do, the name which is common to those Meteors, but according to the Figure which they represent, as we have observ'd in its proper place. They affirm'd they never saw, nor ever had heard speak of any one that ever was like it. The Head of it was hid in the West, in such a manner, that nothing of it could be perceiv'd in that Horizon. In our Treatise of the *Persian* Astrology,

Astrology, we have given the description of a Figure according to the observation made in the Capital City of the Province of *Persia* the seventh of *March*, which was the second day of its appearance. But we have not any where mention'd the Observation that was made of it at *Ispahan*, for which reason I thought it would be something to the purpose to speak of it in this place.

The Observation then that was made of it in the Capital City of the Kingdom by the *Munshizims* or Kings Astrologers, the tenth of *May*, at seven of the Clock in the Evening was this. It appear'd in the Southern part, and follow'd the motion of the *Primum Mobile*, it extended in length 30 deg. 32. min. and almost of an equal breadth of 6 deg. The colour of it was inclining somewhat to yellow. The upper part of it advanc'd toward the Girdle of *Orion*, and the River *Eridanus*; in length from the *Ram* 72 deg. And its lower Extremity under the Whale, or the winding of *Eridanus*, where it extended in length 41 deg. 30 min. and in breadth 6 deg.

All the *Persian* Astrologers declar'd in their *Takums* or Almanacks, which are properly the *Ephemerides* of the present Year, speaking of this Meteor, that it signifi'd nothing but Wars, Murders, Seditions, Conflagrations, dangerous Diseases, overturning of Kingdoms and States, and, in a word, all manner of Calamities. But they fix'd all these dreadful Effects far off from *Persia*, upon the *Sunnis* or *Turks*, and *Kasfers*, which is a name that they give to Idolaters, among whom, according to their belief, they esteem us Christians to be the chief. But Time, who is the Master Astrologer, has made it appear to the *Persians* that these scourges were as well prepar'd for themselves: For what has happen'd this year in that Kingdom has given 'em to understand that they are the Persons that must be smitten with this Cudgel: and that the *Little Lance* (for both these names they gave that Comet) will as severely gore their sides, and that a good share of so many sad Influences will fall upon the Dominions of the *Persian* Empire, as well as in other places. The Governour of *Kandaar* was one of the first who felt the fatal Influences of this Comet by his fall and death, which happen'd at the same time upon this occasion. For the better understanding of which we must go back to the Story of his Life, where we left off, to bring him in a few words to his End.

We left him going to *Kandaar* with his Recruits; where so soon as he arriv'd, he found no likelihood of any War. Nor indeed

indeed did he expect any such thing: only he himself had caus'd the Rumour to be spread abroad to obtain the Government; and to disincumber himself from those Troubles which his turbulent and wicked Conduct had drawn upon himself. But no sooner was he arriv'd in that City but he began to appear in his own Colours, not so much by secret contrivance, but openly and with a lofty pride acting a Petty Sovereign, and assuming absolute Dominion, taking away by force Virgins from their Parents, Married women from their Husbands to replenish his Palace; observing no measure, but using as his Slaves and Footmen the *Sultoons*, or inferiour Governours, the *Royal Farmers*, and meaner Officers, pillaging and plundering where ever there was any thing to be got. In a word, his Tyranny grew to that extremity, that in all that spacious Province there was not any body that was not in an extraordinary Consternation: for without any form of Proceeding, he put to death whomever he thought good, according as his fury or his interest inspir'd him. Of these things Complaints were sent to the Court, and the Cries of that infinite number which he had render'd miserable were so loud, that they reach'd the Kings Ears. Which the Governours Enemies had so much the fairer opportunity to improve, considering how the Clamours against his exorbitances dayly increas'd. Thereupon his Kindred and those few friends he had left at Court sent him word, that his Affairs were but in a bad condition, his proceedings being highly resent'd by his Majesty, and that unless he look'd carefully to himself, some mischievous Backstroke of Fortune threaten'd him. But he took little notice of this good advice; believing himself so well assur'd of his Princes favour; and therefore thinking himself proof against all the most Potent Accusations, he never alter'd his Conduct, but rather grew more haughty and disorderly.

The *Kaan* Governor who had been displac'd to make way for him, was then at Court; however by the means of his friends he fail'd not to have a strict eye upon all his Actions; nor were they less diligent to convey the complaints of the afflicted to the Kings Ear. So that at length all his Crimes were heap'd together; but while the King was wavering, whether to disgrace him and cast him from his favour or not, he committed a new Act of Violence, which added a most terrible weight to the foregoing Accusations.

Between the Kingdom of *Kackmir*, and the Province of *Kandaar*, lie a certain People call'd *Bolluki*, who extend themselves into

into *India* on that side; which Country is Govern'd by their own Native Princes; only those that are next neighbours to *Persia*, acknowledge the King and are his Tributaries. One of those Princes had a very lovely Daughter of whom the Governor of *Kandaar* had heard a great Report, and therefore passionately desired her for one of his Wives. To which purpose he sends to demand her of the Prince her Father; who refus'd his Motion: The inamour'd Governor, not so discourag'd, sent again, and receives a second denial, he sends nevertheless a third time, but to as little purpose, for that the *Bolluki* never intermix alliances but one with another. Upon this the Governor dissembling his Indignation, always profess'd a great friendship for him, and invited him one day to a sumptuous Feast at *Kandaar*. The Prince mistrusting nothing came to the Entertainment; but when the Governor had him in his Clutches, he caus'd his head to be cut off. Upon which, the Prince's Attendants when they understood of his Death, disdaining so foul a piece of Villany, all enrag'd fell upon the Governors Guard, between whom and the Strangers there happen'd a bloody Combat, wherein three hundred *Persians* were slain upon the place, and between seven and eight hundred of the others.

This made such a noise that the King began to shew himself highly offended. Nor would the Governors Enemies omit so fair an opportunity; believing now his Majesty would suffer 'em to say any thing against a man that gave him so much occasion of inward disturbance, so that they easily perswaded him to revoke the permission he had given him to come to Court when he pleas'd himself. The pretence of which Revocation was grounded upon this, that it was a thing which had never been accustomed to be done, and which might in the end produce dangerous Consequences: and they thought they had gone a great way in gaining that point. For they were afraid, lest if the Governor had free access to Court he should regain by his Presence, the Kings Favour; which seem'd no difficult thing for him to do, who had the art so well to counterfeit his passionate affection for the Kings Interest: and for that the King when the Governor was ready to depart for *Kandaar*, had testify'd his Sorrow to part with him, at what time he thus express'd himself: *Tho thou go'st to Kandaar, thou shalt be never a jot the less my Favourite, and thou shalt return to my Court whenever thou think'st it convenient.* Which was the reason of his giving him Letters of Licence to come when he pleas'd to Court without expecting any new Orders.

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The Governor receiv'd the revocation of that Favour, and at the same time other Letters from his Brother, and the rest of his Friends, advising him to be careful in his Conduct; that his Fortune totter'd, and was within a little of falling altogether; and that his Enemies had made great advantage of the opportunities he had given 'em.

Upon this News he took a course which he thought so much the more worthy of himself, by how much it appear'd to him to be equally prudent and daring; tho by the event it prov'd no less fatal than rash. He assur'd himself that so soon as he should but see the King, he should set all things right again: that he should regain his first Favour, and scatter the Faction of his Enemies. And therefore without ever Petitioning for any new Order or expecting any Command, nay, against the very Command which he had receiv'd expressly forbidding his coming to Court, he takes Horse, and in nine days arrives at *Ispahan*.

The speed that was made in this Journey was discoursed of at *Ispahan*, as of a thing altogether extraordinary and which was never done before. For of these nine days one must be deducted that he staid to rest himself in a Garden about a hundred and fifty Leagues from *Ispahan*. So that in some eight days he rode as much ground as usually takes up three Months ordinary Travelling from *Kandaar* to *Ispahan*, that is to say, three hundred and fifty *Persian* Leagues, which are more then four hundred and fifty French Leagues.

However he did not enter the City, but went to a Garden near the *Tokshi* which is one of the Gates of the City, from whence according to Custom he sent to give notice to the King, *that the Governor of Kandaar his Slave, attended till his Majesty should grant him the favour to come and kiss his feet.* By which action he thought to have carry'd the day from his Enemies, and to have regain'd the Kings Affection.

The King was then in the Womens Palace, where the Eunuchs were charged to carry him the news. Which Charge the High Chamberlain and the Princesses High Steward (those potent Eunuchs whom he had endeavor'd to set together by the ears by his cunning contrivances of false reports) undertook upon themselves, and taking their time to enjoy that revenge which they had prepar'd in their hearts, with an astonishment in their faces, so much the greater because affected, they tell the King of the Governors arrival, adding withal, *That they could not tell how that Action of the Governor might be interpreted, but to come not only without permission, but contrary to a positive inhibition to quit his new Government,*
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could not but be a heinous contempt of his Majesty, and a manifest Rebellion; that since the first foundation of the Persian Empire, never any Governor durst be so bold as to quit his Government and come of his own head, and out of his own humour to the King. In a word they represented this Order so foul to the King, that he sent to the Governor of Kandaar, to go and surrender himself into the Custody of Ogourlon Kan Grand Porter; and to him he sent orders to put him into the *Krondoushake*, which is a little Woodden Engine that Pillories the neck, and fastens the right Arm of the Prisoner to his Girdle, so that he has no way to help himself with that hand, which is the way to secure the persons of Grandees that are look'd upon as Criminals.

Thus he remain'd three days in the Captain of the Royal Gate's House. All which time the poor Governor conjur'd Heaven and Earth; besought of God and Man that he might only be permitted to see the King; assuring himself that with one single word he should be able to ruine those that had determin'd his destruction. But they who fear'd no less, and dreaded that permission, labour'd their utmost to prevent it, and fought by all ways to exasperate the Kings anger already kindl'd against him. For as the Governor thought it a knack of State to be permitted to see the King; so on the other side, his Enemies deem'd it no less a piece of State-policy to prevent that honour from being granted him.

In the mean time the Chief Porter being gain'd by the Governors moans and entreaties, the third day of his imprisonment carry'd him with the wooden Pillory to the great Portal of the Palace that looks towards the Royal Piazza, and there leaving him in the hands of his Servants, went to his Majesty and told him, *That the Governor of Kandaar, had as it were forc'd him by his moans and intreaties to bring him to the Kings Gate: and that the poor Lord was there, waiting for the favour to be admitted to kiss his Majesties feet.* But then the Enemies of that unfortunate Lord, who were in no small number about the King, renew'd their Accusations, and took the more boldness, in regard the King was no way unwilling to hear their complaints. Every one aggravated what he knew the Offender to have most criminally committed: But above all his Predecessor in the Government of Kandaar, who the day before and that very day had caus'd above three hundred Petitions to be Presented against him by several Persons of the same Province, that demanded Justice.

Thus his Enemies became too powerful for him, so that after an hours deliberation, the King commanded the Chief

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Porter to go and rip up his Guts. Presently the Lord hasten'd to obey the King's Orders, and as far off as he could see the Gate he cries *Your*, that is to say, *strike*; which is the Signal of death. Immediately the next Officer that heard the word, gives him a kick with his Foot upon the Stomach, and threw him out of the Portal into the *Royal Piazza*. There with his Sword he gives him two great Gashes upon one side of his Neck: but in regard his head did not tumble as yet, another drew his Dagger, and stabb'd him under the Ribs into the small Guts, and thus he expir'd weltring in his Blood, which stream'd from him in a prodigious quantity, as being a very Sanguine Person.

Now in the midst of the *Royal Piazza*, over against the great Portal of the Palace is set up a large May-pole of an extraordinary height, on the top of which upon solemn Festivals and days of publick rejoycing is fix'd a Cup of Gold, which is a Prize to be won by the first among the Horsemen that can shoot it down with his Bow and Arrows upon a full Gallop: and upon the top of this Maypole it was, that the head of this great Personage was set up by the Kings order, the reason of which was, as the *Persians* said that pass'd along, to the end his malicious Tongue might not be able at so great a distance to sow Discord and Diffension.

This was the end of *Gemshid-Kaan*, who indeed did no way merit a better Fate: for there was not any body that piti'd his fall; or rather, there was not any body that did not load him with Curses: so that his Body lay two days in the publick *Piazza*, before his Majesty gave permission for its Interment.

He was of a goodly stature and proportion; had a noble aspect, and the Port of a Person of Quality; his Countenance very pleasing and winning at first sight; besides that a vast Courage, and profuse munificence accompany'd these outward Graces of the Body. But setting aside these two Qualities of his Soul that were laudable, the rest were all as venomous and tainted as these were Eminent.

Four days after this Execution, the Commission for Governor of *Kandaar* was sent to *Mahammed-Kouli-Kaan*, that is to say, the *Lord Slave of Mahamed*. This Lord had been thirteen years a Prisoner, Banish'd to *Casbin* by *Habas II.* Of which this was the true Cause.

Habas II. being one day abroad with his Women, this Lord, before he was aware was got within the limits that are prohibited to men; where the Guard of the *Courouk* perceiving him fell upon him, and Bastinado'd him most severely. Some days after,

ter, so soon as he was able to go, he went to the Palace where the King was sitting in the publick Assembly, where taking the King aside, with a resolv'd Countenance, *Did I not see thee,* said he, *with this Heron Tuft upon thy Head, and observe the great Honour which the Grandees pay thee, there is nothing that I should take thee for less than the King of Persia.* By the name of God does it become thee to run a rambling over these Mountains with a Covey of Women, and at the same time cause the Lords of thy Kingdom to have their bones broken with ignominious Bastinadoes?

The King heard this Reprimand without seeming to be any way disturb'd; only in a careless manner order'd an addition of Bastinadoes to be given him besides those of which he already complain'd. Upon which, Generous and Courageous as he was, losing all manner of Patience, he draws his Sword, and throwing himself at the Kings feet, *Let 'em,* said he, "Bastinado me again, here" is my Sword to punish my self; your Majesty may do with me what you please, and put me to what Torments you think fit, but if a Person of my Quality must be subject to Bastinadoes, what must a poor *Kest-Bash* expect (for so they call the Souldiers that compose the *Persian* Militia.) The Monarch pleas'd with this generous Repartee, would neither Sentence him to Death as he deserv'd by the Laws of the Kingdom, nor to the Cudgel; but only Banish'd him to *Casbin*.

But he was joyfully surpris'd when he receiv'd the Patent for a Government, which not only restor'd him to his Liberty, but at the same time conferr'd upon him one of the most important employments in the Kingdom. I confess I know not what may be thought of such Politicks as these, as hunt in Jails for men of Merit, to advance the disoblig'd by long Imprisonment to the most considerable places of Trust in the Kingdom, and to commit to his care a Province and strong Hold which on that side the Country may be said to be the Key of the Kingdom. Of necessity the King must be strangely assur'd of the fidelity of his Subjects. For there is no question to be made, but that if a Governor of *Kandaar* will call in the *Indian*, and sell him that Place, but that he may have several Millions of Money for his Service, and have what advancement he pleases himself in that Empire, as is apparent by one Example in the time of *Sephi I.*

During these Revolutions in the Court of *Persia*, four Commissioners arriv'd from the *Muscovite* *Cosaques*, who but two Months before had made a most furious Inroad into *Persia* on that side where *Hyrkania* lies, upon the Shore of the *Caspian* Sea. But before

fore we speak of the Invasion it will be necessary to tell the Reason.

In the year 1664. according to our account there arriv'd at *Isfahan* a famous Embassie from *Muscovie*, wherein two Embassadors were concern'd, with a Train of about eight hundred Men: and the Presents which they made the King were valu'd by appraisment at five thousand *Tomans* or seventeen thousand five hundred pounds Sterling.

They consisted of two Coaches enrich'd with most sumptuous Embroideries, *Flanders* Horses, and Beasts of their own Country, as black Foxes, white Bears and Doynes. But the chiefest wealth of the Present lay in the prodigious quantity of Sables which the *Persians* call *Samur*. These Embassadors as it was believ'd came only to Traffick, and to have permission by vertue of their Title of Embassadors to import and export what Goods they pleas'd without paying Custom. And indeed 'twas thought that they sold in Sables only at *Isfahan* as many as came to 280000 *l. Ster.* by which you may judge of the rest. Nevertheless the King of *Persia* entertain'd 'em very civilly at first, and allow'd 'em their expences which was tax'd at ten *Tomans* or 35 *l. Sterling* per day, which they rather chose to take in Money than in Victuals, to the end they might lay up the best part. To which purpose they liv'd most wretchedly, and in the Magnificent Palace which the King had assign'd 'em they laid their tails among the Costly Moveables wherewith it was furnish'd, like so many Dogs. For which reason the *Persians* look'd upon the *Moscovites* as the most paltry narrow-soul'd, and infamous among all the Christians; and in derision call 'em the *Yusbeks* of *Europe*, thereby expressing the small esteem they have of 'em; for the *Yusbeks* are the most abject People of all the *East*.

The King therefore disdaining the Infamy of these Ambassadors, and seeing that indeed they were sent by their Master for no other reason then to Traffick, to sell their Furs and other Commodities, and to carry away Stuffs, Leather, and other such like Merchandizes out of *Persia*, but especially Mony, abus'd 'em at length and made little account of 'em. One of 'em dy'd, and the other return'd home with his tatter'd Train without any honour shewn him, or hardly any answer given him.

The Grand Duke highly resenting his Affront, but dissembl'd his Choler for the present, in regard he durst not meddle with *Habas*: but understanding at the beginning of the Year 1665. that he was dead, and that the Scepter of *Persia* was fall'n into the Hands of a Young Prince, he resolv'd to take his revenge, tho he were
unwil-

unwilling to enter into open and declar'd Hostility ; and therefore that he might strike and not be seen, he incites and encourages the *Cossacks* next adjoyning to the black Sea ; orders 'em to march along the Lake *Mæotis*, and so to fall into *Persia* upon *Hircania* side, with this Caution that they should take care how they mention'd him, or acknowledg'd that they had any Correspondence with him, but only that they had undertaken the Enterprize upon their own Heads : which is no more than what was reported and believ'd at the Court of *Persia*.

The *Cossacks* were easily persuaded, and therefore embarking to the number of six thousand in forty large Barques, such as use the *Caspian* Sea (which are long and broad Vessels, but shallow built to avoid the Rocks that lie two or three foot under water) and in each Barque carrying two Pieces of Cannon, they cast Anchor first near *Ereck*, a small City upon the Borders of *Guilan* or *Hircania*, where they landed to the number of four thousand, and finding the Place without Soldiers, and the Inhabitants no way prepar'd for defence, they pillage and plunder it, and after a great slaughter of both Sexes retreat in great hast with all their Booty to their Vessels, that lay out at Sea as far as they could for fear of being discover'd.

Moreover, for the more crafty management of their Game they sent four of their chief Heads, in the Nature of Embassadors with Letters of Credence to the Court, and the Governour of *Shamaky* order'd his People to convey 'em to *Ispahan*, where they arriv'd soon after the news of their Irruption. They were civilly entertain'd, a Lodging was assign'd 'em, and their Expences defray'd as is usual for other Embassadors. Soon after they demanded Audience of the King, but that was deni'd 'em, because they were not of sufficient Quality to claim that Honour. However it was concluded that the Prime Minister should grant 'em Audience, which they accepted. There they set forth, " That they were " Commissioners sent by six thousand of the *Cossacks*, that lay at " Anchor in the *Caspian* Sea ; that in truth they were formerly " subject to the Empire of the *Muscovites*, but that being wearied by the oppression which they endur'd there, they had " resolv'd to fly their Country with their Wives and Children : " and whatever else of their Goods they could carry along with " 'em. That after they had debated whither to fly for safety " and protection, *Persia* was the Place that they had pitch'd " upon, as being a Monarchy that lov'd Justice, and was kind " to her Slaves. For which reason they had concluded to offer " their service to his Majesty, and therefore they were departed " from

“ from *Sha-Seven*, for love of the King, and now they hop’d
 “ from the Generosity of so great a Monarch, that he would
 “ listen to their Petitions, afford ’em a Sanctuary, and assign ’em
 “ Lands for their Habitation.

This said, they presented their Letters of Credence ; which the *Persians* could never uncypher, tho they made use of all the most cunning and learned Interpreters as well of their own Nation, as of *Europeans*, that were found at *Ispahan*.

The Chief Minister thus disappointed, made his last trial upon a Capuchin, who for twenty years together had been still employ’d by the Ministers of State of that Kingdom. It happen’d also when the Paper was brought him, that the *Sieur Herbert d’ Jager* was with him ; a Chief of the Dutch Factory at *Ispahan*. He was a person that for the understanding of Languages had few that might compare with him : for besides that he perfectly understood all that are at present spoken in the *East* ; he is also well skill’d in the Ancient and Vulgar Greek, the Syriac, and the Hebrew.

They could hardly have met with persons more able to have dissipated these Clouds ; nevertheless they could do nothing ; They were Greek Letters, they said, for the most part intermix’d with other unknown Characters, of which some were somewhat like the Syriac : They read some words here and there, but in regard they could find no Connexion of sense, they durst not be certain whether they read right or no. So that they were constrain’d to send the Writing back to the first Minister ; the Superiour of the Capuchins giving him this farther account by the Messenger, that it was a half *Russian*, half *Casaque* writing, that he could not uncypher.

They were therefore forc’d to give credit to what the Commissioners had told ’em by word of mouth ; which was always the same thing that they had said at first. To which the Prime Minister answered : “ If what you assure us be true, that you
 “ are come to be our Guests, and to surrender your selves Slaves
 “ to his Majesty, wherefore do you enter *Persia* with your
 “ Swords in your hands ? Why have you massacr’d our Subjects,
 “ laid wast our Cities, and pillag’d our Territories ?

The *Cosiques* replid in justification of themselves that they had been forc’d to do it ; for that when they came civilly to desire provision for their money, the People of the City forgetful of the Laws of Hospitality, and that Commiseration which is due to strangers, fell upon ’em, and misus’d ’em ; and therefore the necessity of self-defence ought to justify the *Cosiques* for endeavouring

endeavouring to obtain that by force, which they could not get by fair means.

At the same time that they were thus treating with these Commissioners, arriv'd an Envoy from *Orous*, that is to say, the great Duke of *Muscovy* (which name I think the *Persians* give him, because that *Russia* makes a part of his Dominions) which Envoy presented Letters from the grand Duke to the King of *Persia* to this Effect, " That whereas he understood " that a certain number of *Cosaques* being his Subjects, had " quitted their Habitations, on purpose to withdraw them- " selves from his Obedience, and sought for Protection in *Per- " sia*, he desir'd his Majesty not to receive 'em, nor to give any " credit to their Propositions; That they were Rebels and Fu- " gitives who would never be true to any other, since they had " been false to their Prince; and that he was ordering Forces to " reduce 'em to their former Obedience.

But if the *Muscovite* Prince advis'd the *Persians* not to believe the *Cosaques*, they were sufficiently assur'd, that they were not to give credit to him; for that the Court were all along of Opinion that he held a correspondence with those Boot-halers the *Cosaques*. And the reason upon which they grounded their belief was probable enough. For how is it possible else said the Politicians, that five or six thousand Fugitives should come into a Country, with forty Barks, and four and twenty Pieces of Artillery, provided with all sorts of Ammunition and Provision? Is it not easie to see that it is the Grand Duke that sends 'em, to revenge the Affronts, which he is made believe his Embassadors receiv'd?

And as the Grand Duke of *Muscovie's* Agent could not infuse a good opinion of his Master into the Court of *Persia*, so neither could the *Basha* of *Bazra's* Envoy prevail in behalf of his. It has been said, how that *Basha* had made an Accommodation with the General of the *Ottoman* Army the last year, and that he had sent his Son-in-law to *Constantinople* for a Ratification of the Agreement. But when he came there, the Ministers of the Port made him Answer, that the General of the Army had treated with the *Basha* without their Order, and that they would by no means hear of that Agreement, for that the Place must absolutely be surrender'd into the Grand Signior's hands. Whereupon they offer'd the *Basha's* Son-in-law, that if he would contribute to the reducing that place, he should be made Goverour or *Basha* of the Territory; and manag'd him so well, that at last he consented, and promis'd to make 'em Masters of

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it. After this, the Ministers dispatch to the same Generals new Orders to return with their Forces to the Siege of *Basra*; sharply rebuke the *Basha* of *Babylon* for having been so remiss in that Affair; That the pretended agreement was to the prejudice and dishonour of the Empire; that he should repair the fault he had committed; and that they would make him General a second time, provided he would take the City by force, or constrain it to a surrender, and that when he had reduced it, he should constitute for Governour *Hiatra Basha*, the Son-in-law of the *Basha* of *Basra* himself.

The *Basha* of *Basra*, when he heard these Tidings was strangely surpriz'd at the Treachery of his Son-in-law, and set himself to consider which way to divert his terrible storm that threaten'd him. And therefore perceiving in the Spring, that the Turkish Armies were preparing to thunder in upon him the next *September* or *October* (for the heat of those Climates will not permit 'em to take the Field sooner) he sent beforehand to offer his Territory to the King of *Persia*, upon such condition as he pleas'd himself, provided he might have the Command of it during his own Life. The Council of *Persia* knew the Importance of that place; they saw how prejudicial it would be to *Persia*, if it should fall into the hands of the Turks, and how advantageous it would be to themselves to be Masters of it. So that at another time, and under another Prince, they would willingly have embrac'd such a Proposal; but they were afraid to provoke that Bugbear of the Universe, that Pannic Terrour of the Earth, considering the weak Estate of the Empire under a Prince effeminated by Pleasures, and whose Age as well as his Humour render'd him incapable to undertake great Actions. Therefore they gave no Positive Answer to the Envoy from *Basra*, but put him off from day to day, and assur'd him they would take him into their Consideration, and all to gain time, for they were unwilling to say we dare not, nor we cannot do it.

While these things were transacted in Council, they were consulting at Court the recalling of *Boudak Sultaan* General of the Musquetters. For this same Lord as well as the rest whom we have discours'd of, in the time of his being a Favourite had abus'd his Power, by which means he had rais'd himself many enemies, whose number daily increas'd. At first they began to frame Complaints against him, so that his Authority began to lessen by degrees, and his Prince's affection began to wax cold. Which made him fear the same ill fortune as had befalln *Gemshid Kaan*,
Governor

Governor of *Kandaar*, and therefore he would not carry things with a high hand, as that Grandee had done, but before the *Mischief* was past cure, he began to think which way he might retire silently and without any notice taken, to discharge himself of that Envy, which the lustre of his good Fortune had brought upon him.

The principal occasion of his losing his Masters Favour was this. To the East of *Ispahan*, and near adjoyning to his Territory lyes the Province of *Lour-Estom*, which is held to be a part of ancient *Parthia*, extending on *Arabia's* side toward *Basra*. The People that Inhabit it, never mind the building of Cities, nor have any settl'd Abodes, but live in Tents, for the most part feeding their Flocks and their Heard, of which they have an infinite number. They are Govern'd by a *Kaan* who is set over 'em by the King of *Persia* but chosen from among themselves; and for the most part all of the same Race, the Father Succeeding the Son. So that there still remains among them some shadow of Liberty; however they pay both Tribute and Tenths. This Province furnishes *Ispahan* and the Neighbouring parts with Cattel; which is the reason that the Governor of these People is greatly respected in those parts. *Soleiman* the third therefore at his coming to the Crown, commanded the General of the Musquetteers to send Royal Habits and Commissions unto all the Grandees. But the General of the Musquetteers having had some quarrel with this Governor who is call'd *Lour-Manoushar Kaan*, neglected to do him that Honour, putting off his sending the Kings Present to him till six Months after. The *Grandee* impatiently brook'd the contempt; and being sufficiently convinc'd who was the occasion of it, for madness he tore in pieces the Habit which was presented him, saying withal, I value not the Habits, nor the Commissions which the King of *Persia's* General of the Musquetteers sends me.

His Majesty knew nothing of this for a good while; the thing was conceal'd from him, for fear at the same time he should have inform'd himself of the Cause. But the Prince himself inform'd the King; for some time after he desir'd leave to come to Court and kiss the Kings feet; which was granted him: He paid his Homage to his Majesty, deliver'd him his Present which was very Magnificent, and afterwards made his Complement that the General of the Musquetteers having by his order sent Royal Habits to all the Grandees of *Persia*, even to the meanest Officer, had omitted the sending to him for seven or eight Months, and after all had sent only by one of his Servants.

The King took it very ill, and declar'd to the General of the Musquetteers, that his manner of proceeding did not please him. However his Majesty would not ruine him altogether, having an esteem for him as being the Person that had plac'd him upon the Throne. And therefore he spar'd him, as his Predecessors had always done, in being gentle to those who brought 'em the first tydings of their advancement; for they never put 'em to death, as being satisfi'd with their disgrace and misfortune.

The General of the musquetteers was then at Court in this Condition of his Affairs; but he could not continue long in that posture; when the death of one of his Relations, or at least of one whom he so call'd gave him a fair opportunity to retire with Credit. This pretended kinsman of his was call'd *Abdal Bek* Chief Porter of the *Haram* or Palace of Women. The General therefore as soon as he heard of his death, presented a Petition to the King, wherein he set forth, that *Abdal-Beck* was his kinsman, that the Employment which he had executed had continu'd in their Family from time to time, as it were hereditary. Wherefore in consideration that the deceas'd Officer had left no Sons to serve his Majesty in such a particular and ordinary Employment, he was willing to lay down his Commission of General of the Musquetteers, and his Right of sitting before his Majesty in publick Assemblies, and that he should think himself more happy to be employ'd in keeping the Gate of his Majesties Palace for the Women. The King, who for the reasons already alledg'd still preserv'd some kind of Affection for him, granted his Request. And it was then that he had conferr'd upon him the favour of keeping the Womens Palace-Gate, to shelter him from the Tempest that threatned him; and thus he deliver'd himself from the Intrigues of the Court.

This was he whom *Habas II.* had sent Embassador to *Aureng Zeb*, King of the *Indies*, after he came to be in quiet Possession of the Empire. We shall in its proper place relate how he then carry'd himself, tho the famous *M. Bernier*, who was then at the Court, when this Embassador, appear'd there speaks sufficiently of it in his Works made publick to the World, to satisfie the Readers Curiosity.

Upon this *Sheik-Hali-Kaan* was recall'd from the War against the *Yusbeks*, where he Commanded as General, to be advanc'd to the Charge of General of the Musquetteers, which was a Noble Employment, as well as to all the rest to which he was afterwards rais'd. He is a Person of Courage, and an excellent Captain, one of those old Heroes that rendred the Reign of *Habas* the

the Great so Glorious and Triumphant. His Government of *Chaldea* was at the same time conferr'd upon one of his Sons *Soleimaan Kan*, who is a Noble-man of Merit and Courage, and worthy such an Illustrious Father.

The Lightning of Royal disfavour fell afterwards upon *Mirza-Sadec*, which name of *Sadek* in the Oriental Languages signifies *Just*, and is the same with *Sadoc* among the *Hebrews*. Hewas Brother to *Mirza-Ibrahim* already mention'd, and worse then he; *Vazier* or Farmer-Royal of *Fars* or the ancient *Persia*. The Complaints of *Shiras* at length threw him out of this Employment. The People had for several years with hearty prayers to Heaven implor'd his Ruin, but could never obtain it: they clamour'd against his Robberies and Violences; whole crouds of Petitioners throng'd to Court with complaints against him; but his Presents and his specious Letters frustrated all their Attempts. Nay, one of the principal Occasions of the *Dutch* Embassie in the year 1666. was to complain of his Vexations, and the stop which he gave to their Trade. All the World thought that such a blow as that would have fetch'd his Head from his Shoulders; but he fended it off by the help of a Sister which he had in the Womens Palace. So that he was discharg'd with only a severe Reprimand which was sent him in a Patent of which the *Dutch* themselves were the Messengers. At length this very year so many fresh complaints came aginst him, that he could find no more Evasions, neither would his pretences avail any longer, though he ply'd the Court still to the value of about thirty thousand pound; which they took, but spar'd him never a whit the more. He was expell'd from his Employment and all his Goods Confiscated. It was believ'd at Court that his Estate would have amounted to several hundred thousand pounds, but they were amaz'd when they found that the Account rose to no more then 80200 l^r Sterling in Gold and Silver, which he had at home in his Coffers, six thousand four hundred pound in Goods, Moveables, Horses, Stuffs, Merchandize, and such other like Furniture which was not for ordinary use. In his Treasurers Coffers was found seven thousand pound in Silver Money, and eight hundred seventy five pound in Duckats of Gold.

This crafty Lord long foresaw what then besel him; and therefore he had convey'd away his Jewels, and what he had of most costly value, and the greatest part of his ready Money; and had only left those Sums at home to dazle the Eye, and make the Court believe it was his whole Estate. But no body could imagine it, and his Majesty sent into all Places belong-
ing

ing to his Jurisdiction an exprefs Order to make diligent search for all Goods and Money, or whatever else might be thought to belong to the Offender, and put forth a Proclamation for all to discover what they knew. The same was done at *Ispahan*: but notwithstanding all that extraordinary diligence there was no more discover'd then about sixty thousand Crowns; besides Goods that were not moveable. The King left him all the Furniture of his Palace: nor did he meddle with his Wardrobe, nor with any thing that belong'd to his Women, nor with any thing that was for common use in his Offices and Stables. Beside, he gave him liberty to enjoy a yearly Revenue of four thousand pound Sterling to maintain him shut up in a Palace a little way distant from *Shiras*; whence he was not to stir himself; but might receive the Visits of his Friends. His Children also were at the same time put out of Favour, and lost their Employments.

After his Fall the King would not confer his Place upon any Lord, as being one of the most gainful Employments in *Persia*, but sent to a certain *Persian* Lord of an ancient Family, who resided at *Shiras*, whose name was *Sefie-Kouli-Sultaan* a short Commission, under the Title of *Governor pro tempore of the Province*, till he should think fit to supply the Place other ways.

We have told ye how the greatest part of those that fell into disgrace in the Reign of *Habas II.* return'd from their Exile, and were restor'd to favor, at the beginning of the new Reign. In the number of these was *Mirza Hadi* one of the most Learned Lords of *Persia*, able to instruct whoever would be desirous to know whatever is of choicest Secrecy in that Empire, whether as to the Situation of Places, as to History or Politicks: and therefore it was that I endeavour'd to benefit by his friendship and discourse. The Chief Minister to the deceas'd King made out the Process against him, and had confin'd him to his Palace in *Ispahan*; whence he never stirr'd, till after the death of that Monarch. And in regard he often frequented the Court, and was in great Reputation there, he was advanc'd to the Employment of *Farmer-Royal of Kirmaan or Caramania*.

There was also living in *Ispahan*, some three years since, an ancient *Indian* Princess, who was there detain'd a Prisoner. She was Sister to the last King of *Decan*, and was call'd by the name of *Sahab-Kond-shek*, that is to say in the *Persian* of the *Indies*, the *Little Lady*; to denote a second Princess, that has another above her. This Lady was retir'd to *Vijapour*, and toward the end of her days was desirous to make a Pilgrimage to *Mecca*,
carrying

carrying along with her an immense Treasure. In pursuance of this Pilgrimage she passed through *Persia*. But *Habas II.* for reasons that never were yet well understood, having her in his Power, would not permit her to go any farther, nor to return out of his Dominions, tho she offer'd several times considerable Presents to obtain that favour. The new Prince, and that year the New *Soleimaan*, did not shew himself so insensible of the Ladies Presents, as his Father had done, but condescended to what she desir'd, and receiv'd from her a Treasure of Jewels of an inestimable value.

For she took her time one day that the King pass'd by the House where she had been lodg'd, and went forth her self with her Presents and her Petition. She had also prepar'd a sumptuous Banquet to be made ready in the Court that belong'd to the House, and caus'd the Street to be spread with Cloth of Gold for the King to ride over; and as he rode along, her Officers came and threw under his Horses feet whole handfuls of money both Gold and Silver, to the value of two thousand Crowns. Which is a piece of Pomp and Grandeur practis'd in *Persia*, when any one would honour the Prince after a more splendid and obliging manner.

Toward the end of the year 1668. arriv'd in *Persia* a new Mission of *Italian Capuchins*, sent by the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, for *Georgia*. They were six, attended by two Lay Brothers; their Superiour being call'd *Father Steven d' Ameria*. They also brought a Letter from the Pope to the King of *Persia*, of which I took a Copy in these words.

To the most Illustrious and most Potent
King of the *Persians*

CLEMENT IX. Pope.

Illustrious and most Potent King; we wish you Health and the Light of Divine Grace. Such is the Charity of the Roman Pontiff whom God, the Sovereign Creator of all men, has bestow'd upon 'em, that he does not believe there is any Society upon Earth estrang'd from himself or his most tender cares. On the other side he admires and embraces with a particular affection Probity, Justice, and whatever other eminent Vertues, where ever they shine forth. Therefore our Predecessors have always had a most particular esteem and affectionate good will for the glorious Kings of *Persia*, but more especially for your Highness

Highness so famous over all the Earth for being adorn'd with all the splendour of vertuous Encomiums. And as we have no less high thought, and no less an esteem of your Merit, we promise to our selves the same good will and kindness for Us, as you had for Them. In confidence whereof we desire your Majesty to grant your Protection to Father Stephen of Ameria, and the rest of his Companions who are going into the Province of Georgia, not in pursuit of their own Honour, but only for the Glory of God, and the Salvation of Souls. And we beseech you to defend and shelter 'em by your Authority from the Injuries of the Schismatics who follow the Ceremonies and Opinions of the Greeks, to the end they may with freedom and unmolested employ themselves in the duty of their Function. We desire and expect also from your signal Clemency the same favour and protection for all those other Catholicks that are dispers'd through the vast extent of the Kingdoms and Provinces under your Dominion. Whom we recommend as far as in us lies, to your Royal Generosity and Goodness. In recompence whereof we pray continually to God with all our hearts, that his Omnipotent Right Hand may send your Highness a particular knowledge of his Divine Truth; that he will pour upon you all manner both of Spiritual and Temporal Blessings, and to grant you perpetual prosperity.

Given at Rome in the greater St. Maries, under the Seal of the Fisher, March 8. 1668. and the first of our Pontificate.

We have already given an account in part of what the *Cosaques* did this year upon the *Caspian Sea*, of the Commissioners which they sent to Court, with whom the Council was not satisfi'd; what means were us'd to discover their Intentions; and whether there were not some deceit conceal'd under that Deputation. We shall here add the second Inroad which they made, and what spoyl they committed more in *Persia*, the same year 1668.

While they were therefore disputing at *Ispahan* whether they should take 'em for Friends or Enemies; The *Cosaques*, whose Commissioners were now returning back, as all that they had done was only to amuse the *Persians* (though they had been treated with good words, and had receiv'd promises very advantageous for their Colony) continu'd their design of plundering and pillaging all the Maritime Regions of *Persia* to the East. To which purpose they quit *Save*, and directing their March toward the more Eastern Provinces of the *Caspian Sea*, they sail'd seventy Leagues without

without being descry'd from the Land; and land at *Ferhabaad* the Capital City of *Mazenderaan*. They landed in the disguise of Merchants, went up and down the Market places, and into the Shops like People that had no great skill in Traffick, and yet had something both to buy and to sell. They let go their Ducats of Gold for five *Shayet*, which make not so much as two Shillings, sold English Cloth for four *Abasses*, or five shillings six pence the Ell. On the other side the *Persians* while this Trade lasted caress'd the *Cosaques* at a high rate, finding 'em such admirable Customers, and Chapmen both together, and look'd upon 'em as *Cullies* and Novices which their kind Stars had brought among 'em: But the sixth day, continuing their Game, at the hour prefix'd among themselves, at what time they had scatter'd themselves in several parts of the City to avoid suspicion, they drew their Swords, slew all they met, plunder'd the Houses, and laden with Booty, after they had kill'd above five hundred persons, they return'd to their Vessels, lying still out of ken at Sea.

The most considerable, and a loss not to be repair'd, was the ruine of the King's Palace, a most stately Pile, seated in the midst of the City, wherein was kept a vast Treasure of Dishes and Basins of Porcellane, or China, Cornaline, Agate, Coral, Amber, Cups of Crystal of the Rock, and other Rarities without number, which those Barbarians either broke or carry'd away. They also brake the great *Haoufe*, or *Tangi*, being a Jasper Fountain cover'd with Plates of Gold and erected within the Palace. Every time I think of the Magnificence and Delightfulness of that place, where I was in the year 1666. I cannot but lament its hard Fate; and had the Reader seen the Description which I have made of it, he would acknowledge that such a wonder of Art deserv'd a kind of perpetuity.

In *Ferhabaad* and the parts adjoyning there are some few Christians still remaining of that vast number which *Habas* the Great formerly brought in to people that Country some sixty years ago, which has so much lessen'd their Number, that there is not the sixtieth part of what there was before: and the most part of these for worldly Interests have embrac'd the Mahumetan Superstition. Those few Christians that remain'd knowing that the *Cosaques* were likewise Christians, to save themselves from their fury, and their Houses from being plunder'd, when they saw 'em coming, cry'd out *Christous*, *Christous*, and the better to let 'em understand they were Christians sign'd themselves with the sign of the Cross from head to foot, so that the *Cosaques*

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hearing 'em invoke that adorable Name, and seeing how they cross'd themselves, not only spar'd their lives, but protected their Houses.

The Inhabitants of *Ferhabaad*, who had sav'd their lives by flight, return'd the next day betimes in the Morning, to pick up what was left of their Goods: but while they were thus busily employ'd, the *Cosaques* landed a second time, and now more greedy of humane Blood, than of Plunder, kill'd about seven hundred, and took as many Prisoners, and then retir'd for good and all.

By this time Winter was come, which they resolv'd to spend in *Persia*, and to that purpose they sought out for a Place where they might quarter together in security. Now just against the City of *Ferhabaad* there lies a *Peninsula*, or Tongue of Land that runs forward into the *Caspian Sea* about ten or eleven Leagues. This place did abound in Harts, wild Boars, wild Goats, and other sorts of wild Venison: It is also full of Forests and fresh Water, nor does it want any thing that is convenient for the support of Humane Life, and is therefore a most convenient place for Habitation: The *Persians* call it *Mionnè-Kellè* or the *Middle-fix'd Horn*, thereby denoting a Tongue of Land that runs out into the Sea; there it was that the *Cosaques* entrench'd themselves. To which purpose they made their Prisoners work day and night to dig a large Trench about their Camp; and then with several great Trees pester'd one within another, and fill'd up with Turf, they rais'd a kind of a Bulwark, upon which they planted their *Badeliege* or great Guns, for their better defence.

This was that which the *Persians* desir'd; for as soon as they understood they were fortifi'd in that place, the same year, notwithstanding the Winter season, they attack'd 'em, and being stronger by Land than the *Cosaques*, they beat 'em, retook all their Prisoners, and constrain'd the Enemy to betake themselves to their Vessels, with which, after they had roam'd about the whole *Peninsula* on every side, they found at the farthest end a more advantageous Post, as being defended by a Marsh, where they stopp'd with their Booty, and their little Barks, at which time I came away for *Europe*.

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